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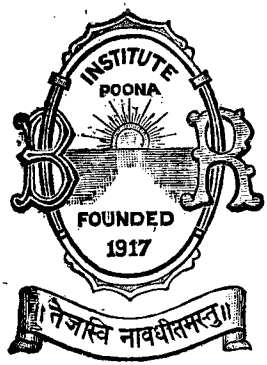

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COLLECTED WORKS

OF

SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR

VOL. IV

COMPRISING VAISNAVISM, ŚAIVISM AND MINOR RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

AND

WILSON PHILOLOGICAL LECTURES ON SANSKRIT AND THE DERIVED LANGUAGES, DELIVERED IN 1877

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PREFATORY NOTE

This volume contains a reprint of (i) "Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems" included in the *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie* and first published in 1913; and (ii) "Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Derived Languages" delivered in 1877 and first published in a collected form in 1914. The first work was issued without any Preface. The Preface to the second work is dated, Sangam, Poona, 22nd June, 1914, and is reproduced below:

> "I was appointed Wilson Philological Lecturer in 1877 and was thus the first lecturer under the Endowment. My subject was the Sanskrit and the Prakrit languages derived from it. I understood the Prakrit in a comprehensive sense, so as to include modern Vernaculars of Northern India also; and thus delivered a course of seven lectures on Sanskrit in its several forms, the Pāli and the Dialects of the period, the Prakrits and the Apabhraṁśa, Phonology of the Vernaculars, Remnants of the older Grammatical Forms in the Vernaculars, New Grammatical Formations to supply the place of the forms that had disappeared, and the General Questions as to the relation between these several languages. The method I followed is strictly historical, tracing the modern Vernaculars from the original Sanskrit through all the different stages of development of which we have evidence, and assigning the different transformations to their causes, natural or physical, racial, and historical. These lectures, with the exception of the fifth and sixth, were thoroughly revised afterwards and the first two and the seventh were published in Vol. XVI of the Journal, BBRAS, between the years 1883 and 1885; while the third and the fourth were published between 1887 and 1889. The other two lectures remained in manuscript for a long time, until I finished in 1911 my book on "Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc," which was written for the series of Ency-

clopedia of Indo-Aryan Research, which is being published at Strassburg by Karl J. Trübner. These have now been revised and I publish them for the first time along with a reprint of the five lectures in the present volume. The delay in the publication has been due to my having had to attend to more urgent work, such as the preparation of a translation of the Vāyu Purāṇa for the "Sacred Books of the East," which had afterwards to be given up, the preparation of my Early History of the Deccan and the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts and writing my several Reports on them.

"As, since 1908, my eye-sight has greatly impaired and I am unable to read matter printed in ordinary type or an ordinary manuscript, I have had to depend on Readers and Amanuenses. The work on "Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc." was written under these conditions; but the publication of the present volume was undertaken by my eldest son, Professor Shridhar Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, who has been associated with me in a good deal of my literary work. The lectures were all carried through the press by him at the sacrifice of a good deal of time and trouble.

"I regret to find some misprints in the present volume, but one-half of them occur in the fifth and the sixth lectures, which had to be set up from manuscript. There are comparatively few instances in the reprints of the other five lectures."

Dr. Bhandarker's classical work on Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems, being included in a costly German Series of publications, was not easily accessible to students in India, although greatly in demand. Sir Ramkrishna accordingly purchased from Messrs. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, assign of the firm Karl J. Trübner of Strassburg, the right to issue an *Indian Edition* of the work, and this right the B. O. R. Institute has purchased from him. The Indian Edition of the first book was issued separately in 1928. In the present volume it is incorporated along with the Wilson Philological Lectures.

The three Indexes to Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems were originally compiled by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D. The same have been retained here with necessary changes in pagination. The Indexes to the Wilson Philological Lectures have been prepared by me.

I was suddenly taken ill by paralysis on Thursday, September 8, 1927. I was unconscious for more than a month, and I am not yet completely recovered, although—thank God—I am slowly but surely regaining strength. For more than one year, Mr. G. N. Shrigondekar, B. A., of the Publication Department of the Bhandarkar Institute had to do the proof-correction and all other work in connection with this volume. To him and to all friends I am very sincerely thankful for all they did. Recently, I am recommended for Invalid's Pension.

With the present volume, three Volumes of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's works are now ready. The fourth volume, which however will be the first in order, will be ready next year. It may then be considered whether I may be able to compile a short biography of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar as originally contemplated.

The publication of the present volume in time for the annual literary tribute to be paid by the Bhandarkar Or. R. Institute would not have been feasible in my present invalid state had not the Press and the Publication Departments of the Institute—and especially Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, M. A., LL. B., D. LITT., the Superintendent of both,—come to my assistance. I offer him here my grateful thanks for the assistance, the extent of which cannot be adequately gauged.

Pandharpur
Ṛṣi Pañcamī, Śake 1851
(7th September 1929)

N. B. UTGIKAR

VAIṢṆAVISM, SAIVISM AND MINOR RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS.

PART I.

VAIṢṆAVISM.

I. Introductory.

§ 1. The old Vedic gods became indissolubly involved in the elaborate and mechanical system of worship that had grown up. Speculations as regards the appropriateness of the rules and modes of worship, and their efficacy as regards man's good in this world and the next, became prevalent. But all this did not satisfy the religious spirit of the people. Religious speculation of a more natural order came to be established about the close of the Hymn-period and was continued into that of the Upaniṣads. The various problems about God, man, and the world, engaged the attention of many thinkers, and a variety of solutions was arrived at. It is generally believed that the Upaniṣads teach a system of Pantheism; but a close examination will show that they teach not one, but various systems of doctrines as regards tha nature of God, man and the world and the relations between them. The religio-philosophic systems of modern times, which are mutually inconsistent, quote texts from the Upaniṣads as an authority for their special doctrines. These references to the old books are correct in the most prominent cases, but when the advocates of the systems force into other texts of an opposite nature a meaning consistent with their own special doctrines, they are manifestly wrong. That the Upaniṣads teach not one but various systems must follow from the fact that they are compilations just as the Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā is. The speculations of the old seers were clothed by them in words, and these were handed down orally and came to form a large floating mass. When the idea of collecting these speculations arose, they were incorporated into books for the use of individual Vedic schools. Hence it is that we find certain

verses, passages and whole sections occurring in one Upaniṣad reproduced in another[1].

No doubt, the idea of the immanence of God in the world is very prominent in the Upaniṣads. But if that is what constitutes Pantheism, the liberal religious thought of the present day in Europe also must be regarded as Pantheistic. With the immanence of God is associated his transcendence also, as stated in the Vedānta-Sūtra II. 1. 27.[2] In addition to these two doctrines the Upaniṣads teach that God is the protector of all beings, is the lord of all and dwells in the heart of man, that seeing him as he is and everywhere, is eternal bliss, that this is to be attained by contemplation and the purification of the soul, and that in the blissful condition the individual soul attains to a perfect similarity with the supreme soul[3]. They also teach the absorption of the individual soul into the supreme as of a river into the ocean, and the unconsciousness of the soul when everything but himself fades away from his knowledge. In this respect the doctrine may be regarded as Pantheistic or as setting forth the illusory character of all phenomena. Speculation in the Upaniṣad times was very free, and it veered round even to the denial of the soul as a substance.[4]

In the subsequent development of religious thought and worship, these Upaniṣad doctrines played an active part. The Heno-

1 See the passage about the superiority of Prāṇa and other bodily elements which occurs in ChU. (V. 1. 1) and in BU. (VI. 1. 1); that about the Pañcāgnividyā occurring in the former (V. 4. 1) and the latter (VI. 2. 9); and that about proud Bālāki and Ajātaśatru which occurs in the KBU. (IV) and BU. (II. 1), and others (TU. II. 8 and BU. IV. 3. 33). As to the recurrence of verses se MU., SU. and KU.

2 See the passage quoted by Śaṁkarācārya in his commentary on the Sūtra.

3 Paramaṁ sāmyam upaiti. See MU. III. 1. 3. The opinion expressed by some eminent scholars that the burden of the Upaniṣad teaching is the illusive character of the world and the reality of one soul only, is manifestly wrong, and I may even say, is indicative of an uncritical judgment. As stated in the text, the Upaniṣads from the very nature of the compilations cannot but be expected to teach not one, but many systems of doctrine.

4 See the passage from BU. III. 2. 13, quoted in my paper "A Peep into the Early History of India", JBBRAS, Vol. XX, p. 361. [= Vol. I, p. 7 of this Edition.—N.B.U.],

theism, so fully explained by Max Müller, and its ultimate result, the identification of the various gods, also influenced later thinkers. The conception that the supreme spirit manifests himself in various forms which we find expressed in the Upaniṣads is a development, in the opposite direction, of the idea that one God, for instance Agni, is the same as Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and Aryaman[1]. If these several gods are one, one god may become several. This led to the conception of Incarnations or Avatāras, which plays such a prominent part in the later religious systems.

But for ordinary people, an adorable object, with a more distinct personality than that which the theistic portions of the Upaniṣads attributed to God, was necessary and the philosophic speculations did not answer practical needs. Thus some of the old Vedic gods, and others, which were new, became the objects of worship.

II. The Rise of a New Theistic System.

§ 2. The tide of free speculations culminated in the east into such systems as those of Buddhism and Jainism ; and though they denied the existence of God as a creator, or did not use the idea for the promotion of righteousness, and the former practically denied the existence of the human soul as a substance, still, these systems had the needful personal element in the shape of their founders. In the west, however, a theistic system with a god who had come to dwell among men arose. The various religious systems and superstitions that prevailed in the fourth century B. C. are given in the following passage, occurring in the Niddesa, which though of the nature of a commentary is regarded as one of the books of the Pāli Buddhistic Canon[2] : "The deity of the lay followers of the Ājīvakas is the Ājīvakas, of those of the Nighanthas is the Nighanthas, of those of the Jatilas (ascetics wearing long matted hair) is the Jaṭilas, of those of the Paribbājakas is the Paribbājakas, of those of the Avaruddhakas is the Avaruddhakas, and the deity of those who are devoted to an elephant, a horse, a cow, a dog, a crow, Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Puṇṇabhadda, Maṇibhadda, Aggi, Nāgas, Supaṇṇas, Yakkhas,

1 RV. V. 3. 1—2.

2 This passage has been furnished to me by Mr. Dharmanand Kosambi.

Asuras, Gandhabbas, Mahārājas, Canda, Suriya, India, Brahmā. Deva, Disā is the elephant, the horse, the cow, the dog, the crow, Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Puṇṇabhadda, Maṇibhadda, etc., respectively."

Here a Buddhist who cannot but be expected to show scant courtesy to religious systems other than his own, places the worshippers of Vāsudeva and Baladeva on the same level with those of fire, moon, sun and Brahmā, and even elephants, crows, dogs, etc. But the worship of Vāsudeva was destined to become the predominant religion of a large part of India even to the supersession of that of fire, sun, moon and Brahmā and, of course, of the superstitious adoration of the lower animals. And it will be now our duty to trace its rise and progress.

§ 3. In his comment on Pāṇini IV. 3 98, Patañjali distinctly states that the Vāsudeva contained in the Sūtra is the name of the "worshipful", i. e., of one who is pre-eminently worshipful, i. e., God[1]. The worship of Vāsudeva must be regarded to be as old as Pāṇini.

In an Inscription found at Ghosuṇḍi in Rājputāna[2] which unfortunately is in a mutilated condition, the construction of a wall round the hall of worship of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva is mentioned. From the form of the characters in the Inscription it appears to have been engraved at least two hundred years B. C.

In another Inscription recently discovered at Besnagar[3], Heliodora represents himself to have erected a Garuḍadhvaja or a column with the image of Garuḍa at the top in honour of Vāsudeva, the god of gods. Heliodora calls himself a Bhāgavata, was the son of Diya, was a native of Takṣaśilā, and is spoken of as an ambassador of the Yavana and as such came on a political mission from Aṁtalikita to Bhāgabhadra who must have ruled over Eastern Mālwā. In this Inscription occurs the name Aṁtalikita which in all likelihood is the same as Antialkidas of the Bactro-Greek coins. This name as well as the form of the characters show that it belongs to the earlier part of the second century before the

1 See JRAS, 1910, p. 168.

2 Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, No. 6.

3 Ibid, No. 669.

Christian era. At that time Vāsudeva was worshipped as the god of gods and his worshippers were called Bhāgavatas. The Bhāgavata religion prevailed in the northwestern part of India and was adopted even by the Greeks.

In the Inscription No. 1 in the large cave at Nānāghāṭ[1], the names of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, in a Dvandva compound, occur along with those of other deities in the opening invocation. This Inscription appears from the form of the characters to belong to the first century before the Christian era.

In the passage in the Mahābhāsya in which Patañjali, to account for the appearance of the name Vāsudeva in Pāṇini IV. 3. 98, says that this is not the name of a Kṣatriya, but that of the Worshipful One, the question to be considered is whether Patañjali means this Vāsudeva to be quite unconnected with the Vāsudeva of the Vṛṣṇi race. From the occurrence of the names Vāsudeva and Baladeva close to each other in the passage from the Niddesa referred to above, and that of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva as worshipful or divine persons in a Dvandva compound in two of three above Inscriptions, it appears that the Vāsudeva referred to by Patañjali as the Worshipful One must be the Vāsudeva of the Vṛṣṇi race. But to account for the appearance of the name in the Sūtra, though the required form can be made up in accordance with the next Sūtra (Pāṇini, IV. 3. 99), Patañjali says that Pāṇini looks at Vāsudeva in his capacity as a divine person and not as a Kṣatriya. One must take it in this sense, since the Ghosuṇḍi Inscription noticed above, in which Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva are associated as worshipful persons, must be older than Patañjali himself. Besides, Patañjali begins the discussion of the Sūtra by first taking Vāsudeva as the name of a Kṣatriya and raising an objection against it. This objection is answered in one way, Vāsudeva being still regarded as a Kṣatriya, and it is only optionally that he gives another explanation, that that name is not the name of a Kṣatriya, but of a divine person. This optional explanation given in the last resort must, therefore, be understood in the sense given above. And from all the accounts of the Bhāgavata school contained in the whole literature it is clear that the worshipful Vāsudeva belonged to the Vṛṣṇi race.

1 Ibid. No. 1112.

III. Analysis of the Nārāyanīya Section of the Mahābhārata.

§ 4. Having thus established on irrefragable evidence the existence during the three or four centuries before Christ of a religion with Vāsudeva as its central figure, and of a school of his followers, known by the name of Bhāgavata, I will now proceed to examine the detailed accounts contained in the literature and especially in the Mahābhārata. This was not done before, because the date of the Mahābhārata or any portion of it cannot be ascertained with any approach to certainty. The Nārāyanīyà section of the Śāntiparvan, to which we shall devote a detailed consideration, is, however, older than Śaṁkarācārya who quotes from it.

Nārada is represented to have gone to the Badarikāśrama to see Nara and Nārāyaṇa. The latter was engaged in the performance of religious rites. Nārada asked Nārāyaṇa whom he worshipped, while he himself was the Supreme Lord. Nārāyaṇa told him that he worshipped his original Prakṛti (form), the source of all that is and that is to be. Nara and Nārāyaṇa as well as Kṛṣṇa and Hari, sons of Dharma, are represented as the forms of the Supreme.

Nārada flies into the sky to see that original Prakṛti and alights on a peak of Meru. There he saw white men without sense, not eating anything, sinless, with heads like umbrellas, making a sound like that of thundering clouds and devoted to Bhagavat. Then Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma who those people were, and how they came to be what they were. Bhīṣma tells the story of the king Vasu Uparicara, who worshipped God according to the Sātvata Vidhi (form of ritual). He was a glorious king honoured by Indra, devoted to truth and holy. The best of the learned in the Pāñcarātra system were honoured with the first seat at dinner by him.

The narrator then proceeds to mention the Citraśikhaṇḍins, who appear to be the original promulgators of this religion. The mountain Meru was the place where they revealed it. They were seven, consisting of Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha,

Kratu, and Vasiṣṭha. The eighth was Svāyambhuva. From these eight, emanated this excellent Śāstra. This they promulgated in the presence of the great Bhagavat, who said to the Ṛṣis: "You have composed a hundred thousand excellent Ślokas (stanzas), which contain rules for all the affairs of men and are in harmony with Yajus, Sāman, Ṛc, and Atharvāṅgiras, and lay down precepts about the religion of action as well as that of contemplation or repose. I created Brahman from my peaceful and Rudra from my wrathful nature. This Śāstra will be handed down from person to person until it reaches Bṛhaspati. From Bṛhaspati the king Vasu will obtain it. The king will follow this Śāstra and will become my devotee. After his death this Śāstra will be lost." Telling all this the great god disappeared. Then the Citraśikhaṇḍins spread the religion until it reached Bṛhaspati.

Then the old Kalpa having ended and the son of Aṅgiras, the priest of the gods, being born, the gods were happy. The king Vasu Uparicara was his first pupil. He learned this Śāstra from Bṛhaspati. At one time he brought forward an extensive horse-sacrifice, but no animal was killed on the occasion. The oblations were devised in accordance with the words of the Āraṇyakas. The god of gods showed himself to Vasu and accepted his oblation, but was unseen by anybody else. Since the oblation was taken away by Hari without showing himself to Bṛhaspati, the latter got angry and dashed upwards the sacrifical ladle. At that sacrifice, Ekata, Dvita, and Trita, sons of Prajāpati, and sixteen Ṛṣis, many of whom are known as the authors of literary works, such as Medhātithi, Tittiri, and Tāṇḍya are represented to have been present.

When Bṛhaspati was angry, they all said that the great Hari was not to be seen by any man at random, but by one who was favoured by his grace. Ekata, Dvita and Trita said: "On one occasion we went to the north for the attainment of eternal bliss near the Milky Ocean, and practised austerities for four thousand years and at the end a voice in the air declared: 'Well, how can you see that great Lord? In the Milky Ocean there is a White Island where there are men possessing the lustre of the moon, who are the devotees of the god, possess no senses, do not eat anything and being devoted solely to the god (Ekāntin or monotheistic) are absorbed in him, who is bright like the sun. Go to

that island; there shines my soul'. Accordingly we went to the white island, and, dazzled by the light of that being, were not able to see him. Then the truth flashed upon us that the god cannot be seen by us unless we have gone through austerities. After further austerities for a hundred years we saw the men of the lustre of the moon with their minds fully absorbed in the 'contemplation of God. The refulgence of each man was like that of the sun on the last day. Then we heard a sound: 'Jitam te Puṇḍarīkākṣa' etc.— (Triumphant art thou, Lotus-eyed one!). A short time after, a voice in the air declared: 'Go you away as you came. That great being is not to be seen by one who is not devoted to him'. Then we returned without being able to see him. How then will you be able to see him?" Having heard this from Ekata, Dvita and Trita, Bṛhaspati finished the sacrifice.

Vasu Uparicara had to live in a hole in the earth on account of the curse of the Ṛṣis, who in a controversy with the gods maintained that no animal should be sacrificed, but only vegetable grain, while the gods contended that a goat should be sacrificed. The question was referred to Vasu who declared in favour of the gods. Vasu was raised from the hole by Nārāyaṇa, whom he had devotedly worshipped, by sending his Garuḍa to lift him up. He was thence taken to the Brahma world.

The story of Nārada's visit to Śvetadvīpa is then continued. He praises the great Being by uttering names expressive of his purity and grandeur, and the great Being then manifested himself to him saying that he was not to be seen by one who was not solely devoted to him (Ekāntin), and that, as Nārada was such a one, he showed himself to him. He then proceeds to explain to him the religion of Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva is the supreme soul, the internal soul of all souls. He is the supreme creator. All living beings are represented by Saṁkarṣaṇa, who is a form of Vāsudeva. From Saṁkarṣaṇa sprang Pradyumna, the mind, and from Pradyumna, Aniruddha, self-consciousness. "Those who are devoted to me enter into me and are released." The great being calls the four above mentioned his forms (Mūrtis). The production of one form from another is also mentioned; all these forms are however, styled his forms (Mūrtis). He then proceeds to mention the creation of gods and all other things by himself and their final

dissolution into himself. Then are mentioned his incarnations (Avatāras), viz., Varāha, Narasiṁha, the oppressor of Bali, Rāma of the Bhṛgu race and destroyer of the Kṣatriyas, Rāma Dāśarathi, and "he, who will come into existence for the destruction of Kaṁsa at Mathurā and after having killed many demons will finally settle at Dvārakā." In this manner having done all things by his four Mūrtis, he destroyed Dvārakā with the Sātvatas and went to Brahmaloka. After Nārada had heard this from the supreme Nārāyaṇa, he returned to Badarikāśrama.

What follows at the end of chapter 339 and in the next four chapters has little bearing on our subject, except that in one of them the etymological sense of Vāsudeva is given as one who covers the whole world and is the resting-place (Adhivāsa) of all beings.

In chapter 344 the path of those who are free from sin is given thus : — The sun is the gate, and after entrance all their material impurities being burnt, they remain as atoms in him ; then released from him, they enter into the Aniruddha form, and becoming mind, enter into the Pradyumna form. Leaving that form, they enter into that of Saṁkarṣaṇa, i. e., the form of the individual soul (Jīva). Afterwards being free from the three Guṇas, they enter into the Supreme Soul, who exists everywhere and who is Vāsudeva.

In chapter 346 Vaiśaṁpāyana relates to Janamejaya that the Dharma which Nārada got from 'the Lord of the world', Nārāyaṇa himself, in all its details and peculiarities, was explained briefly to him (Janamejaya) in the Harigītā. In chapter 348 this Ekāntika Dharma is represented to be the same as that which was communicated to Arjuna at the beginning of the war. At the creation of each Brahmā, this Dharma was revealed by Nārāyaṇa, and then at the end of the Brahmā it was lost. In the account of the fourth Brahmā the Dharma revealed is twice called Sātvata. In this manner it goes on up to the present or the seventh Brahmā, in which that Dharma was first communicated to Pitāmaha, and from him it passed in succession to Dakṣa, his grandson, the eldest Āditya, Vivasvat, Manu and Ikṣvāku. Later on it is stated that this original great eternal Dharma, difficult to be known and to be followed, is professed by the Sātvatas.

This Dharma is associated with the non-slaughter of animals (Ahiṁsā), and when properly exercised, the lord Hari is pleased with it. Sometimes one Vyūha or form of the Lord is taught and sometimes two, three or four. Vaiśampāyana winds up by saying that he has thus explained the Ekāntadharma.

§ 5. Here we have two accounts, the second of which is interwoven with the first. The former, however, appears to relate to a more ancient condition of things. The points to be noticed are these: 1. At the sacrifice instituted by Vasu Uparicara no animals were killed. 2. The oblations were devised in accordance with the teachings of the Āraṇyakas which include the Upaniṣads. 3. The chief deity was the God of gods, who is also called Hari. 4. This Hari or God of gods is not to be seen by one who follows the sacrificial mode of worship, such as Bṛhaspati did, nor by persons who practise austerities for thousands of years, as Ekata, Dvita and Trita did, but by one who worships Him with devotion as Vasu Uparicara did.

Here then is an attempt to introduce a religious reform on more conservative principles than Buddhism and Jainism did. The repudiation of the slaughter of animals and the inefficacy of sacrificial worship and austerities are common to this religious reform with Buddhism. But that the supreme lord Hari is to be worshipped with devotion, and the words of the Āraṇyakas are not to be rejected, are doctrines which are peculiar to it. Vasu Uparicara's story goes so far only.

In the main account, according to which Nārada visited the White Island, we have a re-assertion of the doctrine that the Supreme Soul can be seen by one who worships him with devotion. The great Nārāyaṇa manifests himself to him and explains the religion of Vāsudeva and his three other forms (Vyūhas). He also mentions the future incarnations of Vāsudeva, and one of these is that assumed at Mathurā for the destruction of Kaṁsa. The Supreme Nārāyaṇa identifies himself with Vāsudeva in his four forms (Vyūhas). At the end it is stated that the religion is followed by the Sātvatas.

These two accounts seem to represent two stages in the progress of reform. In the earlier one the worship of Vāsudeva and

his three other forms is not known. The Supreme God is named Hari, and his worship has not thoroughly emancipated itself from the religion of sacrifices. The reform had no reference to specific historical personages and was promulgated by certain sages who are called Citraśikhaṇḍins and whose names had been handed down by tradition. The later account connects the reform with Vāsudeva and his brother, son and grandson, and the new religion is represented to have been identical with that taught in the Bhagavadgītā. This reformed system is said to have been promulgated by Nārāyaṇa himself.

It thus appears that the idea of a religion of devotion arose in earlier times, but it received a definite shape when Vāsudeva revealed the Gītā to Arjuna, and led to the formation of an independent sect, when his brother, son and grandson were associated with him as his forms presiding over certain psychological categories, or as persons created by him for the purpose. That sect became conterminous with the race of the Sātvatas. We have now to consider who these Sātvatas were.

IV. The Sātvatas and their Religion.

§ 6. In the Ādiparvan, Vāsudeva addressing the Vṛṣṇis says that Pārtha does not think them who are Sātvatas to be covetous. Vāsudeva is called Sātvata in Ādip. 218. 12 ; Kṛtavarman in Ādip. 211. 31 ; Sātyaki in Droṇap. 97. 36 ; and Janārdana in Udyogap. 70. 7. At the end of chap. 66 of the Bhīṣmaparvan, Bhīṣma says : "This eternal god, mysterious, beneficent and loving should be known as Vāsudeva, and Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras worship him by their devoted actions. At the end of the Dvāpara and the beginning of the Kali age, he was sung or expounded by Saṁkarṣaṇa according to the Sātvata rites (Vidhi).

At the end of chap. 12 of the third book of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa it is stated in the account of the genealogy of the Yādavas and the Vṛṣṇis that Satvata was the son of Aṁśa, and all his descendants were after him called Sātvatas. The Bhāgavata represents the Sātvatas as calling the highest Brahman Bhagavat and Vāsudeva (IX. 9. 49), and having a peculiar mode of worshipping him. It mentions the Sātvatas along with the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis, which were Yādava tribes (I. 14. 25 ; III. 1. 29), and calls Vāsudeva, Sātvatarṣabha (X. 58. 42 ; XI. 27. 5).

In Patañjali under Pāṇini IV. 1. 114, Vāsudeva and Bāladeva are given as derivatives from Vṛṣṇi names in the sense of sons of Vāsudeva and Baladeva. Instances given by the Kāśikā of the same are Vāsudeva and Āniruddha. Here Āniruddha means the son of Aniruddha, and therefore Vāsudeva must mean the son of Vāsudeva and not of Vasudeva, as will appear from what follows. In the latter work under Pāṇini VI. 2. 34, Sini-Vāsudevāḥ is given as a Dvandva of royal Vṛṣṇi names, each of them being in the plural, and Saṁkarṣaṇa-Vāsudevau as a Dvandva of royal Vṛṣṇi names, each being in the singular, so that Vāsudeva means both the individual of that name and his sons.

From all this and such other passages from Patañjali it will appear that Sātvata was another name of the Vṛṣṇi race of which Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, and Aniruddha were members, and that the Sātvatas had a religion of their own according to which Vāsudeva was worshipped as the Supreme Being, and thus the account given above from the Nārāyaṇīya is amply confirmed.

§ 7. It therefore appears that this religion of devotion to Vāsudeva ascends as high into antiquity as Pāṇini himself. As I have mentioned elsewhere, the Kṣatriyas engaged themselves in active speculations on religious matters about the time of the Upaniṣads,[1] and are mentioned even as the original possessors of the new knowledge. Siddhārtha and Mahāvīra founded in this period of intellectual fermentation new systems of religion in the east or the Magadha country, which discarded or passed over in silence the doctrine of the existence even of God and laid down self-abnegation and a course of strict moral conduct as the way to salvation. They belonged to the Śākya and Jñātṛka races of Kṣatriyas, and Buddhism and Jainism might be considered to be the religions of those tribes. The west, however, was not so radical in its speculations, and the race of Sātvatas developed a system of religion which took up the ideas of a Supreme God and devotion to him as the mode of salvation.

These Sātvatas and the worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa seem clearly to be alluded to by Megasthenes, who was the Macedonian

1 Verhandlungen des. VII. Internat. Orientalisten-Congresses zu Wien. Ar. Sect., pp. 108-9. [This article is included in Vol. I of this Edition.—N B.U.]

ambassador at the court of Candragupta, the Maurya. Candragupta reigned in the last quarter of the fourth century B. C. The statement of Megasthenes is that Herakles was specially worshipped by the Sourasenoi, an Indian nation, in whose land are two great cities, Methora and Kleisobora, and through it flows the navigable river Jobares. The Sourasenoi were the Śūrasenas, a tribe of Kṣatriyas, who lived in the region in which was situated Mathurā, corresponding to Methora in the above passage, and in which flowed the river Jobares, which has been intentified with the Jumna or Yamunā. If the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa worship prevailed in the time of the first Maurya, it must have originated long before the establishment of the Maurya dynasty, and my assertion that it owes its origin to the stream of thought, which began with the Upaniṣads and culminated in the east in Buddhism and Jainism, and arose about the time of the latter, is confirmed.

The name expressive of the Supreme Spirit was, however, in the early period Vāsudeva alone. In the passage from the Niddesa and the three Inscriptions Vāsudeva is the name that occurs.

In the Bhagavadgītā (VII. 19) it is stated that "He who possesses knowledge gives himself up to me, believing Vāsudeva to be all." Even in the Bhāgavata Mantra of twelve syllables which is usually repreated at the present day and which is mentioned by Hemādri, it is to Vāsudeva that obeisance is made.[1] In Bhīṣmap. chap. 65 Brahmadeva, addressing the Spreme spirit (Puruṣa Parameśvara), entreats him to become the increaser of the Yadu race, and then, referring apparently to a foregone age, he says: O Vāsudeva ! this great secret I have communicated to thee through thy favour as it really is. Having created thyself as the God Saṁkarṣaṇa, thou didst procreate thy son Pradyumna. He created Aniruddha who is Viṣṇu himself, and he created me (Brahmadeva), who am made up of Vāsudeva and created by thee. Dividing thyself in this way be born as a human being again." In the beginning of chapter 66 of the same Parvan, Prajāpati speaks of himself as having asked the supreme lord of all to dwell in the world of men as Vāsudeva (to become incarnate). The Supreme Spirit should, it is said,

1. Vratakāṇḍa Bibl. Ind.) p. 225. The Mantra is Oṁ namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya

be known as Vāsudeva, and throughout the chapter that name alone is used in speaking of the eternal God.

The substance of these two chapters seems to be that in a former age the Supre ne Spirit Vāsudeva created Saṁkarṣaṇa and the rest up to the Brahmā himself, and on the present occasion the latter asked him again to be born in the Yadu race as Vāsudeva, dividing himself into four parts as on the previous occasion. Thus Vāsudeva was the name of the teacher of the religion of devotion, and there appears to be an implication here that he existed with the other three in a previous age. Even as a member of the Vṛṣṇi race the name Vāsudeva occurs in the examples quoted above from the Mahābhāṣya and Kāśikā and no other.

In the passages quoted by me in my article[1] on 'Allusions to Kṛṣṇa etc.," the name Kṛṣṇa occurs three times, Vāsudeva in three passages and Janārdana in one. But in Kielhorn's Edition of the Mahābhāṣya, which is more accurate than the Benares edition which I then used, the reading Kṛṣṇa in two of the three places is supported by one Manuscript only; Vāsudeva occurs instead of Kṛṣṇa in one of the two places and the other is entirely omitted, so that Vāsudeva is used four times and Kṛṣṇa only once. In the Bhagavadgītā (X. 37) the Bhagavat says that of the Vṛṣṇis he is Vāsudeva.

In the Buddhist Ghatajātaka the two eldest sons of Upasāgara and Devagabbhā are named Vāsudeva and Baladeva. In the prose narrative no other name is given, but the names Kaṇha and Keśava occur in the verses that are interwoven with the prose. The commentator remarks on the first verse that he is there addressed by his Gotra name Kaṇha, for he belonged to the Kaṇhāyana Gotra, thus showing his belief that Vāsudeva was the true proper name of the person. This belief he expresses again in his commentary on a verse occurring in the Mahā-ummaggajātaka, in which Jambāvātī is mentioned as the beloved queen of Vāsudeva Kaṇha. Here also Vāsudeva is mentioned as belonging to the Kaṇhāyana Gotra, and from the verse itself, in which Vāsudevassa Kaṇhassa occurs, it would appear that Kaṇha

1. Ind. And., Vol. III, pp. 14 ff. [This article is included in Vol. I of this Edition.—N. B. U.]

was the family name, the sense being Vāsudeva, the Kaṇha, so that the author of the verse itself would seem to regard Vāsudeva as the proper name of the individual, and thus he and the prose narrative agree.

§ 8. Thus then Vāsudeva appears to be a proper name and not a patronymic, and when the Vāsudeva religion or the Bhāgavata school took its rise, that was the name by which the Supreme Deity was known. The conception of Vasudeva as his father must have arisen afterwards, as appears to me from the example Vāsudevaḥ given in the Mahābhāṣya in the sense of "son or descendant of Vāsudeva", and not "of Vasudeva", as must be inferred from the analogous instance of Bāladeva from Baladeva. Baladeva was associated with Vāsudeva and not with Vasudeva.

Kṛṣṇa, Janārdana, and Keśava do not appear to be Vṛṣṇi names and were given to Vāsudeva in subsequent times when his worship had widely spread. All these three occur in Patañjali also, but the two latter only once so far as I know. But of these the name Kṛṣṇa is more important than the other two and many others that are used. It appears to be as much a proper name as Vāsudeva, though the latter has a religious signification specially attached to it. How then did this name Kṛṣṇa come to be used? It was the name of one of the Vedic Ṛṣis, the composer of hymn 74 of the eighth Maṇḍala. He speaks of himself as Kṛṣṇa in verses 3 and 4 of the hymn. The author of Anukramaṇī calls him an Āṅgirasa or descendant of Aṅgirasa. In the KB. (XXX. 9) apparently the same Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa is alluded to and is represented to have 'seen' the evening libation in its connection with the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin priest. Kṛṣṇa occurs in a Gaṇa attached to Pāṇini, IV. 1. 96. In the Gaṇa connected with Pāṇini IV. 1. 99 Kṛṣṇa and Raṇa are represented to form the Gotra names Kārṣṇāyana and Rāṇāyana, these mere Brāhmaṇa Gotras falling under the group of Vāsiṣṭhas. The former is the Gotra alluded to by the commentator on the verses in the Jātakas noticed above. But he apparently does not confine it to the Brāhmaṇa class. Then the name Kṛṣṇa as the son of Devakī occurs in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (III. 17). He was the pupil of Ghora, who was an Āṅgirasa. If Kṛṣṇa was also an Āṅgirasa, which is not improbable, it must be inferred that there was a tradition about Kṛṣṇa

as a sage from the time of the Ṛgvedic hymns to the time of the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, and about a Gotra of the name of Kārṣṇāyana, which literally means collection of Kṛṣṇas, of which the original Kṛṣṇa was the founder. This tradition gave rise to the identification of the sage Kṛṣṇa with Vāsudeva, when he was raised to the rank of the supreme deity. Just as the name Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit, which occurs in the AB., was in subsequent times used as the name of the person to whom the Mahābhārata was narrated, and a genealogy was given to him from Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava, so it is possible that Vāsudeva was identified with the sage Kṛṣṇa and a genealogy given to him in the Vṛṣṇi race through Śūra and Vasudeva.

Perhaps the best explanation of the fact of Vāsudeva having been called Kṛṣṇa is that given by the commentator of the Gāthās or verses of the Jātakas, supported, as it appears to me, by the author of the Gāthās himself, that Kṛṣṇa was a Gotra name. The Gotra Kārṣṇāyana which corresponds to Kaṇhāyana is not only mentioned as a Brāhmaṇa Gotra belonging to the Vāsiṣṭha group in the Gaṇa alluded to above, but is stated to have belonged to the Pārāśara subdivision of that group in the Matsyapurāṇa, ch. 200[1]. Though this was a Brāhmaṇa and Pārāśara Gotra, it could be assumed for sacrificial purposes by a Kṣatriya, for according to Āśvalāyana (Śr. S. XII. 15) the Gotra and the ancestors invoked of the Kṣatriyas are those of their priests or chaplains, and the only Ṛṣi ancestors that all the Kṣatriyas have, are Mānava, Aila and Paurūravasa. The names of these do not distinguish one Kṣatriya family from another, and, to answer the purposes of such a distinction, the Gotra and ancestors of the priest are assumed. Vāsudeva therefore belonged to the Kārṣṇāyana Gotra, though it was a Brāhmaṇa and Pārāśara Gotra, and as belonging to this Gotra he could be called Kṛṣṇa by name. Having come to be known by that name, all the traditions about the learning and spiritual insight of the old Kṛṣṇa, and also of his being the son of Devakī were engrafted on him, and thus in the Sabhāparvan 38, Bhīṣma says that one of the two reasons for giving the highest honours to Kṛṣṇa was that he possessed the knowledge of the Vedas and dependent treatises (Vedāṅgas), and that he was also a sacrificial priest (Ṛtvij). The Hindu habit of

1 Quoted also in Puruṣottama's Pravaramañjarī, Mysore, edition.

thought of identifying one god with others by regarding the latter either as forms or incarnations of the former, and thus evolving monotheism out of polytheism, led to the identification of this Vāsudeva with other gods and with the boy Kṛṣṇa of Gokula. These we will notice later on.

§ 9. In the Nārāyaṇīya we have an explanation of the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra system. This system also we will notice in its ripened form later. In the meanwhile we will turn our attention to the statement that the Ekāntika-Dharma founded by Vāsudeva has been explained in the Harigītā and on the occasion when the armies of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas stood face to face and Arjuna lost heart. The allusion is of course to the Bhagavadgītā.

This passage is noticed in the Bhaktisūtra (83) and its commentary, in which it is stated that Ekāntabhāva (which is the subject of the Nārāyaṇīya), or devotion to one only, is Bhakti alone, since the former is recognised in that passage as identical with the main topic of the Bhagavadgītā. But the Bhagavadgītā contains no allusion to the Vyūhas or forms of the Supreme, Saṁkarṣaṇa and others, while the latter form a characteristic of the Bhāgavata school. The Gītā, however, mentions as the Prakṛtis of Vāsudeva the five elements, the mind, Buddhi or knowledge, and egoism as well as Jīva (VII. 4, 5). The last is identified with Saṁkarṣaṇa in the Bhāgavata system, egoism with Aniruddha, and mind, with which probably Buddhi is associated, with Pradyumna.

What appears to be the fact is this : The Bhagavadgītā was composed before the doctrines of the Bhāgavata school were reduced to a system, and it was then that the three of the Prakṛtis of the Supreme were personified into Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, who were members of the family of Vāsudeva. In the prevalent worship, however, Saṁkarṣaṇa alone is found associated with Vāsudeva in early times, as is seen from the Inscriptions, and the passage from the Niddesa noticed in the beginning.[1] Patañjali also notices, under Pāṇini II. 2. 34, a verse in which it is stated that certain musical instruments are sounded in a gathering in the temple of Dhanapati, Rāma and Keśava.

1 Ante, p. 3. [N. B. U.]

3 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

Here Rāma and Keśava are Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, and it is clear that there were festive gatherings at their temples in Panañjali's time. If the passage in Patañjali under Pāṇini VI. 3. 6, " Janārdana with himself as the fourth ", i. e. with three companions, may be taken to allude to the three Vyūhas, then it must be understood that the four Vyūhas, Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, were known in Patañjali's time. Still it is doubtful, and it may be taken for granted that the two Vyūhas, Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa only were known up to the time of the latest Inscription which is to be referred to about the beginning of the first century before the Christian era, so that the system of four Vyūhas was not fully developed up to that time.

If this reasoning is correct, it will be seen that the date of the Bhagavadgītā which contains no mention of the Vyūhas, or personified forms, is much earlier than those of the Inscriptions, the Niddesa and Patañjali, i. e., it was composed not later than the beginning of the fourth century before the Christian era. How much earlier it is difficult to say. At the time when the Gītā was conceived and composed, the identification of Vāsudeva with Nārāyaṇa had not taken place, nor had his being an incarnation of Viṣṇu come to be acknowledged, as appears from the work itself. When his Virāj or universe-form was shown to Arjuna, as represented in the eleventh chapter, he is twice addressed by the latter as Viṣṇu on account of his dazzling brilliance, which rendered everything hot, and filled the whole universe. Here Viṣṇu is allued to as the chief of the Ādityas and not as the supreme being, and Vāsudeva was Viṣṇu in this sense, as mentioned in chapter 10, because the best thing of a group or class is represented to be his Vibhūti or special manifestation.

§ 10. A characteristic of a new system of religion that comes into vogue is, that the followers are not satisfied with the idea, that the person known as the founder originated the system. They push back the origin by many ages. Siddhārthaka was preceded by many Buddhas, so was Mahāvīra by many Tīrthaṁkaras. So in the case of the Bhāgavata school we have seen that that system was taught by Nārāyaṇa at the beginning of each Brahman, and

in the existing Brahman it was first taught to Pitāmaha or Prajāpati and thence it passed to Dakṣa, Vivasvat, Manu and Ikṣvāku. This last order of its revelation is alluded to at the beginning of the fourth chapter of the Gītā, which confirms the tradition noticed in the Nārāyanīya about the identity of the religion of the Gītā with the Ekāntika religion revealed by Nārāyana. In this respect of pushing back the origin the Bhāgavata system resembles Buddhism and Jainism.

V. Substance of the Bhagavadgita.

§ 11. We will now pass under review the main contents of the Bhagavadgītā, as from all appearances it is the earliest exposition of the Bhakti system or the Ekāntika Dharma.

Chapter II. Arjuna is reluctant to fight because it involves the destruction of his near and revered relatives and of other men. Bhagavat endeavours to remove the reluctance by speaking of the eternity and indestructibility of the human soul. Here are two stanzas which occur, with a variation in one of the lines, in the Kaṭha Upaniṣad. Then to fight is spoken of as the duty of a Kṣatriya for whom there is no other good than a just fight. This mode of thinking is characterised as being Sāṁkhya, and the Yoga mode then follows.

The condition of mind in the Yoga-mode is a determined will. Those who according to the precepts of the Veda perform rites for fulfilment of various desires, cannot have a determined steadfast will. For attaining such a will one should think only of the deed to be done and not of the fruits to be derived from it. With a concentrated mind and without any attachment to other objects one should devote oneself to the deed alone. By such devotion to acts with a determined will, man finally attains inflexibility of will (becomes Sthitaprajña), and all his desires being uprooted, he attains complete serenity of soul or the Brāhmī condition. When he is in this condition at the time of death, he obtains quiescence in Brahman. This comes to the same doctrine as that stated in the Kaṭha and Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣads, that when all desires in the heart are uprooted, the mortal becomes immortal and attains to Brahman. The discipline, however, prescribed for

1. Yadā sarve pramucyante kāmā yesya hṛdi śritāḥ, KU. VI, 14, and also BU. IV. 4. 7.

the attainment of this end is not simply moral, but religious also, since it is stated that after having controlled the senses which render the mind restless, a man should devote himself to Bhagavat.

§ 12. Chapter III. There are two paths, that of devotion to knowledge for the Sāṁkhyas, and that of devotion to Karman or action for the Yogins. Every one is born for a life of activity, but the deeds done do not tie him down to the world, if he does them for worship (Yajña) and not for his private purposes. No Karman is necessary for one whose enjoyments consist in himself, who is satisfied with himself and contented in himself. But for other people action is necessary, and it must be done without any selfish desire. Janaka and others obtained perfection by devoting themselves to actions alone, i. e., by the pursuit of an active life. But the action should be dedicated to the Supreme, and one should not seek any fruit for himself. But such a frame of mind is not attainable by ordinary men, who are under the influence of their physical nature and sensual passions.

Then a question is asked what it is that prompts man to sin. The reply is that it is desire and anger which are all-powerful and envelop a man's spiritual existence. Desire acts through the senses, but intelligence is superior to the senses, and superior to this latter is the will (Buddhi) and the soul is superior to Buddhi. Knowing oneself to be higher than Buddhi, one should curb oneself by efforts and kill desire which acts through the series, viz., senses, intellect, will. Here the superiority of one faculty over another is an idea borrowed from the Kaṭha-Upaniṣad. In connection with the teaching that action should be done disinterestedly, Bhagavat makes the closest possible approach to the Sāṁkhya doctrine that the soul being deluded by egoism (Ahaṁkāra) regards himself as the agent of the actions done by the qualities of nature (Prakṛti), and that, misled by the qualities of nature, he forms an attachment to the qualities and actions.

§ 13. Chapter IV. The chapter begins with Bhagavat's mention of his communication of this system to Vivasvat in the first instance, as alluded to above.[1] Incidentally the question of his ex-

1 Ante, p. 1[v]. [N. B. U.]

istence at the time of Vivasvat comes up, and he then explains his being born again and again, and, assuming incarnations for the destruction of the wicked by means of his Prakṛti. They who know the incarnations and the celestial deeds of Bhagavat, are released from the body and are not born again. By means of knowledge, men, being purified and their passions destroyed, and being devoted to him and resorting to him and resting on him, attained to the condition of Bhagavat. Bhagavat resorts to men in the manner in which they resort to him; men everywhere follow his path.

The idea of action without attachment is further developed. The metaphorical Yajñas are mentioned, such as the sacrifice of the senses into the fire of restraint, of the objects of the senses into the senses, of the operation of the senses and of the vital breaths into the fire of Yoga, which is the control of the self. All these Yajñas cannot be accomplished without acts. Of these the Yajña of knowledge is the best; for by its means one sees all things in one-self and in God (Supreme spirit). This highest knowledge brings about freedom from all sin, and destroys the polluting effect of action. The realisation of the Yoga sets aside the significance of the actions. This highest knowledge puts an end to all doubt and one becomes a spirit—a spirit totally free. When acts are done in this condition, they do not defile a person.—Here the tendency to rationalise Yajñas or sacrifices, which set in in the Upaniṣad period, is seen in a developed form, since the restraint of the senses, the attainment of knowledge, and such other practices are characterised as Yajñas or sacrifices.

Another point that deserves notice is the statement that Bhagavat deals with men in the manner in which they deal with him, that is, the spirit with which God is approached by men is reciprocated by God. This is followed by the affirmation that men everywhere, whatever the differences of their views, follow the path of Bhagavat. Here lies, in germ, the principle that all religions have a basis of truth in them.

§ 14. Chapter V. Sāṁkhya and Yoga are brought into connection with Saṁnyāsa and Karmayoga. They are not independent of each other. Following either thoroughly, one obtains the fruit of both. The place which is obtained by Sāṁkhyas is obtained also

by Yogas. For Jñānayajña or sacrifice of knowledge enabling a man to see all things in himself and in God and this knowledge bringing about freedom from sin, the same condition is attained to which an active life or pursuit of actions (Karmayoga) brings about when the actions are done disinterestedly or without aiming at the fruit, with an eye directed towards Brahman only, the true essence of things. Though this is so, still Saṁnyāsa is difficult to be realised without Yoga. With Yoga one attains to it soon. A Yogin does not think that he does something when he sees, hears, eats, sleeps, etc. This is so when these acts are done without any attachment, the aim being the realisation of Brahman. The Yogins perform deeds by their body, mind, will, or simply by their senses, without any attachment fort he sake of spiritual purification. By means of Yoga, Jñāna is obtained, and in this condition man looks at all things alike. When a man looks at all things with the same regard, what he aims at is the Brahman and in it he rests. This leads to the consideration of the final peace in Brahman and the method of attaining it. This peace in Brahman resembles the condition of an Arhat in Buddhism, but the Bhagavadgītā does not end there and adds that in this condition of deliverance a person comes to know the Supreme Soul as one to whom all kinds of worship and austere practices are directed as the lord of all worlds and the friend of all beings; and it is this knowledge that leads to peace.

§ 15. Chapter VI. He who does not attach himself to the result of his actions and does what he ought to do, is Saṁnyāsin as well as Yogin. Karman or action is necessary to become a sage (Muni). When he has attained the dignity of a sage, the essence of it is peace. Then follows a description of the state of a man who has attained Yoga. Practice of Yoga, or contemplation, is then described. When a man goes through the Yoga practices, he attains serenity in Bhagavat, i. e., becomes absorbed in him in peace. All the functions of the mind are suspended in the condition of Yoga. Seeing himself by himself he rests in himself.

Then follows an explanation of the process of abstraction and concentration. A Yogin sees himself in all things and all things in himself, looks at all things in the same light. The Supreme Spirit is not lost to him who sees Him everywhere and sees everything in

Him, the Supreme Spirit. He who looks upon the Bhagavat as one, though he exists in all things, exists in him, though he moves about everywhere. He who regards all as himself (and looks upon them in the same light) in matters of happiness and misery is the best Yogin. Then Arjuna remarks on the difficulty of this Yoga. "The mind" he says, "is restless". But Bhagavat replies that it can be controlled by practice as well as by reflection on the vanity of things (Vairāgya). At the end Bhagavat teaches that he is the greatest Yogin, who, having faith in him, adores him with his whole soul centred in him.

The Yoga described in this chapter is found in some of the Upaniṣads, especially in the Śvetāśvatara. The affirmation "sees himself in himself and everywhere else" occurs in the Bṛhadāranyaka (IV. 4. 23). The author winds up the chapter with a verse which is in every sense theistic, as he does the fifth chapter, in order, it would appear, that the description of the mental discipline contained in the last chapter, and of Yoga in this, might not lead to non-theistic conclusions. Care is taken to bring the whole into connection with the Supreme Soul.

§ 16. Chapter VII. In the last six chapters has been explained the whole process of Karmayoga from beginning to act regardless of the fruit, to the attainment of the condition of Yogin, who acting solely with a view to the acquisition of the Brāhma condition, is free from passions, looks upon all things alike; and it is added at the end that he is the best of the Yogins, who adores Bhagavat with faith and with a devoted heart. This is added to show that the processes up to the attainment of the Yoga condition, are difficult to be practised by men with such passions as we possess, and the way to be free from them is to surrender oneself to God; and therefore in this chapter Bhagavat goes on to explain the nature of created beings and of his relation to them. He begins by saying that God's Prakṛti is eightfold: the five elements, mind, will (Buddhi), and egoism. Jīva is another Prakṛti, which supports the world. From these are produced all objects or beings. Bhagavat is the source and the last resting place of the world. There is nothing further than him. All these things are strung together in him as gems in a string. That which is the characteristic excellence of a thing is Bhagavat himself. All

the three qualities and the conditions resulting from them proceed from him. Bhagavat is not in them and they are not in him. Bhagavat is beyond all these three conditions. The world, deluded by the conditions resulting from the three qualities, does not know Bhagavat, the Supreme Spirit, who is beyond them all. This Māyā of Bhagavat consisting of these qualities is very difficult to be got over, and this Māyā they get rid of, who take refuge in him. Wicked men do not resort to Bhagavat, their understanding being clouded by Māyā and resorting to Āsura or demonical condition.

The devotees of Bhagavat are of four kinds. Of these the Jñānin, or the enlightened, is the best. The Jñānin sticks to Bhagavat as his best refuge. The enlightened man surrenders himself to him, regarding Vāsudeva as everything. Other people are attached to other deities and undertake different vows. Their faith in their deities is generated by Bhagavat and strengthened by him. They worship those deities with that faith and attain fruit. That fruit is yielded by Bhagavat himself. But it is perishable. Not knowing Bhagavat's true nature, which is unchangeable and excellent, ignorant people regard him as something indiscrete at first and afterwards made discrete. He is not intelligible to all beings, being enveloped in Yogamāyā (mystic power). He knows the past, the present and the future, and nobody knows him. By likes and dislikes all beings are deluded, and those only, who are released from the infatuation of likes and dislikes, with their sins being destroyed by the practice of virtue, adore the Supreme. Those who know Bhagavat to be Adhiyajña (presiding over worship) and Adhibhūta (presiding over beings), come to know him when they depart this life.

For the idea of all existing things being strung together in the Supreme, we may compare MU. II. 2. 5, and BU. III. 8. 3—4; 6—7. Ordinary people are represented as resorting to other deities, led by several desires. The Bhagavat confirms their faith in their deities, and the fruits that they get from them are perishable. Here appears the same idea as that noticed in chap. IV and to be noticed in chap. IX, viz., that the worshippers of other gods are really Bhagavat's worshippers, and that there is a principle of unity in all religions.

§ 17. Chapter VIII. Arjuna begins by putting questions about the three subjects mentioned in the last verse of the last chapter, and about Brahman and Adhyātma. Bhagavat then explains these. About perceiving him at the time of death he says : "He who leaves his body while remembering me at the time of death, attains to the same condition as mine." Finally he states that he who departs this life, while meditating on the all-knowing, eternal ruler, who is smaller than the smallest thing, who is the protector of all, whose form is unthinkable, whose brilliance is like that of the sun, and who is beyond all darkness—with devotion, his whole soul gathered between the brows with the power of concentration, reaches that Supreme Being, who is higher than the highest. He then mentions the attainment of the Unchangeable, with the mind concentrated, and the reaching of the final goal after leaving the body by means of a Yoga process and by the utterance of the syllable 'Om' and the remembrance of Bhagavat all the while. Bhagavat is easily attainable by one who meditates on him with a singleness of mind and is devoted to him. Every being is subject to transmigration, but is free from it when he reaches Bhagavat.

During the night of Brahman all these things are resolved into the indiscrete (Avyakta), and, when the day dawns, they spring out again from it. There is another substance, different from the Avyakta and itself indiscrete (Avyakta), which is not destroyed when all others are destroyed. This substance which is indiscrete, is unchangeable and that is the highest resting place, which being attained to, there is no return. That is Bhagavat's highest abode. That supreme soul, in whom all these beings are and who has spread out all this, is to be attained by single-minded devotion. Then he proceeds to mention the two paths. Those who die while the sun is in his northern course (Uttarāyaṇa) go to Brahman, and those who die while he is in his southern course (Dakṣiṇāyana) go to the orb of the moon, from which the soul returns.

It is worthy of observation that after mentioning that the man who meditates on the Supreme at the time of death reaches him, he mentions the attainment of the Akṣara, which is the highest

goal, by resorting to a Yoga process. This seems to be like looking back on the Yoga practices for the attainment of the Akṣara (Brahman) mentioned in the Upaniṣads, such as the Muṇḍaka (II. 2. 3), and the Śvetāśvatara (I. 14). In the first passage, the syllable 'Om' is compared to a bow, the soul to the arrow, and Brahman to the target which is to be hit. In the second a person is instructed to use his own body as the nether wooden piece and the Praṇava as the upper one, and, practising meditations, which is like rubbing of the wooden pieces against each other, to discover the God hidden like Agni in the pieces of wood. Here the Akṣara Brahman of the Muṇḍaka is transformed into Deva (God) in the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad, and the Bhagavadgītā also prescribes the meditating on Bhagavat while the syllable 'Om' is being uttered. Here, therefore, we see the effort to invest the unchangeable and indiscrete Brahman with a strong distinct personality. Later on in the chapter, another Avyakta is mentioned, besides that into which all things are resolved at the dissolution of the universe. This Avyakta is eternal and indestructible and is called Akṣara and the highest goal. Here, however, this Akṣara is at once rendered theistic by being spoken of as the highest abode or condition of Bhagavat.

§ 18. Chapter IX. In this chapter Bhagavat proceeds to explain the direct and indirect knowledge which constitute the royal lore and the royal secret. It is to be directly perceived. It is holy and easy to be practised. The Bhagavat spread out all this universe. All things are in him and he is not in them, and still the objects are not in him. Wonderful is his lordly power. He is the sustainer of all beings and is not in them. His self brings all things into existence. As the air which exists in the sky is everywhere, so all beings are in him. At the dissolution of the world all beings are dissolved into his Prakṛti, and at the beginning of a new Kalpa they are discharged forth again. All these acts do not contaminate him, as he does them without any desire. With himself as the director, the Prakṛti brings forth the moveable and immoveable things. Foolish men disregard him who has assumed a human form, not knowing his true nature, viz., that he is the lord and the great ruler of all; but great souls, assuming a godly nature, knowing him to be the origin of all beings, adore him

with single-mindedness. Some people worship him by Jñānayajña i. e., a rationalised sacrifice, taking him as one or several, or as having his face in all directions.

He is a subsidiary as well as the main sacrifice. He is Svadhā, herbs, Mantra, ghee. He is Agni and he is also oblation. He is father, mother, nourisher and grandfather of the world. He is Ṛc, Sāman, etc. He is the way, sustainer, lord, witness, shelter and friends etc. The knowers of the three Vedas, the drinkers of Soma, worshipping him by means of sacrifice, desire habitation in heaven, where they enjoy many pleasures. After their merit has been exhausted, they come back to the mortal world again. Those who thus follow the ritual of the three Vedas come and go. He looks after the welfare of those who think of him and meditate on him with single-mindedness and adore him. Those who worship other deities must be considered as worshipping him, but they do so not according to prescribed rules. He is the receiver and lord of all kinds of Yajñas or worship, but those people do not know him as he really is, and therefore they fail. Those who worship other deities attain to them, and his worshippers attain to him. All the oblations thrown into the fire, all that is eaten and given and the austerities practised should be dedicated to him. In this way these actions do not serve as a bondage, and one becomes a real Saṁnyāsin and goes to him. He who adores Bhagavat with single-mindedness, becomes holy, even if he be wicked. He becomes immediately holy and obtains peace. Even women, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, when they resort to him, attain to the highest place. The seeker of the good should direct his mind towards him, should be his devotee, should worship him, should bow to him, and acting in this way, and being thus fully devoted to him, he will reach him.

Here the performance of sacrificial rites is, in the manner which has become usual, mentioned as efficacious for the acquisition of a place in heaven. From this place persons return when their merit is exhausted, but there is no return when a man devotes himself to Bhagavat with all his heart. God is further personalised and brought home to man by being declared as his father, mother, nourisher, grandfather, friend, refuge, etc. The attitude to other gods is of toleration. The worship offered to

them is really offered to Bhagavat, but the worshippers do not know Bhagavat as he truly is, and therefore go wrong.

§ 19. Chapter X. The gods and Ṛṣis do not know the origin of Bhagavat. He was before them all. He who knows Bhagavat to be the unborn and unbeginning lord of all worlds, is free from all sins. All the mental conditions, knowledge, absence of ignorance, forgiveness, truth, self-control, serenity, pain and pleasure, etc., are from him. The seven ancient Maharṣis and four Manus sprang from him, whose descendants are all these men. Good men adore Bhagavat with pure faith, knowing him to be the origin of all and that everything is set in motion by him. They, with their minds directed towards him, with their souls centred in him, enlighten each other, speak about him, and thus they are satisfied and are happy. Out of sympathy for them he dispels the darkness of ignorance by the light of knowledge, being himself in his true condition. When they adore him thus constantly full of love, he grants them that condition of mind by means of which they reach him.

Then questioned by Arjuna as to the Vibhūtis or excellent forms of each species or group, which pervade the world, Bhagavat proceeds to mention them. He is the soul that dwells in the heart of men and is the origin, the middle and the end of all beings. He is Viṣṇu of the Ādityas, the sun of all shining things, Kapila of the Siddhas, Prahlāda of all Daityas, Rāma of wielders of weapons, philosopoy (Adhyātma) of all lores, Dvandva of compounds, Kīrti (fame) of all females, Vāsudeva of Vṛṣṇis and Dhanaṁjaya of Pāṇḍavas. That object which has excellence and splendour should be known as arising from his lustre.

There is to be observed here one special characteristic of the Bhakti school, and that is that all the devotees meet together, enlighten each other as to the nature of God, and contribute by discourses on him to each other's elevation and gratification. This is almost a characteristic mark of Bhaktas as distinguished from the Yogins, who have to go through their exercises singly and in solitude.

§ 20. Chapter XI. The Virāj form of God, i. e., all being looked at simultaneously as constituting one whole, as also his destructive

form, in which all enter into his mouth and are absorbed, is described in this chapter. Arjuna praises him that he does not see the end, the beginning, the middle of him, that he is the guardian of eternal righteousness and entreats him to give up this frightful form and assume the more usual and the more agreeable human form. In verse 30, Arjuna addresses him as Visnu saying that his dazzling brilliance makes everything hot and his lustre has filled the whole universe.

The idea of looking at the universe as a form of god is as old as the Puruṣasūkta (ṚV. X. 90). God's having eyes everywhere, face everywhere, arms everywhere and the feet everywhere is expressed in ṚV. X. 81. 3. This verse is repeated in Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad III. 3.

§ 21. Chapter XII. This chapter starts with a question as to the difference between the contemplation on the original indiscrete cause which is unchangeable (Akṣara), and the worship of him (Vāsudeva), and the reply is, they are the best devotees, who, fixing their minds upon him, meditate on him with a concentrated attention and faith. Those who, with their senses restrained, meditate on the Indiscrete, Unchangeable, Undefinable, as existing everywhere and unthinkable, also reach him, but the trouble to them is greater. Bhagavat delivers from the ocean of death those, who, dedicating all their actions to him and meditating on him, worship him; and he teaches Arjuna to fix his mind on him and concentrate his will on him, and, if he cannot fix his mind firmly upon him, then to endeavour to obtain him by continued remembrance of him. If this last is not feasible, he should perform deeds for his sake, and doing this he would obtain success. If, however, he is not able to do this, with his mind fixed on him, he should abandon desire for the fruit of all his actions. Then follows an enumeration of the virtues of those who are devotees of God and are specially dear to him, such as not hating any being, being the friend of all, being humble, being indifferent to praise or censure, etc.

In this chapter the meditation on the Akṣara or unchangeable indiscrete cause is again mentioned as opposed to the worship of Bhagavat as a personal God. In similar passages in the previous chapters, the personalisation is effected at once by inserting a

clause applicable only to a personal God. But here the meditation on Avyakta is spoken of as successful, but is condemned as being very difficult to be practised, and the theistic aim of the work is kept in view.

§ 22. Chapter XIII. This body is the Kṣetra, and he who knows this body as his own, is Kṣetrajña. The Bhagavat is also Kṣetrajña in all the Kṣetras. This subject about the Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña has been variously treated by the Ṛṣis in verses of various metres, and determined by the words of the Brahmasūtra unfolding reasons. Kṣetra consists of the twenty-four elements mentioned in the Sāṁkhya system and desire, hatred, pleasure and pain, and body, life and courage, which are Ātmaguṇas according to the Vaiśeṣikas. Bhagavat then proceeds to enumerate the virtues, such as humility, sincerity, etc., which consistute, it is said, Jñāna or knowledge, but which are to be taken as means to knowledge. Then are alluded to knowledge, or true philosophy, and its reverse. He then mentions the Jñeya, or thing to be known, and it is Parabrahman, which has no beginning nor end, which is neither existent nor non-existent, and which has hands and feet everywhere, and which has eyes, head and face everywhere, which has ears everywhere, and which pervades all. And thus the description of godhead proceeds in the words of the Upaniṣads.

Prakṛti and Puruṣa are unbeginning. All changes and qualities are produced from Prakṛti. Prakṛti is the cause in bringing about effect, and Puruṣa is the cause in the enjoyment and sufferance of happiness and misery. The Puruṣa, being connected with Prakṛti, enjoys or endures the properties or effects of the Prakṛti; and the cause is his being connected with the Guṇas or qualities. Besides all these various principles, there is in this body Puruṣa, the Supreme Soul, who is the witness of everything, who is the sustainer, enjoyer and the great lord. By meditation some see the self by self, others see it by Sāṁkhyayoga and Karmayoga. Any moving or unmoving thing that comes into existence is produced by the union of Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña. He, who sees the Supreme Lord equally in all things, who is not destroyed when other things are destroyed, sees truly. Seeing God equally in all things, a man does no injury to himself, and attains to the highest goal. He truly sees, who sees all acts as done by Prakṛti

and Puruṣa as not the actor. When he regards all seperate beings as existing in one place, and sees development proceeding thence, he becomes Brahman. The Supreme Spirit, though dwelling in the body, does not do anything and is not contaminated, because he is unbeginning and is devoid of qualities and unchangeable. The spirit is not contaminated, just as space or ether existing everywhere is not. Just as the sun illuminates the whole world, so does the Kṣetrajña illuminate the Kṣetra.

The Karmayoga, leading up to the condition of a Yogin, who looks at all things with the same regard and makes no distinction between them and himself, has been described in the first six chapters. In the next six the Bhaktiyoga, or loving adoration of God, is the subject treated of; and the final effect of it is the formation of the fully righteous character which distinguishes a Bhakta who is dear to Bhagavat. With chapter XIII begins the consideration of subsidiary subjects. In this Bhagavat speaks of the Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña, or the soul and its dwelling place, and of another soul, that is, himself also dwelling in the Kṣetra. In connection with this subject he refers to the poetic works of the previous Ṛṣis and to the words of the Brahmasūtra.

What these works are it is difficult to say; but what follows is, first, the mention of the twenty-four principles generally associated with the Sāṁkhya system, as well as seven others, all of which constitute the Kṣetra; secondly, the enumeration of the virtues that qualify one to the attainment of knowledge; thirdly, the statement about knowledge (Jñāna), or that which is true philosophy, and also Ajñāna, which is the reverse; and fourthly, the description of the Jñeya or the thing to be known, which is Parabrahman or the Supreme Soul. This last contains the attributes given in the Upaniṣads, and a verse and a half are verbally quoted from the ŚU. There are also other statements in the concluding verses which resemble KU. V. 11, and ŚU. V. 4. Then there is a statement about the nature of the Prakṛti and Puruṣa quite in keeping with the Sāṁkhya system; but the existence of the highest spirit in the body along with the animal soul is mentioned. Thus is the atheism of the Sāṁkhya system studiously avoided, whenever there is a reference to its doctrines. Then

follow reflections on God and the seeing of the Supreme Soul everywhere.

The works, therefore, upon which this chapter is based are some of the Upaniṣads and some treatises setting forth the constitution of the world and the principles of morality. These treatises may have been the discourses first independent and afterwards included in the Śāntiparvan and other parts of the Mahābhārata, or they may have been others of which we have no trace; but there is no mention here of the Sāṁkhya system by name nor a special reference to it as elaborated in later times by Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The idea of the twenty-four principles is ancient and seems to have been appropriated afterwards by the founders of the philosophic systems, as it suited their purpose. But no chronological conclusions can be deduced from the mention of those twenty-four principles. The doctrine that all action proceeds from the Prakṛti, and the soul is inactive and simply enjoys or suffers, which is a true Sāṁkhya doctrine, but is calculated to absolve a man from moral responsibility, is also mentioned; but it appears to come incidentally along with the twenty-four principles.

§ 23. Chapter XIV. The great Brahman is the womb (Yoni) for Bhagavat into which he throws seed. Of all the wombs that produce bodily forms, Brahman is the greatest. Bhagavat then proceeds to detail the nature of the three Guṇas, their products and their results in the future world. These Guṇas prove as bondage, and when they are got over, then the man is free from the bondage and becomes immortal. The distinguishing characteristic of one who is free from these three Guṇas is a quiet undisturbed serene mood, in which happiness and misery are alike, and gold, clod of earth and stone are alike, in which agreeable and disagreeable things are alike, and praise and censure are also alike, etc. He who invariably resorts to Bhagavat by Bhaktiyoga becomes free from these three Guṇas and attains to the condition of Brahman. Bhagavat is the support of the immortal and unchanging Brahman and of eternal righteousness (duty) and of unending happiness.

Here then is a distinct affirmation of the soul's attainment of freedom from passions by means of continuous devotion to Bhaga-

vat or God. The word Brahmayoni occurs in MU. III. 1. 3, and is to be interpreted, in the light of the opening statement in the above, as one whose Yoni is Brahman.

§ 24 Chapter XV. Bhagavat proceeds to the comparison of Saṁsāra, or the whole extent of things, to the Pippal-tree. This tree is to be cut by the weapon of indifference or non-attachment; and then should be sought that place from which there is no return. One should surrender himself to the original Puruṣa. Those reach that unchanging position or place, who are free from pride, ignorance, desires, and the pair of happiness and misery. That is the highest abode of Bhagavat, which is not illuminated by the sun, the moon or the fire. When a soul departs from a body, it takes away the Indriyas, of which Manas is the sixth, and brings them in when it assumes another body. The soul itself is a part of Bhagavat and is eternal. This soul, placing itself in these six Indriyas, resorts to all objects of sense. The brilliance existing in the sun, which illumines the whole world, and which exists in the moon as well as in fire, is to be known as that of Bhagavat. By becoming Soma, Bhagavat raises all herbs. By becoming fire he contributes to digestion. He dwells in the heart of all. From him proceeds consciousness of one's condition, knowledge, and the rejection of what is not true. Bhagavat alone is to be known by means of all the Vedas and as the author of Vedāntas and the knower of the Veda. There are two souls in the world, one that changes, and the other that is unchangeable. Besides these there is another who is the highest and is called Paramātman, and who as the unchangeable lord supports all the three worlds after entering into them. Bhagavat is known to be that Highest Soul in the ordinary world and also in the Vedas.

There is one new point brought out in this chapter. And that is that the animal soul goes out of the body along with the six senses and enters new ones in that condition. The comparison of the composite universe to the Pippal-tree occurs in KU. (VI. 1), MaiU. (VI. 4), and the non-illumination of the highest abode of Bhagavat is mentioned in a verse in KU. (V. 15), MU. (II. 2. 10), and ŚU. (VI. 14). The doctrine of the existence of the third highest Puruṣa should also be noted as a characteristic of this theistic work. The triad, Kṣara, Akṣara or Ātman (individual

soul), and the ruling one God, is mentioned in ŚU. (I. 10), which work is a precursor of the Bhagavadgītā.

§ 25. Chapter XVI. Bhagavat now proceeds to enumerate the virtues which constitute the divine endowments (Daivī Saṁpad), and the vices that constitute demoniacal possessions. From divine endowments results final deliverance, and from the demoniacal possessions, follows destruction. There are two classes of created beings : one is divine and the other demoniacal. In persons of the latter class there is no purity nor correct conduct nor truth. They regard the world as unreal, without substratum or support, without God, disconnected and what more, springing from lust. Holding this view these wicked and dull persons with their ferocious deeds bring about the destruction of the world. Full of insatiable lust and possessed of vanity, pride, and arrogance, they act in an unholy manner, sticking to their own false conceits. They accumulate wealth by foul means for enjoyment and boasting of their possessions, their power, their parentage, they treat others with contempt and eventually go to the infernal regions. If they worship at all, they simply utter the name and assume a false garb. They are full of egotism and hate Bhagavat, as abiding in their own bodies and those of others. These wicked men he consigns to the race of the demons. Desire, anger and covetousness are the three doors to hell. These three, therefore, should be abandoned. He who avoids these three doors reaches the highest goal. He who abandons sacred precepts and acts according to his own will, does not obtain success, happiness or the highest goal. The sacred precepts must, therefore, be followed whenever a man has to do anything or avoid anything.

Here two classes of men, good and bad, are mentioned. Among the latter are included not only worldly men who do not care for God or morality, but the followers of philosophical or religious systems, different from that of Bhagavat seem also to be included. They set aside the sacred Śāstra or precepts, denied God, as Buddhists and Jainas did, and regarded the world as unsubstantial or unreal, as the former did.

§ 26. Chapter XVII. Arjuna asks : " What is the frame of mind of those who set aside the sacred precepts and still worship

with faith? Is it characterised by the quality of goodness, activity or ignorance?" Bhagavat answers: "Faith is of three kinds, characterised by goodness, activity, and darkness or ignorance. The faith of a man depends upon the quality of his heart. A man is what faith makes of him. As is his faith, so is the man". The good worship gods, the active, Yakṣas and Rakṣases or evil spirits, and the ignorant, ghosts and spectres. Men of demoniacal frame of mind perform terrible austerities full of ostentation and egotism, and cause attenuation of the elements composing the body and of the Bhagavat who dwells in it. He then mentions three kinds of food, modes of worship, austerities and gifts, in keeping with the three qualities. For instance, in the case of worship or sacrifice, that is in keeping with the quality of goodness, which is performed without any regard for the fruit and in accordance with the sacred ritual. That springs from the quality of activity, which is done for the attainment of fruit and out of ostentation; and that which is done without regard for the sacred precepts and without Dakṣiṇā or rewards to the priest and without any faith, proceeds from the quality of ignorance. As to charitable gifts, those spring from the quality of goodness, which are made because it is a duty to give to one from whom no return is expected; while that which is made with an interested motive and with a desire for return, springs from the quality of activity. And in this manner all the four subjects are treated. At the end the doing of good acts by the repetition of the syllables "Om, tat, sat" is mentioned.

In this chapter the truth that man's religious faith and the character of the God that he worships, depend upon his own character whether good or bad, is clearly recognised. Not only the nature of the God worshipped, but also the diet, the mode of worship, charity or gifts, and the practice of austerity differ according as a man's nature is influenced by one or other of the three qualities, goodness, activity, and ignorance.

§ 27. Chapter XVIII. This chapter begins with a question by Arjuna as to the principles of renunciation and abandonment. Bhagavat replies that renunciation is the giving up of works springing from desires, and abandonment is the abandonment of fruits of actions. Some say that all Karman should be abandond; others say that worship, charity and austerity should not be given

up. The decision is that these last should not be abandoned, as they bring about purity of the soul. The actions should be done without being attached to them or desiring for the fruits. That duty that must be done, should not be abandoned. Giving up that duty is an ignorant deed. When action is avoided because it is wearisome, its abandonment springs from the quality of passion. When the essential action is done because it should be done without any desire for fruit or attachment, that abandonment springs from goodness. It is not possible for a living being to abandon all actions. He who abandons only the fruit, is really one who has abandoned actions. According to the Sāṁkhya doctrine, there are five different causes: the resting place, agent, instrument, varied movements and fate. In this manner it goes on. Some acts or states of mind are represented to vary according to the three qualities, such as knowledge, the deed done and the doer, Buddhi or will, firmness and happiness, and the duties of the different castes.

The man who worships Him, from whom all beings have sprung and who has spread out all this, by doing the duties assigned to him, for which the three qualities have fitted him, attains final success. He then proceeds to mention all those virtues and other states of mind, such as self-control, freedom and passions, which conduce to the realisation of the Brahma-condition. When this condition is realised, a man is free from sorrow and desire, and, being equally disposed towards all beings, he develops in himself the highest love for Bhagavat, and knowing Bhagavat fully and truly, enters into the Bhagavat. One should do all acts, intent only upon God, and then one obtains the eternal place by the favour of God. A man should fix his mind upon Bhagavat alone, dedicating all his actions to him, and then he gets over all evils by the grace of Bhagavat.

Then Bhagavat winds up the whole by teaching Arjuna to surrender himself with all his heart to God (the Ruler), who abides in the hearts of all things and moves them, as if forming parts of a wheel; and then he says, by his favour Arjuna would obtain perfect peace and an eternal resting-place. He is further instructed to dedicate his whole mind to Bhagavat, to become

his devotee, to worship him, to bow to him, and in this way he (Arjuna) would reach him. This is styled the deepest secret. Then Arjuna is told to set aside all other methods of salvation and surrender himself to Bhagavat alone, and Bhagavat would then free him from all his sins. And thus the chapter ends.

This is the Ekāntika Dharma or monotheistic religion, which, as the Nārāyaṇīya tells us, was communicated to Arjuna. The method of salvation here revealed is to lead a life of action, but the fruit of the action one should not be intent on. The action should be done disinterestedly, that is, a man should be selfless in doing it. The action should be dedicated to Brahman, that is, it should be done because the Universal Order requires it to be done. This is tantamount to saying that one should do one's duty because it is a duty. When a more personal interpretation is given to it, the doctrine comes to this, that one should act with the sole object of carrying out God's will. The frame of mind that is generated by consistently acting in this manner, is freedom from passion, a sense of the omnipresence of God and an equal regard for all things. This leads to the realisation of the highest love of God, and, knowing Bhagavat thoroughly, by this means a man is absorbed in him.

But to do one's duty consistently and selflessly is a matter difficult, since all beings are subject to the influence of the three qualities or, in our modern phraseology, of passions and appetencies. These can be got over by surrendering oneself to God.

VI. The Sources of the Religion of the Bhagavadgītā.

§ 28. This constant insistence on action being done without any regard for the fruit, that is, distinterestedly or selflessly, forms a peculiarity of the Bhagavadgītā. But the idea is not new. In the Īśopaniṣad it is stated in the second verse, that a man should desire to live a hundred years doing actions resolutely, and in that way and no other, will action not contaminate him. And the non-contamination as the result of an elevated state of mind is spoken of in ChU. IV. 14. 3; BU. 4. 23; and MaiU. VI. 20.

The attributes of the Supreme Being the Gītā draws from the Upaniṣads, as has been already shown in the remarks on the differ-

ent chapters. While the personality of God is fully acknowledged in certain parts of the Upaniṣads, mere Brahman, the personality of which is not so distinct, is also spoken of in some places. When the Bhagavadgītā takes in these passages, it takes care to distinctly personalise the Akṣara or Brahman, as we have shown. The source from which the Gītā derives its doctrines about the conquest of the self and the attainment of a condition of a peace and serenity, is the general atmosphere of religious and moral sentiment, that came to prevail from the beginning of the earliest Upaniṣad speculations to the formation of definite religious systems, orthodox and heterodox. Consequently, though the Gītā speaks of the Brahma-Nirvāṇa, it ought not to be supposed that it borrows this doctrine of final peace and serenity from Buddhism. The source resorted to by these systems was common to all.

Besides the Upaniṣads and the religious and moral atmosphere prevalent at that time, the Gītā avails itself of the philosophy that had come into existence in early times. This is the philosophy of the Sāṁkhya and the Yoga. Though the twenty-four principles of the former system, together with the Puruṣa or soul as the twenty-fifth, as known in later times, and the doctrine of the activity of the Prakṛti only and the non-activity of Puruṣa, are alluded to in the Bhagavadgītā, still it adds another soul called the Uttama Puruṣa or the Supreme Soul, which is not found in the later Sāṁkhya, thus giving a theistic character to the philosophy. In their account of the creation, the Purāṇas follow this philosophy, and the later Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva systems adopt it in a more or less qualified manner.

But the word Sāṁkhya does not seem to be used in the Bhagavadgītā to indicate the later non-theistic system. In the second chapter and in the fifth, Sāṁkhya indicates a philosophy based upon knowledge, and Yoga, one based on action. Again the five causes, that are alluded in the last chapter as mentioned in the Sāṁkhya system, do not appear to be known to the later Sāṁkhya. The speculative philosophy, therefore, that existed about the time of the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad and the Bhagavadgītā, was known by the name of Sāṁkhya, and out of it grew the non-theistic system of later times. The Yoga,

the philosophy of action, too did prevail, but it culminated, as indicated before, into a concentration of mind, the ordinary operation being suspended, on the Brahman, Akṣara, or the Supreme Soul.

§ 29. Thus the Bhagavadgītā is the result of development of the religious and philosophic speculation that prevailed before the rise of Buddhism. But the origin of the idea of Bhakti, or love of God, which is the characteristic of the work, has formed the subject of a great deal of speculation in modern times, and to this point we will now turn. In the Upaniṣads, Upāsanā, or fervent meditation of a number of things–such as Manas (mind), the sun, the Puruṣa in the sun or the moon, food, vital breath, etc., regarded as Brahman, i.e., thinking of them as Brahman–is prescribed. Such a fervent meditation cannot but magnify the thing and give it a glorious form so as to excite admiration and even love. Again what is called the Internal Ātman (soul) is said in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka to be dearer than a son, wealth and everything else (I. 4. 8.). Here the word Ātman may possibly be taken to mean one's own soul. In the same Upaniṣad there is another passage which runs thus: "This is that Great Unborn, who is of the form of thought among vital airs, who dwells in the cavity of the heart, who is controller of all, ruler of all, the lord of all. By doing good or evil deeds he does not become better or worse. He is the ruler of all beings, he is the causeway or dike that separates things from one another and prevents them being confused together (he is the preserver of order). The Brāhmaṇas desire to know him by the words of the Vedas, by worship, charity and austerity. Knowing him, one becomes a sage. The recluses desiring him as the place to live in, renounce the world. On this account the wise men of old did not desire progeny, saying to themselves: 'What shall we do with progeny, when we have got this Being, this world to live in?'; and thus they gave up desire for sons, wealth and the world and lived the life of mendicants" (IV. 4. 22).

Now, if those wise men of old gave up all the pleasures of the world to contemplate and dwell with the Supreme Being, so eloquently described, must it not be considered that they were actuated by love for Him, though the word Bhakti does not occur

here? And at the bottom of all those rapturous sayings about the peace attained by seeing the Supreme Soul in the world and the heart of man, there must be a feeling akin to love. And during the period when the Ṛgveda poetry was composed, love for God or gods was often an abiding sentiment in the heart of the poet, as is evident from the words: "Dyaus is my father" (ṚV. I. 104. 33), "Aditi (the boundless) is father, mother, and son" (ṚV. I. 89. 10); and from such prayers as "O father Dyaus, avert all evils", "Be accessible to us and gracious as a father to the son", etc. Though the later sacrificial ritual destroyed the spirit of these verses and converted them into simple verbal formulae, still, the feeling that was in the heart at the time when they were composed, must have continued, though it found no expression for a time and exhibited itself again mixed with wonder and admiration in the times of the Upaniṣads. It certainly was not absent during this last period. The text about the two birds, the friends and companions of each other, by which are meant the Supreme and Individual souls exists in the Ṛksaṁhitā (I. 164. 20) and is repeated in the Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad (VII. 1. 1).

In the last (MU. III. 2. 3), and in the KU. (II. 23), there is a verse to the effect that this Supreme Soul is not to be attained by lectures (from a teacher), nor by intelligence, nor by much learning; he is to be attained by him whom the Supreme Soul favours; to him he discloses his form. Again we have the doctrine that the supremely wise Being, the life of all, leads a man to do good deeds, whom he desires to elevate (KBU. III. 8); and another, that God dwelling in the heart of all beings, controls them—which latter forms the subject of a celebrated passage in the BU. III. 7. From this it is clear that the doctrine that the individual soul is dependent on the Supreme and that the latter alone works out his salvation, was acknowledged in Upaniṣad times.

§ 30. In this manner all the points that constitute the Ekāntika religion of the Bhagavadgītā are to be found in the older religious literature. The word Bhakti, however, in the sense of love is not to be found except in a verse in ŚU. But that word is not always used in the sense of love even by Rāmānuja. In his system Bhakti means constant meditation and corresponds to the Upāsanā of

of the Upaniṣads. The word etymologically signifies resorting to and then loving the thing resorted to. It is used in this sense by Pāṇini in Sūtra IV. 3. 95; but the word, as explained by the commentators, has a passive sense and means a thing resorted to, liked or loved; and general and special terminations are prescribed, which, when affixed to a noun, indicate one by whom the thing expressed by the noun is liked or loved. In this sense the word Bhakti is used by Yāska also, when he speaks of certain things as Agnibhaktīni, Indrabhaktīni, i. e., things which resort to, or relate themselves to, Agni, etc. Thus the idea of love was associated with the word in early times, though it then signified loved instead of love. Properly speaking, by the rules of Pāṇini himself, it ought to signify the latter, as the suffix *ti* indicates Bhāva or condition. Howsoever the word may have come into use in later times, the thing expressed by it, viz., love for the Ātman or the Supreme Soul, was an idea implied and often expressed by the word Priya or Preyas in the Upaniṣad period.

§ 31. The state of things which must have led to the evolution of the religion of the Gītā seems to me to be this. About the time when the systems of religion we have been considering arose, there was a tendency amongst the people which often worked itself out, as is evident from the Pali Birth-Stories, to give up worldly life and betake themselves to a residence in forests or mountains. Even Buddhism, Jainism and other like systems considered an ascetic life to be a sine qua non of religious elevation. There is reason to believe that Śramaṇas existed before the rise of Buddhism. The religious systems that had sprung up were mostly atheistic. The Indian mind had become prone to indulge in mere moral discourses and thoughts of moral exaltation, unassociated with a theistic faith, as appears clear from Buddhism and other systems, and also from dry moral dissertations of which the Mahābhārata is full. Such a system as that of the Bhagavadgītā was, therefore, necessary to counteract these tendencies. Theistic ideas were so scattered in the Upaniṣads, that it was necessary for practical purposes to work them up into a system of redemption capable of being grasped easily.

These appear to be the conditions under which the Gītā came

into existence. I am not inclined to dissolve Vāsudeva and Arjuna into solar myths; but Vāsudeva could not have been living when the Bhagavadgītā was composed as a discourse delivered by him, any more than Buddha was living when his discourses were reduced to the form of books. It is worthy of remark that both of them are called Bhagavats when speaking. Vāsudeva must already have been deified before the Bhagavadgītā was written.

As regards the attitude of the Bhagavat to the older belief, it is evident that it is conservative and he came to fulfil the law and not supersede it. It must already have been seen that he looks at the sacrificial religion from almost the same point of view as the Upaniṣads. The cherishing of desires which the sacrificial rites encourged is considered harmful, and the fruit attained by means of them is perishable. It was because this Ekāntika religion was so conservative, that it gradually made its way into Hindu society in general, though it did not succeed in uprooting the religion of sacrifices. Still it always retained its character as a religion for women and for all castes, Śūdras included, and in its later development it was associated with such Vedic rites as then remained when it was professed by the Brāhmaṇas, but not so associated when its followers were of lower castes, among whom it continued to exercise great influence. The Bhagavat's attitude towards the worshippers of other gods has already been explained. It was strictly liberal. All worship to whomsoever it was directed, reaches him ultimately, but the devotees of other gods do not know Bhagavat as he truly is and thus go wrong. This attitude must have had something to do with the influence of the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa cult over the lower classes.

VII. Identification of Vāsudeva with Nārāyaṇa.

§ 32. The word Nārāyaṇa is similar to Nāḍāyana, which last is formed by P. IV. 1. 99 and means the Gotra Nāḍāyana. The termination is significative and means in this case the resting place or the place to which Nāḍa or a collection of Naḍas go. So Nārāyaṇa means the resting place or goal of Nāra or a collection of Naras[1]. In the Nārāyaṇīya (XII. 341) Keśava or

1 See Medhātithi's commentary on Manu 1. 10.

Hari says to Arjuna that he is known as the resting place or goal of men (Narāṇām). The word Nṛ or Nara is also used to denote gods as manly persons, espscially in the Vedas, so that Nārāyaṇa may be construed as the resting place or goal of gods. There is a tradition which connects Nārāyaṇa with the primeval waters. Manu (1. 10), and also Hari in the above passage say that the waters were called Nārās because they were the sons of Nara, and, since they were the first resting place of Brahmā in the first case and of Hari in the second, the two were called Nārāyaṇas. The Purāṇas, such as the Vāyu and the Viṣṇu, agree with Manu. Again there is a tradition that Brahmadeva sprang from the lotus in the navel of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu (MBh. III. 12. 34 and XII. 349. 18). In the Vāyu-Purāṇa Nārāyaṇa is represented as prior to Avyakta or matter in an undeveloped form, and from Avyakta sprang the mundane egg, and from the latter arose Brahmadeva.

All these traditions in various forms seem to go back to RV. X. 82. 5 and 6, which may be thus translated : "Prior to the sky, prior to this earth, prior to the living gods, what is that embryo which the waters held first and in which all the gods existed? The waters held that same embryo in which all gods exist or find themselves; on the navel of the unborn stood something in which all beings stood ". In this we have first the waters mentioned; on those waters stood the embryo, which corresponds to the Brahmā of the later tradition, who created everything; and the unborn corresponds to Nārāyaṇa from whose navel he sprang. In this embryo all the gods, it is said, found themselves. This corresponds to the Naras, men or gods, whose goal or resting place was Nārāyaṇa, so that this confirms the identity between Brahmā and Nārāyaṇa mentioned by Manu and some of the Purāṇas. Nārāyaṇa therefore, who, by the other authorities cited above, is considered prior to Brahmadeva and to the Svayambhū of Manu, is another person and has a cosmic character and is not a historical or mythological individual. This idea of Nārāyaṇa was developed in the period of the later Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas.

In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (XII. 3. 4), Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa is represented to have sent forth from the place of sacrifice Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas by means of the morning, midday and evening libations respectively, he alone remaining in the place. Fra-

jāpati tells him to sacrifice again, and the substance of the whole is that Nārāyaṇa placed himself in all the worlds, in all the gods, in all the Vedas and in all the vital airs, and they were placed in him. This shadows forth the rising of Nārāyaṇa to the dignity of the Supreme Soul, who pervades all and in whom all things exist and who in the beginning sent forth all the gods, being himself their receptacle or resting place as indicated in RV. X. 82. 6. In another place (XIII. 6. 1) Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa is mentioned as having conceived the idea of a Pañcarātra Sattra (continued sacrifices for five days) as the means of obtaining superiority over all beings and becoming all beings. He performed the sacrifices and attained to that dignity. Here also Nārāyaṇa's becoming the Supreme Ruler and becoming all are spoken of. Nārāyaṇa is represented as the author of the Puruṣasūkta (RV. X. 90). This appears to be as much a fanciful representation, as that of Viśvakarman and others as authors of other hymns. As in these last cases, it has a connection with the deity to which the hymn refers, so that Nārāyaṇa is another name of the Puruṣa, and these two names are associated together, as we have seen, in the above citations from the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. In the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka (X. 11) Nārāyaṇa is described with all the attributes of the Supreme soul, which are usually found mentioned in the Upaniṣads.

In the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, he figures as the supreme god, especially in connection with the creation ; mythologically he is represented as lying on the body of a huge serpent in the ocean of milk, the original conception of his connection with the primeval waters being still kept to. Nārāyaṇa thus became an object of worship. In the Ghosuṇḍi Inscription noticed before,[1] there is what appears to be a dedication of an enclosure to Nārāyaṇa (Nārāyaṇa-Vāṭikā).

§ 33. The heaven of this Nārāyaṇa was the Śvetadvīpa or white island. In the Kathāsaritsāgara (54. 19, 21, 23) Naravāhanadatta is represented to have been carried to the white island by Devasiddhi and to Hari reposing on the body of the serpent Śeṣa and attended by Nārada and other devotees. In another place in the same work (115, 101-3) certain gods are spoken of as having gone to Śvetadvīpa and seen Hari in a house made of great gems,

1 Ante, p. 4. [N. B. U.]

lying on the serpent bed with Lakṣmī sitting at his feet. In the Harivaṁśa (14,384) it is stated that Yogins and Kāpilasāṁkhyas, who desire Mokṣa or final deliverance, go to the white island or Śvetadvīpa, by reciting the prayer and praise composed by Balin. Evidently, therefore, Śvetadvīpa or white island is the heaven in which Nārāyaṇa, spoken of sometimes as Hari, dwells. It corresponds to the Vaikuṇṭha of Viṣṇu, the Kailāsa of Śiva, and the Goloka of Gopālakṛṣṇa; and to that heaven of Nārāyaṇa it was that Nārada went and saw him and learned from him the monotheistic religion of Vāsudeva. There is, therefore, no need to suppose that the white island was a Christian country peopled by white races.

§ 34. Nārāyaṇa, being thus evolved as the Supreme Being in the later Brāhmaṇic period, was, of course, prior to Vāsudeva, and in the epic times when the worship of the latter arose, Vāsudeva was identified with Nārāyaṇa. In the Vanaparvan (chaps. 188, 189) there is a description of the condition of things at the time of dissolution of the universe, in which it is stated that there was water everywhere and there was a boy lying on couch on a branch of a Nyagrodha tree. He opened his mouth and took in Mārkaṇḍeya, who roamed in the inside and saw the whole universe and was struck with wonder. Then the boy vomited or threw him out, when he saw again the waters alone. Mārkaṇḍeya then asked the boy who he was; then he said: "Formerly I gave to the waters the name of Nārāḥ, and those were my resting place (Ayana), and therefore I am Nārāyaṇa", and thus he goes on to describe his greatness. Finally Mārkaṇḍeya, who tells the whole story, says to Yudhiṣṭhira that Janārdana, his relative, is this same Nārāyaṇa. The burden of the whole of the Nārāyaṇīya section seems to be this identity between Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva.

Besides this Nārāyaṇa, the creator of all, there was a tradition about another who was always associated with Nara. This companionship seems to be traceable to the Upaniṣad idea of two birds dwelling in a tree, friends and associates of each other. That one of those, who is called the lord and the onlooker, is in the present tradition Nārāyaṇa, and the other, who is engaged in eating the fruit of the tree, Nara. The old idea was transferred to the new conception of Nārāyaṇa as the resting place or abode of all men. In

the opening chapter of the Nārāyanīya it is stated that Nārāyana the eternal soul of the universe, with four forms became the son of Dharma. The four forms or four sons were Nara, Nārāyana, Hari and Krsna. The first two of these devoted themselves to the practice of austerities in the Badarikāsrama.

The same story is given in the Vāmana-Purāna (chap. 6). These four are represented as the sons of Dharma and had Ahimsā (non-killing) as their mother. This story seems to be significant. About the time when the new systems of religion arose, the ideas that were undergoing fermentation were Dharma or righteousness and Ahimsā or non-slaughter, as against the old ceremonial of sacrificial rites and the killing of animals in accordance with it. These four names, therefore, were names connected with the introduction of a new system of religion, not heterodox, which concerned itself with righteousness and non-slaughter of animals. That is what appears to be meant by Dharma being called the father of these four and Ahimsā their mother.

Nara and Nārāyana are sometimes called Rsis, and that is probably to be traced to the conception of Nārāyana as the Rsi or composer of the Purusasūkta. These gods must have been very famous at the time when the Mahābhārata was composed, since in the opening stanza of the different books obeisance is made to these two gods. In the Vanaparvan (12. 46, 47) Janārdana is represented to have said to Arjuna: "Oh invincible one, thou art Nara and I am Hari Nārāyana, and we, the sages Nara-Nārāyana, have come to this world at the proper time; thou art not different from me, oh Pārtha, and I am not different from thee; it is not possible to know any difference between us." In chap. 30 (verse 1) of the same Parvan, the God of gods (Siva) says to Arjuna: "In a former birth (body) thou wast Nara and with Nārāyana for thy companion, performedst austerities for many thousands of years in Badari". In the Udyogaparvan (49. 19) it is said: "The two heores, Vāsudeva and Arjuna, who are great warriors, are the old gods Nara and Nārāyana. This is the tradition." In this manner there are a good many examples of the identification of Arjuna and Vāsudeva with Nara and Nārāyana. And thus the old tradition about the two Rsis who

ere warriors at the same time was brought into connection ith the two interlocutors of the Bhagavadgītā.

VIII. Identification of Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu.

§ 35. Viṣṇu is a Vedic deity. There are but few hymns addressed to him in RV., but his personality is by no means unimportant. The long strides which he takes, and the three steps by which he measures the universe, are always described with an enthusiastic spirit. His first two steps can be discerned and approached by men, but the third no one can dare transgress, and it is beyond the flight of birds (RV. I. 155. 5). The wise see the highest place of Viṣṇu (Paramam padam), as it were an eye fixed in the heaven (RV. I. 22. 20). In the highest place of Viṣṇu there is a well of honey, and there the gods rejoice (RV. I. 154. 5). Viṣṇu appears as the comrade and helper of Indra.

Viṣṇu, however, in spite of his comparatively subordinate position in RV., began to rise in importance in the time of the Brāhmaṇas, while during the epic and Purāṇic period he rose to the rank of the supreme spirit. The moment which seems to have been in operation during this process of elevation, was reverence for the third step or the mysterious highest abode of Viṣṇu beyond the ken of all. In the Brāhmaṇic period we have the mention of Agni as the lowest of the gods and Viṣṇu as the highest (AB.1.1). Then we have a story in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa and Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka of a sacrificial session held by the gods for the attainment of splendour, glory and food. They proposed to themselves that he amongst them, who by his deeds reached the end of the sacrifice before the others, should attain the highest place among them all. Viṣṇu reached the end before the others, and he thus became the highest of the gods; and therefore they say that Viṣṇu is the highest of the gods (ŚB. XIV. 1. 1.). When this was written, Viṣṇu had already attained to the supreme dignity, and the story is invented to account for it. There is again in the same Brāhmaṇa (1. 2. 5) the story of Viṣṇu the dwarf. When the gods and Asuras were contending for a place of sacrifice, the latter agreed that they would allow as much land for the former as was equal to the size of the dwarf. Viṣṇu was then made to lie down, but gradually he grew so large as to encompass the

whole earth, and so the gods got the whole earth. Here a miraculous power has been attributed to Viṣṇu, though he is not necessarily the Supreme Spirit.

In the Maitri-Upaniṣad (VI. 13) food is called the form of Bhagavad-Viṣṇu, which sustains the universe. In the Kaṭha-Upaniṣad (III. 9) the progress of the human soul is compared to a journey, and the end of the path which he traverses is called the highest place of Viṣṇu (Paramam padam). This is the final goal and the abode of eternal bliss, and the use of the word in this sense lends support to the view that the elevation of Viṣṇu to the dignity of the Supreme Being was due to the fact that the expression was capable of being used to denote this sense. Some time after, Viṣṇu became even a household god. In the ceremony of the seven steps contained in the marriage ritual, the bridegroom has to say to the bride, when she puts forth a step : " May Viṣṇu lead you or be with you." This formula occurs in the Gṛhya-sūtras of Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin and Pāraskara, but not in that of Āśvalāyana. In epic times Viṣṇu grew to be in every respect the Supreme Spirit ; and Vāsudeva is identified with Viṣṇu. In chapters 65 and 66 of the Bhīṣmaparvan noticed before,[1] the Supreme Spirit is addressed as Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu and is identified with Vāsudeva.

In the Anugītā portion of the Āśvamedhikaparvan (chap.53–55) Kṛṣṇa, while returning to Dvārakā, meets on the way a sage of the name of Uttaṅka of the Bhṛgu race. The sage asks Kṛṣṇa whether he had established peace between the contending kinsmen, Pāṇḍus and Kurus, and established affectionate relations between them. Kṛṣṇa replies that the Kurus had been destroyed and the Pāṇḍus were in possession of the supreme sovereignty. The sage got angry and said that he would pronounce a curse against Kṛṣṇa, but if he explained to him the philosophy of the soul (Adhyātma), he would desist. Kṛṣṇa then does explain this philosophy at the request of Uttaṅka and shows him his universal form (Virāṭ svarūpam). The Svarūpa is the same as, or similar to, that shown to Arjuna according to the Bhagavadgītā, but it is here called the Vaiṣṇava form (Rūpa), which name does not occur in the other passage. Thus then between the period of the Bhaga-

1 Ante, pp. 13 and ff. [N. B. U.]

vadgītā and that of the Anugītā, the identity of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu had become an established fact. In the Śāntiparvan (chap. 43) Yudhiṣṭhira addressing Kṛṣṇa sings a hymn of praise, in which Kṛṣṇa is identified with Viṣṇu. In the epic times, Viṣṇu is regarded as the Supreme Spirit, but the names of Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa apparently occur more frequently or are more prominent.

§ 36. Still many parts of the Mahābhārata represent a condition of things in which the divinity Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was not generally acknowledged. In the above passage from the Anugītā, the sage Uttaṅka is about to pronounce a curse on Kṛṣṇa, as if he was an ordinary individual, and desists only when his universal form is shown to him. Similarly in many passages noticed by Dr. Muir (O. S. T. IV, pp. 205ff.) Kṛṣṇa's divinity is denied; and Saṁjaya and Bhīṣma make strenuous efforts to establish it.

What appears to be the fact is, that the religion of Vāsudeva, in which divine honours were paid to him, was professed by the Sātvatas, as observed in several of the passages noticed above, and its gradual extension to other tribes and people of the country is shadowed forth in these portions of the great epic. In the Purāṇic times, however, the cult of Vāsudeva ceased to be militant, and three streams of religious thought, namely, the one flowing from Viṣṇu, the Vedic god at its source, another from Nārāyaṇa, the cosmic and philosophic god, and the third from Vāsudeva, the historical god, mingled together decisively and thus formed the later Vaiṣṇavism. There is however, a fourth stream, which in modern times in some of the systems of Vaiṣṇavism has acquired an almost exclusive predominance, and to this we shall now direct our attention.

IX. Identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with the Cowherd God (Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa).

§ 37. There is no allusion to the cowherd Kṛṣṇa in the authorities we have hitherto quoted. The Inscriptions, the work of Patañjali and even the Nārāyaṇīya itself indicate no knowledge of the existence of such a god. In the last the Avatāra of Vāsudeva is mentioned as having been assumed for the destruction of Kaṁsa, but of none of the demons whom the cowered Kṛṣṇa killed in the

cow-settlement (Gokula). The contrast between this and the statements in the Harivaṁśa (vv. 5876–5878), Vāyu-Purāṇa, chap. 98, vv. 100–102, and Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, II. 7, of Kṛṣṇa's Avatāra having been assumed for destroying all the demons that appeared in the cow-settlement as well as of Kaṁsa—is significant. When these works were written, the legend about the cowherd Kṛṣṇa must have already become current and his identification with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa been effected. And the story of the Vṛṣṇi prince Vāsudeva having been brought up in a cow-settlement is incongruous with his later career as depicted in the Mahābhārata. Nor does any part of it require the presupposition of such a boyhood as has been ascribed to him.

In the Sabhāparvan (chap. 41), however, Śiśupāla in traducing Kṛṣṇa alludes to his valorous deeds, such as the killing of Pūtanā and others, which were done in the cow-settlement, and speaks of Bhīṣma's having praised them. But the praise bestowed on Kṛṣṇa by Bhīṣma (chap. 38) does not contain a mention of these deeds. This passage therefore is interpolated[1].

1. The Southern Recension of the Mahābhārata contains many interpolations. In the Nārāyaṇīya, chap. 338 of the Northern Recension corresponds to chap. 344 of the Southern. We have six verses in the latter which are not contained in the former. They speak of animals made of flour being killed instead of real live animals. This is a later doctrine, which is strongly advocated by the Mādhva Vaiṣṇavas, but denied with as much pertinacity by Smārtas. In the present case in the Sabhāparvan, chap. 22, vv. 27–36 about Kṛṣṇa's doings in Gokula are in S, and not in N. Chapter 23 in S, about Kṛṣṇa's birth and removal to Gokula is not in N. Chapter 24, S, vv. 4–5 about Jarāsaṁdha's declining to fight with Kṛṣṇa, because he was a Gopa, are not found in chap. 23, N, which corresponds to that chapter. Chapters 33 and 34 in S. are not in N. The first is about Sahadeva's expedition to the Pāṇḍya country and the second about Ghaṭotkaca's being sent to Laṅkā and Vibhīṣaṇa's paying tribute out of respect for Kṛṣṇa. At the end of chap. 39 in S, corresponding to chap. 36 in N, there is an interpolated passage, in which the worship done to Kṛṣṇa is derided as having been done to a Gopa or cowherd. This is not found in N. Chapters 42–61 in S, are not found in N. They contain a mention of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu and his exploits in Gokula. Chap. 64 in S, corresponds to chap. 41 in N. Thus attempts have always been made to bring by means of interpolations the stories told in the Mahābhārata to the form which they subsequently assume. The passage dealt with in the text is a clear interpolation.

The name Govinda does occur in the Bhagavadgītā and other parts of Mahābhārata. It is an ancient name, being derived by a Vārttika on P. III. 1. 138. If this name was given to Kṛṣṇa, because of his having had to do with cows, while a boy in Gokula, and his previous history in the cow-settlement was known, when the genuine portions of the Mahābhārata were composed, we should have found an etymology of the name expressive of that connection. But, on the contrary, in the Ādiparvan it is stated that Govinda is so called, because in the form of a boar he found the earth (Go) in the waters, which he agitated (chap. 21. 12); and in the Śāntiparvan (chap. 342. 70) Vāsudeva says: "I am called Govinda by the gods, because formerly I found the earth which was lost and lodged in a den". The origin of the name may be traced to this legend, but more probably Govinda is a later form of Govid, which in the Ṛgveda is used as an epithet of Indra in the sense of 'the finder of the cows'. This epithet, as another, Keśiniṣūdana which is also applicable to Indra, must have been transferred to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, when he came to be looked upon as the chief god.

From all this it appears that the story of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood in the Gokula was unknown till about the beginning of the Christian Era. The Harivaṁśa which is the chief authority for it, contains the word Dīnāra, corresponding to the Latin word Denarius, and consequently must have been written about the third century of the Christian era. Some time before that the stories of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood must have been current. The nature of the tribe of cowherds among whom Kṛṣṇa lived, is to be gathered from the words of the boy-god addressed to his foster-father Nanda, in order to dissuade him from celebrating a festival to Indra, and induce him to worship the mountain Govardhana instead. "We are cowherds," he says, "wandering in forests, maintaining ourselves on cows, which are our wealth; cows are our deities, and mountains and forests" (H. 3808). The cowherds lived in a Ghoṣa or temporary encampment, which was capable of being easily removed from place to place, as when they left Vraja and encamped in Vṛndāvana (H. 3532). Ghoṣa is defined as Ābhīrapallī, which is generally understood as the enclosure of cowherds.

But the original signification of the word Ābhīra is not a cow

herd. It is the name of a race, whose original occupation was the tending of cows; and consequently the name became in later times equivalent to a 'cowherd'. For these reasons the cowherds among whom the boy-god Kṛṣṇa lived, belong to a nomadic tribe of the name of Ābhīras. These Ābhīras occupied the tract of country from Madhuvana near Mathurā to Anūpa and Ānarta, the regions about Dvārakā (H. 5161–5163). The Ābhīras are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Mausalaparvan, chap. 7) as having attacked Arjuna, who was carrying the women of the Vṛṣṇis from Dvārakā to Kurukṣetra after the extinction of the male members of the Vṛṣṇi race. They are described as robbers and Mlecchas, and lived near Pañcanada, which is probably Punjab. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa locates them near the Aparāntas (Konkan) and Saurāṣṭras, and Varāhamihira assigns them nearly the same position. Though they are mentioned as the southern people (Bṛ. S. 14. 12), and as living in the southwest (Bṛ. S. 14. 18), the Ābhīras must have migrated in large hordes into the country. They were at first mere nomads and afterwards settled in the country from about the eastern confines of the Punjab to the vicinity of Mathurā and in the south up to Saurāṣṭra and Kathiavad, i. e., they must have occupied the whole of Rajputāna and a tract to the northeast of it. After they were settled, they took to various occupations, one of which was of course the old one, namely the tending of cows.

The descendants of the old Ābhīras are called Āhirs at the present day, and we have now Āhirs following the occupation of carpenters, goldsmiths, cowherds and even priesthood. At one time they founded a kingdom in the nothern part of the Maratha country, and an Inscription of the ninth year of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, the son of Ābhīra Śivadatta, is found at Nasik[1]. From the form of the characters the Inscription probably belongs to the end of the third century. The Purāṇas mention a dynasty of Ābhīras composed of ten princes[2]. Another Inscription of an earlier date is found at Gundā[3] in Kathiavad, in which the charities of Rudrabhūti, a general, who is called an Ābhīra, are mentioned. The Inscription belongs to the reign of a Kṣatrapa

1 Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, Nr. 1137.

2 See Vāyu-Purāṇa, vol. II, chap. 37, page 453, Bibl. Ind.

3 Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, Nr. 963.

king of the name of Rudrasiṁha, who held power in Śaka 102 corresponding to 180 A. D.

If then about the end of the second century and in the third, the Ābhīras enjoyed high political position, they must have migrated into the country in the first century. They probably brought with them the worship of the boy-god and the story of his humble birth, his reputed father's knowledge that he was not his son, and the massacre of the innocents. The two last correspond to Nanda's knowing that he was not the father of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa's killing all children. The stories of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood, such as that of killing Dhenuka, a demon in the form of a wild ass, were brought by Ābhīras[1], and others were developed after they came to India. It is possible that they brought with them the name Christ also, and this name probably led to the identification of the boy-god with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. The Goanese and the Bengalis often pronounce the name Kṛṣṇa as Kuṣṭo or Kriṣṭo, and so the Christ of the Ābhīras was recognised as the Sanskrit Kṛṣṇa.

The dalliance of Kṛṣṇa with cowherdesses, which introduced an element inconsistent with the advance of morality into the Vāsudeva religion, was also an after-growth, consequent upon the freer intercourse between the wandering Ābhīras and their more civilised Āryan neighbours. Morality cannot be expected to be high or strict among races in the condition of the Ābhīras at the time; and their gay neighbours took advantage of its looseness. Besides, the Ābhīra women must have been fair and handsome as those of the Āhir-Gavaliyas or cowherds of the present day are.

§ 38. The story in the Buddhistic Ghatajātaka represents Vāsudeva and his brothers to be the sons of Kaṁsa's sister Devagabbhā and Upasāgara. They were made over to a man of the name of Andhakaveṇhu and to his wife Nandagopā who was the attendant of Devagabbhā. In this version there is a reminiscence of Devakī in the name Devagabbhā; and Nanda and Yaśodā or Gopā of Gokula are compounded together to form the name of the maid-servant who brought up Devagabbhā's sons as

1 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1907, p. 981.

her sons. And in Andhakaveṇhu the names of the two kindred Yādava tribes, Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi, are compounded together, and the compound becomes the name of the husband of the maid-servant. Now as Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi were according to the highest authorities two distinct names, and were the names of the two tribes, this story contains a confused reminiscence of the true legend and was of a later growth. All the Jātakas were not written at one and the same time. While some belong to a pre-Christian period, others must be assigned to post-Christian times, and the Ghatajātaka appears to me to belong to the latter class. The compound Nandagopā, therefore, though it contains a clear reminiscence of the foster-parents of the boy-god Kṛṣṇa, cannot be considered to point to a pre-Christian period for the identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa.

X. The Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata System.

§ 39. We have thus gone over the last element which goes to form the Vaiṣṇavism of the later times. That element, however, does not form a prominent part, or forms no part at all, of the systems which are based upon the old Pāñcarātra doctrines. As we have seen, the Ekāntika Dharma or monotheistic religion was that which was promulgated by the Bhagavadgītā; but the Pāñcarātra system, consisting, as it did, of the worship of Vāsudeva and his several forms, shows no organic connection with that work, though Bhakti or devotion is common to both. That system must have developed in about the third century B. C., as we have already seen from the Inscriptions and passages in books referred to before. Their being free from the Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa element is thus intelligible, and the later Vaiṣṇava systems, such as that of Rāmānuja and Madhva, which more or less recognise the old Bhāgavata doctrines or ideas, have entirely neglected that element. In other systems, however, it is recognised and in a general way in popular Vaiṣṇavism.

The authorities on which the Bhāgavata system was based are the Pāñcarātra-Saṁhitās; and Rāmānuja in his comments on the Brahmasūtras, II. 2. 39–42, quotes from some of these. The first quotation is from the Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā, which is intended to show that, when Brāhmaṇas worship the fourfold soul with the

traditional names, it should be considered authoritative. The second is from the Sātvata-Saṁhitā, which is to the effect that this great Śāstra contains the secret of Brahman and imparts discrimination to Brāhmaṇas who worship the true Brahman bearing the name of Vāsudeva. There are two from the Parama-Saṁhitā. One of these gives the nature of Prakṛti, which is unsentient, of use to another than "itself", eternal, always changeable, composed of three qualities, and is the sphere within which the action of agents is done. The other represents somebody, probably Śāṇḍilya himself, as saying that he has studied all the Vedas with the dependent treatises and Vākovākya, but not having found the way to supreme bliss clearly stated in them.

One of these Saṁhitās, bearing the name of Sātvata, has been printed and is available. It begins by saying that Nārada saw Paraśurāma on the Malaya Mountain and was told by him to visit the Ṛṣis, who were in search of the place of Hari, and to instruct them in the Sātvata method of worship (Kriyāmārga). Nārada does this and explains to them the secret traditional methods (Rahasyāmnāya). Nārāyaṇa is spoken of here as the supreme spirit. The secret methods were formerly explained by the bearer of the discus (Vāsudeva), when asked by Saṁkarṣaṇa. Saṁkarṣaṇa spoke to Viṣṇu at the beginning of the Tretā age, asking why his countenance had become red. The answer is: "Because the people will be afflicted with passion in this age". Being asked how they will be delivered from passion, Saṁkarṣaṇa is told that they will be delivered by adoring the eternal and highest Brahman in three ways. The Supreme Spirit, who has hands and feet and eyes everywhere and is endowed with six Guṇas or qualities, is Para or the Highest. It is one and the support of all. Besides this there is a triad, each member of which is distinguished from the others by a distinction in knowledge and other qualities. These three should be known as Vyūhas, or forms, who confer the desired fruit with ease.

Balarāma then asks about the mode of service. Bhagvat then explains it as follows :—"When the pure Brahman, which is the aim and end of the creation, exists in the heart of qualified Brāhmaṇas, who worship Vāsudeva, the highest Śāstra, which is a

great Upaniṣad of Brahman, springs forth from it for the redemption of the world and confers discrimination; it contains divine methods and has for its fruit final deliverance[1]. I will then explain that to you which is of various kinds. This Śāstra, along with Rahasya, is fruitful to those who have gone through Yoga with its eight parts, and whose soul is devoted to mental sacrifice. The Yogins, who are Brāhmaṇas guided by the Vedas and who have given up the mixed worship, are competent for the worship of the single one, dwelling in the heart. The three orders, Kṣatriya and others, and those who are Prapanna or have resorted to self-surrender are competent for the worship of the four Vyūhas accompanied by Mantras, and also unaccompanied by them, so far as regards the series of ceremonies concerning the four Vyūhas as well as the actions and the collection of Mantras concerning the Vibhavas[2]. All these persons should be free from attachment and absorbed in the performance of their duties and be devotees of the supreme lord by their deeds, words and mind. In this manner, the four (orders) become competent, when they are initiated (for service) with Mantras. Hear now the process concerning the single form". Then follows the statement of the mystic arrangement of letters and formulae and the meditations. This work throughout contains the mystic modes of worship by means of Mantras variously arranged.

The allusion at the end of Chapter 66 of the Bhīṣmaparvan to Saṁkarṣaṇa's having sung or expounded Vāsudeva according to the Sātvata rites (Vidhi) refers in all probability to such rites as are detailed in this Sātvata-Saṁhitā.

Śaṁkarācārya, in his notice of the Bhāgavata School under Br. S. II. 2. 42, gives five methods of worshipping the supreme lord, Bhagavat Vāsudeva, in his fourfold form, which, along with the explanations given by the commentators, are as follows:— (1) Abhigamana or going to the temple of the deity with the speech, the body and the mind centred on him; (2) Upādāna or collecting the materials of worship; (3) Ijyā or worship; (4) Svādhyāya or the muttering of the usual Mantra; (5) Yoga or

1. Two lines out of this are contained in the quotations from Rāmānuja given above.

2. Vibhavas are the incarnations of the Supreme Spirit.

meditation. By worshipping him in these ways for a hundred years, all sin is destroyed and the devotee reaches Bhagavat.

§ 40. The book called Nāradapañcarātra, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, contains the Saṁhitā called Jñānāmṛta-sāra. The glories of the boy Kṛṣṇa are sung in this work. Nārada desiring to know Kṛṣṇa's greatness and the methods of his worship is recommended to go to Śaṁkara, or Śiva, and seek instruction from him. Nārada repairs to Kailāsa and enters the palace of Śaṁkara, which has seven gates. At these gates there are pictures and sculptures relating to the scenes of Kṛṣṇa's child-hood and his various deeds in the cow-settlement, such as Vṛndā-vana, Yamunā, Kṛṣṇa's sitting on the Kadamba tree with the garments of the cowherdesses and their return from bath in the Yamunā river in a naked condition, the destruction of the serpent Kāliya, the holding up of the Govardhana mountain on the palm of his hand, the journey to Mathurā and the lamentations of the Gopis and his foster-parents, etc. Sculptures representing some of these events were discovered on a pillar excavated at Mandor near Jodhpur about two years ago[1]. The age of the pillar has been considered not earlier than the fourth century A. D. The idea of imagining such sculptures on the gates of Śiva's palace could have occurred to a writer only when the practice of adorning gates and pillars with such sculptures had become general. The Jñānāmṛta-sāra, therefore, could not have been earlier than the fourth century and appears to me to be considerably later, as will be presently shown.

Goloka or the world of cows is the heaven in which Kṛṣṇa dwells and which is reached by those who adore him, and several Mantras are given in this book, the reciters of which are rewarded with a place in that heaven. The servitude of Hari through devo-tion is the highest Mukti or absolution according to this work. There are six modes of adoring Hari; viz., (1) remembrance of him, (2) utterance, (of his name and glory), (3) salutation, (4) resorting to his feet, (5) constant worship of him with devotion, and (6) surrender of the whole soul to him. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa adds three more, viz., hearing (his praise), servitude, and companionship (Sakhyam). These last two are preliminary to

1. Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1905-1906, p. 135ff.

the surrendering of the whole soul. In this book Rādhā is mentioned as the highest of the women whom Kṛṣṇa loved, and she is represented to have been formed by the original lord becoming two, one of which was Rādhā (II. 3. 24ff.). The exaltation of this woman is thus one of the main objects of this Saṁhitā.

The Saṁhitā we have been considering, seems thus to be entirely devoted to the advancement of the cult of the Kṛṣṇa of the cow-settlement or Gokula and of his beloved mistress Rādhā, now raised to the dignity of his eternal consort. The Vyūhas which form a peculiarity of the Pāñcarātra School, are not mentioned in it. The creed afterwards promulgated by Vallabhācārya is exactly similar to that set forth in this book. This Saṁhitā, therefore, must have heen written a short time before Vallabha, that is about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Rāmānujīyas consider this Saṁhitā to be apocryphal.

XI. The Avatāras of Viṣnu or Nārāyaṇa.

§ 41. An Avatāra or incarnation of a god differs from mere identification of two gods in this, that in the former case the god that is considered an incarnation acts like a human being, or even a brute, at the same time that he has the miraculous powers of a god. The transition, however, from the idea of identification to that of incarnation is easy. The person in the flesh is identified with the god who is a mere spirit, so that the habit of thought which in Vedic times led to the identification of some of the Vedic deities with Agni, has been at work even in this conception of the Avatāras.

The Avatāras of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu are variously given by the various authorities. In the passage in the Nārāyaṇīya translated above,[1] six only are given, viz., the boar, the man-lion, the dwarf, Rāma of the Bhṛgu race, Rāma Dāśarathi and that assumed for the destruction of Kaṁsa (Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa). This passage is followed after a short interval by another in which the incarnations are given as ten, the additions being Haṁsa (swan), Kūrma (tortoise), and Matsya (fish) in the beignning and Kalkin at the end. The one preceding Kalkin is called Sātvata, i. e., Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. This passage, following so closely on the

1. Ante, p. 9 [N. B. U.]

first, appears to be interpolated when the number of Avatāras became fixed at ten.

The Harivaṁśa mentions the six given in the first of these two passages. The Vāyu-Purāṇa gives the incarnations in two passages (Chap. 97, vv. 72ff. and Chap. 98, vv. 63ff.), in the first of which there are twelve, but some of them appear rather to be incarnations of Śiva and Indra. In the second the number ten, which about that time must have come into usage, is made up by adding to the six mentioned above the four: Dattātreya, one unnamed called the fifth, Vedavyāsa, and Kalkin. In the Varāha-Purāṇa we have the ten incarnations which came to be accepted later, containing the Fish, Tortoise, Buddha, and Kalkin, in addition to the six mentioned above. The Agni-Purāṇa gives the same ten.

The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa enumerates the incarnations in three different passages. In the first, contained in Chapter 3 of Book I, twenty-two are mentioned. In the passage in Chapter 7 of Book II, we have twenty-three, and in Chapter 4 of Book XI, sixteen are given. It deserves notice that among the Avatāras mentioned in this Purāṇa are Sanatkumāra; the divine sage (Nārada), who expounded the Sātvata system; Kapila who explained to Āsuri the Sāṁkhya system, which determines the collection of principles; Dattātreya, who is represented to have taught Ānvīkṣikī to Alarka and the Prahrāda and the attainment of excellence by means of Yoga to Yadu and Haihaya; Ṛṣabha, son of Nābhi and Merudevī, who abandoned attachment to all things, acquired serenity, and looking at all things alike and possessing Yoga power, acted as if he were a non-living creature; and lastly Dhanvantari, the teacher of the science of medicine.

Ṛṣabha, from the parentage given here and other indications, appears clearly to be the same as the first Tīrthaṁkara of the Jainas. He was probably raised to the dignity of an incarnation as the Buddha of the Buddhists was. There is hardly a wide-spread cult of any of these incarnations except Dattātreya, who is adored and worshipped by a large number of people to this day, and Rāma of whom more will have to be said hereafter. Kṛṣṇa, of course, though included in the Avatāras stands on independent grounds and his worship over the widest area is due, not to his having been con-

sidered an Avatāra, but to his being the peculiar object of adoration of the followers of a new religion or religious reform, as I have ventured to call it, which first took its rise among the Sātvatas.

XII. Later Traces of the Bhāgavata School; and General Vaiṣṇavism.

§ 42. We will now resume the chronological thread we have traced from Megasthenes to the latest Inscription, that at Nanaghat, which is to be referred to the first century B. C. For about four centuries after this there are no epigraphical or sculptural traces of any Brāhmaṇic religious system; and they reappear about the time when the Guptas rose to power in the first quarter of the fourth century. The Gupta princes, Candragupta II, Kumāragupta, and Skandagupta, are styled Paramabhāgavatas on their coins. They were thus worshippers of Bhagavat or Vāsudeva. Their dates range from 400 to 464 A. D.

On a panel at Udayagiri, there is a figure of a four-armed god, who is probably Viṣṇu. The Inscription below bears the date 82 G. E., i. e., 400 A. D.[1]

There is a pillar at Bhitari in the Ghazipur District of the U. P., on which there is an Inscription which records the installation of an image of Śārṅgin and the grant of a village for its worship by Skandagupta, whose dates range between 454 and 464 A. D.[2] Śārṅgin must have been Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, Skandagupta himself being a Bhāgavata.

A temple of Viṣṇu was erected in 456 A. D. by Cakrapālita, son of Parṇadatta, appointed viceroy of Surāṣṭra or Kathiavad by Skandagupta. The Inscription, which records this, opens with an invocation of Viṣṇu in the Vāmana or the dwarf incarnation[3].

In an Inscription at Eran in the Sagar district, C. P., belonging to the reign of Budhagupta and bearing the date 165 G. E., corresponding to 483 A. D., Mātṛviṣṇu and his younger brother Dhanyaviṣṇu are represented to have erected a Dhvajastambha or flag-

1. Corp. Inscr. Ind. Vol. III, p. 21ff.
2. Ibid. p. 52ff.
3. Ibid. p. 56ff.

staff in honour of the god Janārdana. Mātṛviṣṇu is called a great devotee of Bhagavat (Atyanta-Bhagavad-bhakta)[1]. The god Janārdana must therefore be Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

A copper-plate Inscription of A. D. 495, found near the village of Khoh in Baghelkhand, records the grant of a village, by a chief named Jayanātha, to Bhagavat for repairs to the temple of that god and for the performance of ordinary ceremonies[2].

An Inscription on an iron pillar near Kutub Minar at Delhi speaks of that pillar as a flag-staff to Viṣṇu erected by a great king named Candra, who enjoyed universal sovereignty and was a great devotee of Viṣṇu. The Inscription is not dated, but if the Candra referred to here was Candragupta II, it belongs to the latter part of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth[3].

In his Meghadūta (v. 15) Kālidāsa compares the cloud adorned with a piece of a rain-bow, with Viṣṇu in the shape of the cow-herd adorned with a shining peacock feather. Here there is an identification of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu; and, if the Vikramāditya who was the patron of Kālidāsa was Candragupta II of the Gupta Dynasty, this must be considered to be a record belonging to the early part of the fifth century.

We have already alluded to the sculptures on a pillar excavated at Mandor near Jodhpur. These sculptures represent the overturning of a cart by the baby Kṛṣṇa, the holding of the Govardhana Mountain by Kṛṣṇa on the palm of his hand, and such other events. I refer them tentatively to the fifth century.

In Śaka 500, Maṅgaliśa, a prince belonging to the early Cālukya dynasty of the Deccan, got a cave scooped out, in which a temple to Viṣṇu was constructed, and an image of Viṣṇu was installed in it. The provision for the performance of Nārāyaṇa-bali (offerings to Nārāyaṇa) was made by assigning the revenues of a village for the purpose[4]. In this cave-temple there are figures of Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa lying on the body of a serpent, with Lakṣmī rubbing his feet, and of the Boar and Narasiṁha incarna-

1. Ibid. p. 88ff.
2. Ibid. p. 121ff.
3. Ibid. p. 139ff.
4. Ind. Ant. Vol. III. p. 305; Vol. VI, p. 363.

tions, and of Harihara in which the peculiar marks of Hari, or Viṣṇu, and of Hara, or Śiva, are combined[1].

In mentioning the priests who are qualified to install and consecrate the images of certain gods, Varāhamihira says that this function in the case of Viṣṇu should be assigned to Bhāgavatas.[2] Bhāgavatas were thus recognised in his time as the peculiar worshippers of Viṣṇu. Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509, i. e. 587 A.D.[3]

Amarasiṁha, the author of the well-known Kośa or thesaurus, was a Buddhist. After giving the words expressive of gods generally, when he comes to the names of particular gods, he begins by giving those of Buddha and proceeds next to give the names Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa etc., of which we have thirty-nine. After finishing these he says that Vasudeva was his father. This means that the thirty-nine names previously given are the names of Vāsudeva. If we examine these, we shall find that before Amara's time Vāsudeva had already been identified with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa. Except the name Dāmodara, there is no other connecting Vāsudeva with Gokula, and the etymology of Dāmodara which connects him with that cow-settlement is doubtful. While Kaṁsārāti, or the enemy of Kaṁsa, does occur, we have no such name as Pūtanāri, the enemy of Pūtanā, or any other derived from the names of the many demons he slew while he was a boy. There are also no names of incarnations except the doubtful one, Balidhvaṁsin, which however, has been interpreted by one commentator as the destroyer of ignorance by means of Bali or oblations. There are, of course, several names derived from those of other demons, such as Madhuripu and Kaitabhajit, but these are not the enemies destroyed by Viṣṇu in his incarnations as they are usually mentioned. After giving the name of the father of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, Amara proceeds to mention those of Saṁkarṣaṇa, or Baladeva, and afterwards of Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Thereafter he mentions those of Lakṣmī, the wife of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, then those of the weapons of the god and his ornaments, and ends with the names of Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu. After

1. Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples, p. 407.
2. Br. S. 60. 19.
3. Bhau Daji. Lit. Remains, p. 240.

finishing these he proceeds to the other great god of the Hindus, Śaṁbhu or Śiva.

Here Amara appears clearly to have in view the four forms, or Vyūhas, of Vāsudeva recognised by the Bhāgavatas, so that in his time the prevalent form of Vaiṣṇavism was that embraced by the Bhāgavatas. Amara's exact age is doubtful, but, if he was a Buddhist, he must have belonged to the Mahāyāna sect, the sacred language of which was Sanskrit. This system was in full swing in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries[1]. Amarasiṁha, therefore, must have flourished in this last century, or, if we believe in the traditional verse which asserts his contemporaneousness with Kālidāsa and in Candragupta II as Vikramāditya, the famous patron of learning, he must have flourished in the early part of the fifth century. The identity of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa is very rarely alluded to, while that with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa is clearly set forth.

About the middle of the seventh century, Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita represents a sage of the name of Divākaramitra, who, originally a Brāhmaṇa, became a Buddhist, as being surrounded in the Vindhya mountains, where he had his abode, by followers of a number of sects two of which were the Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātras.

In the Daśāvatāra temple at Ellora there is a figure of Viṣṇu on the body of a serpent with Lakṣmī rubbing his feet and Brahmā seated on a lotus coming out of his navel. There are also images of the Narasiṁha, Vāmana and Varāha incarnations, as well as of Kṛṣṇa holding the Govardhana Mountain over the flocks of the cow-settlement. This temple was constructed about the middle of the eighth century in the time of Dantidurga of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race. There are similar figures of Avatāras in the Kailāsa temple scooped out in the latter part of the eighth century, in the time of Kṛṣṇa I, uncle of Dantidurga. Among these is also the scene of the destruction of Kāliya by Kṛṣṇa.

There is an Inscription in a cave at Pabhosa, about 32 miles south-west of Allahabad, which probably had a human figure above and runs thus: "The maker of the images of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and

1. Vide my 'Peep into the Early History of India', JBBRAS, Vol. XX. p. 395; [=Volume I of this Edition, p. 45 N. B. U.]

the milk-maids". The date is uncertain, but the Inscription is referred to the seventh or eighth century by Bühler.[1]

At Sirpur in the Raipur district, C. P., over the front of a shrine-door there is a sculpture of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa reclining on the folds of the serpent Śeṣa, and from his navel springs a lotus on which is seated Brahmā. Down the two outer sides of the shrine-door are some of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, one of which is that of Rāma and another of Buddha, whose image is in the usual meditative attitude. The temple belongs probably to the eighth century[2].

At Osia, 32 miles north of Jodhpur, there is an old temple adjoining to the house of the local Jahagirdar. On two pilasters, projecting from the shrine into the Sabhāmaṇḍapa, are two images of deities both seated on Garuḍa. Both have four hands, but one of them holds a conch-shell, the discus, the mace and the lotus, and the other bears a plough-share and a mace in his two hands, the other two being empty. The last has his head canopied by a five-hooded serpent. They are apparently Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa. The temple cannot be later than the ninth century[3].

In a work called Dharmaparīkṣā, Amitagati, the author, who was a Digambara Jaina, says that there were according to the legendary lore current among the Jainas sixty-three eminent men: the twelve supreme sovereigns, the twenty-four Arhats (Jinas), and nine Rāmas, nine Keśavas, and the nine enemies of these nine. The last of the Viṣṇus (Keśavas) was the son of Vasudeva, and his Brāhmaṇa devotees call him the pure, the supreme being. They say : " He who meditates upon the god Viṣṇu, who is all-pervading, a whole without parts, indestructible and unchangeable, who frees a man from old age and death, is free from misery". He is traditionally known to have ten forms or incarnations. These ten forms are the same as mentioned in the Varāha and Agni-Purāṇas[4] and which are now generally accepted. Thus Buddha had come to be recognised as an incarnation of Viṣṇu before

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. II. p., 482.

2. Annual Progress Report of Archæological Survey, Western Circle, for 1903-04, p. 21.

3. See the forthcoming Annual Report of the Arch. Surv. of India [This note is printed as in the original Edition.—N. B, U.]

4. See above [p. 59 N. B. U.]

the date of the Dharmapariksā, which is Vikrama 1070, corresponding to 1014 A. D. If the approximate date assigned to the temple at Sirpur is correct, Buddha must have been admitted into the Brāhmaṇic pantheon before the eighth century. Amitagati also speaks of the mighty Viṣṇu having become a cowherd in Nanda's Gokula and of the all-knowing, all-pervading protector of the world (Rāma) as being oppressed by the fire of separation from Sītā like a mortal lover.[1]

Hence, we have evidence of the existence of the cult of Viṣṇu, principally in accordance with the mode professed by the Bhāgavatas from the fourth to the eleventh century. The doctrine of the incarnations had also become an article of ordinary faith, and the founder of Buddhism and the first Tīrthaṁkara of the Jainas also came later to be recognised as incarnations of Viṣṇu.

XIII. The Cult of Rāma.

§ 43. The architectural remains passed under review contain only figures of the incarnations of Viṣṇu and are not to be taken as proving the existence of the cult of any of these incarnations. But at the present day the cult of Rāma exists over a pretty wide area. In the temples and other religious structures hitherto noticed, there is none dedicated to his worship nor any flag-staff like those erected in honour of Janārdana or Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Rāma, however, was considered as an incarnation of Viṣṇu even in very early times. There are passages in the Rāmāyaṇa pointing to this, but there is good reason to believe that they are spurious or interpolated. But the passage in the Nārāyaṇīya, which we have frequently referred to, contains his name, and so do all the Purāṇas that have been noticed. These in themselves are not sufficient to enable us to determine approximately the period in which he came to be regarded as an incarnation. But in the tenth chapter of the Raghuvaṁśa the story of the birth of Rāma is preceded by the usual appeal to Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa lying on the body of the great serpent, with Lakṣmī rubbing his feet, in the milky ocean and his promise to be born as a son of Daśaratha for the destruction of Rāvaṇa.

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1 For Amitagati's work, see Vol. II of this edition, pp. 308ff. [N. B. U.]

2 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

Amitagati also speaks in 1014 A. D., as we have seen[1], of Rāma's being regarded as the all-knowing, all-pervading protector of the world. The Vāyu-Purāṇa, which is the earliest work of that class, must have been written about the fifth century; so that the belief in Rāma's being an incarnation of Viṣṇu existed in all probability in the early centuries of the Christian Era. But there is no mention of his name in such a work as that of Patañjali, nor is there any old Inscription in which it occurs. Amarasiṁha, too, has no place for him in his scheme of Brāhmaṇic gods. These circumstances, as well as those mentioned above, show that, though he was regarded as an Avatāra, there was no cult in his honour. Still, as depicted by Vālmīki, Rāma was a high-souled hero, and poets, including those nameless ones who wrote Purāṇas in the names of old Ṛṣis, particularly Bhavabhūti, still more highly exalted his character. Rāma, therefore, won a place in the heart of the Indian people, and that must have soon led to the foundation of the cult. But when this took place it is difficult to say. Mādhva or Ānandatīrtha, the founder of a sect to be noticed hereafter, is represented to have brought the image of Digvijaya Rāma from Badarikāśrama and sent Naraharitīrtha to Jagannātha about the year 1264 A. D.[2], to bring what was called the original idols of Rāma and Sītā. The cult of Rāma, therefore, must have come into existence about the eleventh century. There exist manuals giving the modes of worship by means of Mantras or formulae and magic circles, like those prescribed in the Sātvata-Saṁhitā for the worship of Vāsudeva. The ceremony in connection with his birth on the 9th of the bright half of Caitra is given in his Vratakhaṇḍa[3] by Hemādri, who flourished in the thirteenth century. That writer, as well as Vṛddha-Hārīta[4], gives the modes of worshipping him as an incarnation along with others on certain occasions, so that it appears that his worship as an incarnation has been of a longer duration than that based on terms of equality with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

Twenty-four images, differing from each other in the order in which the four objects, viz., the conch-shell, discus, mace

1 Ante, p. 64 [N. B. U.]
2 See below.
3 P. 941 (Bibl. Ind.).
4 Vratakhaṇḍa pp. 1034ff. ; Vṛddha-Hārīta-Smṛti (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series), chap. X, v. 145.

and lotus, are placed in the four hands of the principal god Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu, are mentioned by both those authors, and the twenty-four names[1] corresponding to the twenty-four images, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Govinda, etc., which include those of the four Vyūhas, are repeated by us at the beginning of every ceremony that we perform at the present day ; that is, obeisance is made to the twenty-four forms of the god by using the word Namaḥ (salutations) after the dative of each of the names, and the sense is 'Saluations to Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, etc,'. The name of Rāma, however, is not included in them, while two other Avatāras, Narasiṁha and Vāmana, are mentioned. Every Śrāddha ceremony is wound up by the expression "May Janārdana-Vāsudeva, who is a form of the ancestors, or the father, grandfather and great grandfather, be satisfied by this act". All this shows that Vāsudevism has penetrated into every one of our ordinary ceremonies, which include a repetition even of Vedic Mantras, while this is not at all the case with the cult of Rāma, which is, therefore of a modern growth.

There is a work, entitled the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa, which Ekanātha[2], a Mahārāṣṭra saint, who flourished in the sixteenth century, calls a modern treatise, composed of excerpts from older writings and having no pretence to be considered as emanating from the old Ṛsis. The object of this work throughout has been to set forth the divinity of Rāma. The first book of it comprises what is called Rāmahṛdaya, which was narrated to Hanūmat by Sītā, who says that as the original Prakṛti, she does every thing and did all the deeds mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, while Rāma as the only existing soul is inactive, unchangeable and blessed, and is a mere witness of her deeds. After she has concluded, Rāma explains the threefold nature of the knowing spirit, viz., (1) the original, (2) that conditioned by Buddhi or

1 (1) Keśava, (2) Nārāyaṇa, (3) Mādhava, (4) Govinda, (5) Viṣṇu, (6) Madhusūdana, (7) Trivikrama, (8) Vāmana, (9) Śrīdhara, (10) Hṛṣīkeśa, (11) Padmanābha, (12) Dāmodara, (13) Saṁkarṣaṇa, (14) Vāsudeva, (15) Pradyumna, (16) Aniruddha, (17) Puruṣottama, (18) Adhokṣaja, (19) Narasiṁha, (20) Acyuta, (21) Janārdana, (23) Upendra, (23) Hari, (24) Śrīkṛṣṇa.

2 See his Bhāvārtha-Rāmāyaṇa, Araṇyakāṇḍa,

finite intelligence, and (3) the appearances, the last two of which are fictitious. The fifth canto of the last book is styled Rāmagītā, which is meant to correspond to the Bhagavadgītā of Vāsudeva and which is narrated by Rāma to Lakṣmaṇa, who takes the place of Arjuna. The doctrine is thoroughly adualistic as that of the previous portion. The world and the individual soul are illusory, and one spirit alone exists. There is another book called Rāmagītā published in Madras, which represents itself to be contained in a larger work called Sattvapārāyaṇa and is composed of eighteen chapters like the genuine Bhagavadgītā. It is narrated to Hanūmat by Rāma. In the beginning it professes itself to be based on the one hundred and eight Upaniṣads, some of which are manifestly very recent. This work, therefore, must be a very modern compilation. Thus the works designed to give importance to Rāma as a religious teacher are of recent origin.

XIV. Vāsudevism or Vaisnavism in the South.

§ 44. We have seen that Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva had come to be worshipped as gods in the Maratha country by about the first century B. C. The cult must have spread further south up to the Tamil country, but there is no evidence to show at what time it was introduced there. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (Book XI, chap. 5, vv. 38-40) says, in the usual prophetic style, that in the Kali age there will be found men here and there devoted to Nārāyaṇa, but in large numbers in the Dravida country, where flow the rivers Tāmraparṇī, Kāverī and others, and that those who drink the water of these rivers will mostly be pure-hearted devotees of Vāsudeva. When the Purāṇa goes out of its beaten track to make such a statement as this, the fame of the devotees of Vāsudeva, who had flourished in the Tamil country, must have spread over either parts of India when the Purāṇa was compiled. The Purāṇa was regarded as sacred in the thirteenth century, when Ānandatīrtha, who flourished between about 1199 and 1278 A.D., places it on the same level as the Mahābhārata and devotes a treatise to the determination of its drift, as to that of the latter. About the same time Bopadeva prepared an abstract of it at the request of the councillor Hemādri. The Bhāgavata, therefore, must have been composed at the least

two centuries before Ānandatīrtha to account for the reputation of the sacred character which it acquired in his time. It cannot be very much older, for its style often looks modern and in copying from the older Purāṇas it falls into mistakes, such as the one pointed out by me in another place[1]. The Dravida devotees, therefore, noticed in the Bhāgavata, must have mostly flourished before the eleventh century.

These devotees, who are known by the name of Āḻvārs, are generally reckoned as twelve in number and are divided into three classes by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar[2] in accordance with the received chronology which he follows to determine their sequence, though in itself it assigns a preposterously high antiquity to them. Their names, Tamil and Sanskrit, are as follows :—

Class	Tamil name	Sanskrit name
Ancient	Poygai Āḻvār	Saroyogin
	Bhūtattār	Bhūtayogin
	Pēy Āḻvār	Mahadyogin or Bhrāntayogin
	Tirumaḻiśai Āḻvār	Bhaktisāra
Later	Namm Āḻvār	Śaṭhakopa
		Madhurakavi
		Kulaśekhara
	Periy Āḻvār	Viṣṇucitta
	Aṇḍāḷ	Godā
Last	Toṇḍaradippodi	Bhaktāṅghrireṇu
	Tiruppāṇ Āḻvār	Yogivāhana
	Tirumangai Āḻvār	Parakāla

The date of the first, ordinarily given, is B. C. 4203 and of the last, B. C. 2706, and the others range between these two. Not only are these dates fanciful, but even the sequence shown above is unreliable. Krishnaswami places the last in the earlier half of the eighth century A. D., and all the preceding ones impliedly before that date. But there is distinct evidence to show that Kulaśekhara flourished much later. He was a king of Travancore, and one of

1 Early History of the Deccan (Second Edition), pp. 32-33. [=Vol. III, p. 46 of this Edition.—N. B. U.]

2 Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXV, p. 238.

the works composed by him styled Mukundamālā contains a verse from the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (XI. 2. 36)[1].

Again in an Inscription on a tablet, existing in a temple at Narēgal in the Dharwar district, translated by Dr. Fleet[2], it is stated that Permāḍi of the Sinda dynasty vanquished Kulaśekharāṅka, besieged Chaṭṭa, pursued Jayakeśin, and seized upon the royal power of Poysala and invested Dhorasamudra, the capital of the Poysala dynasty. In another Inscription[3] this Permāḍi is represented to be a vassal of Jagadekamalla II, whose dates range between A. D. 1138 and 1150. While the former was in power as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara in the seventh year of Jagadekamalla, i. e., in A. D. 1144, a certain grant was made by a body of sellers of betel leaves and nuts. The Kulaśekharāṅka, mentioned as being vanquished by this Permāḍi, must be a prince reigning on the western coast, as the others, Jayakeśin, the Kadamba prince of Goa, the Hoysala king, and so forth, were. Putting this statement and the quotation from the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa together, it appears highly probable that the Āḻvār Kulaśekhara lived in the first half of the twelfth century. The sequence, therefore, given above cannot be implicitly believed in.

Still it may be admitted that the earliest Āḻvārs flourished about the time of the revival of Brāhamanism and Hinduism in the North, which extended up to the Maratha country, as we have shown from Inscriptions and antiquarian remains, and must have extended still farther to the South. The earliest Āḻvārs may be placed before about the fifth or sixth century, but there is nothing to show that Vaiṣṇavism had not penetrated to the Tamil country earlier, i. e., about the first century. But an impetus, such as the rise of the Āḻvārs indicates, could in all probability come only from the energy of the revival. The hostile relations into which the Āḻvārs and the Śaiva saints, Nāyanmārs, came with the Buddhists and Jainas, lend support to the view we have advocated.

The Āḻvārs composed mostly in Tamil, what are called Prabandhas or songs in praise of the deity full of piety and devotion and

1 Kāyena vācā manasendriyair vā, etc.

2 JBBRAS, Vol. XI. p. 244.

3 Ibid. p. 251.

containing also religious truth. They are considered as very sacred and spoken of as the Vaiṣṇava Veda. The reverence paid to the Āḻvārs is very great, and their images are placed by the side of the god representing Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa in some form and worshipped. It may be noted here that Kulaśekhara-Āḻvār's favourite deity was Rāma, the son of Daśaratha.

XV. Rāmānuja.

§ 45. There were two classes of teachers among the Vaiṣṇavas of the South, viz, the Āḻvārs and the Ācāryas. The former devoted themselves to the culture of the feeling of love and devotion for Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, and composed songs, while the object of the latter was to carry on disputations and controversies and seek to establish their own theories and creeds. The first class we have already noticed briefly. The first of the second class appears to have been Nāthamuni. His successor was Yāmunācārya or Yāmunamuni. Rāmānuja succeeded Yāmunamuni, one of whose last directions to his successor was to compose a commentary on Bādarāyaṇa's Brahmasūtra. The necessity for such a work was felt by the leaders of the Vaiṣṇava faith, since they found it not possible to maintain the doctrine of Bhakti or love in the face of the theory of Advaita or Monism of Spirit set up by Śaṁkarācārya as based upon the Brahmasūtras and the Upaniṣads.

During the period of the revival of Brāhmaṇism and Hinduism there was such a fermentation of thought as that which existed when Buddhism, Jainism and other heterodox systems on the one hand, and Vāsudevism on the other, arose. The present fermentation, however, did not rest on independent thought, but was based upon the sacred works that had been handed down from the earlier times. The Pali Buddhism made way for the Sanskrit Mahāyānism, and against this last, controversies were carried on by the School of Nyāya founded by Gautama and by the Mīmāṁsakas, especially by Śabarsvāmin and Kumārilabhaṭṭa. But the Mīmāṁsakas attacked not only the Buddhists, but the Aupaniṣadas, or a school of thought based upon the Upaniṣads. They maintained the efficacy of the sacrificial religion alone and denied it to the faith and practices of the latter school. The efforts of this school were therefore directed towards the maintenance of their position that their system alone can lead to supreme bliss.

The person who appeared prominently on the scene on this occasion was Gauḍapādācārya and some time after him the pupil of his pupil, Śaṁkarācārya. The theory that this latter set up, was that there exists one spirit alone, and the feelings of individuality and other attributes of the animal spirit and the variety of the inanimate world, owe their origin to a principle of illusion, and are consequently unreal. This doctrine left no room for the exercise of love and piety in the world of reality, though its followers allow it in the ordinary illusive condition of the human souls, and therefore it laid the axe at the root of Vaiṣṇavism. The great wish of the Southern leaders of the latter faith was the overthrow of this doctrine of illusion, or Māyā, on the same Aupaniṣada grounds on which it was set up. And this wish of his predecessor was carried out by Rāmānuja, and henceforward every Vaiṣṇava system, and even, in one or two cases, Śaiva systems had to tack on Aupaniṣada or Vedāntic theories to their own doctrines.

§ 46. Rāmānuja was born in Śaka 938 corresponding to 1016 or 1017 A. D. In his youth he lived at Kāñcīpura or Conjeevaram and was a pupil of Yādavaprakāśa, who was an Advaita philosopher and therefore professed spiritual monism. Rāmānuja whose inclinations were towards Vaiṣṇavism, was dissatisfied with the teachings of his master, and the ultimate result was his seperation from him. He applied himself to the study of the Prabandhas of the Āḻvārs and drank in their spirit. When he became a successor of Yāmunācārya, he lived at Śrīraṅgam, near Trichinopoly, and did his life's work there. He is said to have gone on a pilgrimage to the noted holy places of Upper India. In the latter years of his age he was subjected to persecution by the Cola prince of his time, who wanted him to renounce Vaiṣṇavism for Śaivism, in consequence of which he took refuge in 1096 A. D. in the dominions of the Hoysala Yādava princes, who reigned in Mysore and whose capital was Dvārasamudra, the modern Halebīḍ. There he converted Viṭṭhala Deva, popularly called Biṭṭi Deva, Biṭṭi being, in all likelihood, the corruption of Viṭṭhala or Viṭṭhi. This took place in 1098 A. D. Viṭṭhala Deva was not the reigning prince, but administered some of the frontier provinces in the name of his brother Ballāla, who was on the

throne[1]. Viṭṭhala Deva or Biṭṭi Deva was called Viṣṇuvardhana after his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism. This is the ordinary account. But what appears true is that his name was originally Viṣṇu, which was corrupted into Biṭṭu or Biṭṭi in the Kanarese, the vernacular of the district, so that his original name Biṭṭi Deva is the same as Viṣṇu Deva which he is represented to have assumed after his conversion. He reigned from 1104 to 1141 A. D.[2] Rāmānuja composed the following works: — Vedāntasāra, Vedārthasaṁgraha, Vedāntadīpa, and commentaries, or Bhāṣyas, on the Brahmasūtras and the Bhagavadgītā[3].

§ 47. The Vedāntic theory, or the theory based upon the Brahmasūtras and the Upaniṣads, which Rāmānuja set up to provide scope for the feeling of Bhakti, or love for God and the spirit of worship, was that there are three eternal principles, the individual or animal soul (Cit), the insensate world (Acit), and the Supreme Soul (Īśvara).

There are Upaniṣad texts to support this, and one of them is that in the ŚU. (I. 12) to the effect that all Brahman, regarded as composed of the enjoyer or sufferer, the objects from which enjoyment or suffering springs, and the controller or mover, is threefold. But the Brahmasūtras lay it down on the authority of the Upaniṣads that Brahman is the material as well as the efficient cause of the world. To make this possible in his system, Rāmānuja resorts to the passage in BU. of the Mādhyaṁdina school, beginning from III. 7. 3, in which the Supreme Soul is stated to be the internal controller (Antaryāmin) of the individual soul as well as of the external world. The form that he gives to his theory is that the individual soul and the insensate world are the attributes of the Supreme Soul. They constitute his body, as stated in the Upaniṣad also, and thus, they with the controlling inward Supreme Soul constitute one entity called Brahman, just as the body and the in-dwelling soul constitute the human being.

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1 See Krishnaswami Aiyangar's paper in No. 8 of the magazine Viśiṣṭādvaitin for most of these facts.

2 Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XVIII, p. 173.

3 See Krishnaswami's paper alluded to above.

Before creation the body of the Supreme Soul exists in a subtle form, and when creation takes place, it develops in the form of the existing universe; thus Brahman is the material cause of the external world. It is also the efficient cause, when, as the internal controlling soul, it wills to creat. The subtle form of the insensate world is the Prakṛti, a term first invented by the original author of the Sāṁkhya doctrine. It develops under the guidance of the in-dwelling Supreme Spirit until the mundane egg is produced. The successive stages of Mahat, Ahaṁkāra, etc., are like those of the Sāṁkhya system, which has been adopted by the Purāṇas also in the account of the creation. And the creation after the production of the mundane egg is also made by Īśvara as the internal controller of Brahmadeva, Dakṣa, etc.

Īśvara or God is free from all faults or defects. He is eternal, pervades all living and non-living things, is the internal controller of all, is pure joy or blessedness, is possessed of the auspicious qualities of knowledge, power, etc., is the creator, protector and destroyer of the world, and is resorted to by those who are afflicted, who wish to gain knowledge, who seek to attain a certain end, and who are already enlightened[1]. He confers the fourfold fruit of existence[2]. He is possessed of a wonderful celestial body of unsurpassable beauty and has for his consorts Lakṣmī[3], Bhū (the earth), and Līlā (sport).

This Īśvara appears in five different modes :—

I. Para or the highest, in which mode, Nārāyaṇa, called also Para-Brahman and Para-Vāsudeva, lives in a city called Vaikuṇṭha, which is guarded by certain persons and which has door-keepers; seated in a pavilion of gems on a couch in the form of the serpent Śeṣa, placed on a throne having the eight legs, Dharma and others; attended by Śrī, Bhū and Līlā; holding the celestial weapons, conch-shell, discus, and others; adorned with celestial ornaments, such as a tiara and others; possessed of numberless auspicious attributes, knowledge, power, and others;

1 These are the four, Ārta, Jijñāsu, etc., mentioned in BhG. (7. 16).

2 Artha, or worldly prosperity, Kāma, or the objects of desire, Dharma, or religious merit, and Mokṣa, or final deliverance, are the four objects of existence.

3 From the Tattvatraya of Lokācārya.

and his presence being enjoyed by the eternal spirits, such as Ananta, Garuḍa, Viṣvaksena, and others, and by delivered souls.

II. Vyūha, in which the Para himself has assumed four forms, Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha for convenience of worship, and for purposes such as creation, etc. Of these Vāsudeva is possessed of the six qualities; Saṁkarṣaṇa has two, viz., omniscience and sustaining power; Pradyumna two, viz., controlling power and unchangeableness; and Aniruddha, creative power and all-overcoming prowess[1].

III. Vibhava, which mode consists of the ten Avatāras, fish, tortoise, etc.

IV. Antaryāmin, in which mode he dwells in the heart and is to be seen by Yogins and accompanies the individual souls even when they go to heaven or hell.

V. Idols or images set up in houses, villages, towns, etc., made up of a material chosen by the worshipper, in which he dwells with a body not made up of matter.[2]

Other authorities leave out Vāsudeva from the Vyūhas and have the other three only. The Arthapañcaka has another form of the Antaryāmin, in which form he dwells in everything and rules over all, is bodiless, all-pervading and store of all good attributes, and is called Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva[3], etc.

Self-consciousness, knowledge, union as a soul with a body, agency, are attributes common to the supreme and individual souls.[4] The latter is self-illumined, joyous, eternal, atomic, imperceptible to the senses, unthinkable, devoid of parts, unchangeable, the substratum of knowledge, subject to God's control, depending on God's existence for his own existence and an attribute of God[5]. This description of the individual soul differs a

1 These are translations of the words Jñāna, Bala, Aiśvarya, Vīrya, Śakti, and Tejas, according to the definitions in the Yatīndramatadīpikā.

2 Yatīndramatadīpikā, 9.

3 See my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during 1883-84, p. 69. [= Volume II of this Edition, p. 184—N. B. U.]

4 Yat. 8.

5 Tattvatraya.

great deal from that of Śaṁkarācārya, who attributes no agency or substantiality to it; and the dependence on God in a variety of ways cannot, of course, be thought of under the doctrine of spiritual monism. The soul's being an atom is also denied by Śaṁkara's school and various others. The souls are many and are divided into :—

(1) Baddha or tied down to the circle of existences from Brahmadeva to the vilest worm, as well as the vegetable souls;

(2) Mukta or finally delivered; and

(3) Nitya or eternal.

Of the first class, those that are rational, that is, not brutes or vegetables, are of two sorts; (1) desirous of enjoyment; (2) desirous of final deliverance. Of those that are desirous of enjoyment, some devote themselves to the acquisition of wealth and the satisfaction of carnal desires, and others, who seek to attain the happiness of heaven, perform all rites and sacrifices, make pilgrimages to holy-places and give in charity. Some of these devote themselves to Bhagavat and others to other deities.

Some of those who desire final deliverance seek the consciousness of their pure soul only (Kevalin), and others eternal bliss. Of these latter, some are Bhaktas, who seek to attain God by resorting to Bhakti with all its details, having first of all studied the Vedas and acquainted themselves with the Vedānta and the philosophy of rites (Karman). The three upper orders alone can practise Bhakti, but not the Śūdras. Others are Prapannas, who are those who take refuge in God, feeling themselves poor and helpless. Of Prapannas, some seek the first three objects of life, while the rest, finding no happiness in these, renouncing everything worldly, desire eternal bliss (Mokṣa) alone, and, seeking the advice of a preceptor and acquiring from him the impulse to action, fling themselves on the will of God, not having the power of going through the Bhakti process and being helpless. This Prapatti or surrender to God can be practised by all orders, including Śūdras.[1]

What are necessary for the efficacy of the method of Bhakti,

1 Yat. 8.

are Karmayoga or the performance of actions, and Jñānayoga or the acquisition of knowledge. Karmayoga is the performance of all acts, rites and ceremonies without regard for the fruit resulting from them. These are the worship of the deity, practice of austerity, pilgrimage to holy places, giving in charity and sacrifices.

This Karmayoga purifies the soul and leads to Jñānayoga, or acquisition of knowledge. This knowledge consists in seeing oneself as distinct from Prakṛti, or matter, and as an attribute of God himself (Śeṣa). This Jñānayoga leads to Bhakti.

Bhaktiyoga, or the method of Bhakti, consists in continuous meditation accompanied by the practice of the eight Yoga processes, Yama, Niyama, etc. This is to be attained by (1) the purification of the body by the use of unpolluted and unprohibited food, (2) chastity, (3) constant practice, (4) the performance of five great rites and ceremonies according to one's means, (5) virtues such as truth, uprightness, compassion, charity, non-destruction of life, (6) hopefulness or absence of despondency, and (7) absence of elatedness. Bhakti, as promoted by these seven means, assumes the form of actually seeing (God) and produces the final mental perception.

Prapatti consists in the resolution to yield, the avoidance of opposition,[1] a faith that God will protect, acceptance of him as saviour or praying him to save and sense of helplessness resulting in throwing one's whole soul on him.[2] Prapatti thus comes to self-surrender.[3]

The Arthapañcaka mentions a fifth way called Ācāryābhimānayoga, which is for one who is unable to follow any of the others, and consists in surrendering oneself to an Ācārya or preceptor and being guided by him in everything. The preceptor goes

1 The two expressions thus translated have also been otherwise explained as bearing good-will to all and the absence of ill-will.

2 There is another reading here which should be translated as "throwing oneself upon him and a feeling of helplessness." Thus there are six constituents of Prapatti. These are; (1) Ānukūlyasya saṁkalpaḥ (2) prātikūlyasya varjanam, (3) rakṣiṣyatīti viśvāso (4) gōptṛtvavaraṇaṁ tathā, (5) ātmanikṣepa- (6) kārpaṇye ṣaḍvidhā śaraṇāgatiḥ.

3 Yat. 7.

through all that is necessary to effect his pupil's deliverance as a mother takes medicine herself to cure an infant.

Sixteen modes of worship are to be practised by the devotees of Viṣṇu, as stated in a passage quoted from the Padma-Purāṇa by a recent writer of the Rāmānuja school. Eight of these are the same as those included in the nine modes of Bhakti enumerated in a previous Section[1] as mentioned in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, Sakhya, or friendship or companionship, being omitted. The other eight are : (1) imprinting the marks of the conch-shell and the discus and other weapons of Hari on the body; (2) the making of a vertical mark on the forehead; (3) repeating of Mantras on the occasion; (4) drinking the water used in washing the feet of Hari; (5) the eating of the offerings of cooked food made to him; (6) doing service to his devotees: (7) the observance of fast on the 11th of the bright and dark halves of each lunar month; (8) laying Tulasī leaves on the idol of Hari.

A text from the Hārītasmṛti is also quoted giving nine modes of worship (Bhakti), three of which are common to it with the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. The other six are the same as the eight in the above, the first two being combined and the third being omitted. The vertical mark on the forehead mentioned above consists of two lines made with white earth and a connecting cross line at the bottom, with, in the middle, a yellow line made with turmeric powder or a red line composed of the same material reddened by mixing it with lime.

§ 48. In Northern India there are not many followers of Rāmānuja; in Southern India there is a very large number. There are two Schools among them, known by the names of Vaḍakalai or northern learning, and Tenkalai or southern learning. The essential difference between them is brought out by the different illustrations[2] that they give of the connection between God's grace and man's effort in bringing about final deliverance. The illustration used by the former, or the northern, is that of a female monkey and her cub. The cub has to hold fast its mother on the abdomen to

1 Ante, p. 57. [N. B. U.]

2 The following remarks are based on Viśiṣṭādvaitin, Vol. I, No. 8, pp. 200ff., and Mr. Govindacharya's article, JRAS, 1910, pp. 1103 ff.

be conveyed to a safe place. The southerners use the illustration of the cat and its kittens. The female cat catches hold of the kitten, without any effort on its part, and takes it to a place of safety. In the first case the doctrine is that the process of deliverance must begin with an act of a person seeking it. In the other case the process begins with God himself.

In keeping with this distinction is the idea of Prapatti or self-surrender held by the two Sects. The first maintains that Prapatti is one of the ways resorted to by the devotee and begins with him. The southern School holds that it is not one of the ways, but it is a frame of mind which characterises all those who seek absolution, and reject all other ways in favour of this. Those who resort to other ways have not arrived at the right mood which leads to God. When a soul is in this frame of mind, God himself takes entire possession of him, while by the other ways, man, as it were, makes approaches towards him. The Vaḍakalai lays down that Prapatti is for those who cannot follow other ways, such as Karmayoga, Jñānayoga and Bhaktiyoga, while the Tenkalai holds that it is necessary for all, whether able or not, to follow the other ways. The first School says that one should give himself up to God when one finds other ways, which have been resorted to, to be fruitless. The second holds that self-abandonment to God should precede the trial of other ways. Self-assertiveness is the characteristic of the first, but it is forbidden by the second and self-abandonment is enjoined. The northerners say that the six ways of Prapatti or self-surrender given above are preliminaries to the Prapatti which results from them. The southerners say that Prapatti must take place first and then the six follow as results.

The nothern School teaches that a person belonging to an inferior caste should be treated well only so far as conversation by words is concerned. The southerners say that they should be admitted to an equal treatment in all respects and no distinction be made. The syllable Om should be omitted from the eight-syllabled Mantra, according to the Vaḍakalai, when taught to others than Brāhmaṇas; the Tenkalai does not make this distinction and provides for the teaching of the whole Mantra in the same form to all.[1]

1 This Mantra is "Om Namo Nārāyaṇāya".

§ 49 It will be seen from the short summary here given that Rāmānuja derives his metaphysical doctrines from texts in the Upaniṣads and from the Brahmasūtras, while his theory of the external world is that adopted by the Purāṇas and based on the twenty-four elements of the Sāṁkhya system. His Vaiṣṇavism is the Vāsudevism of the old Pāñcarātra system combined with the Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu elements. The last name does not occur often in the literature of his school. The most prominent name is Nārāyaṇa, though Vāsudeva takes his proper place when the Supreme Soul and the Vyūhas are spoken of. The name of Gopāla-kṛṣṇa is conspicuous by its absence, and Rāmānuja's system is free from that repulsive form which Vaiṣṇavism assumes when Rādhā and other cowherdesses are introduced. Rāma too does not appear to be a favourite deity. Rāmānuja's doctrines as to the way of reaching the Supreme Soul are the same as, or amplified forms of, those in the Bhagavadgītā. But in this system Bhakti is reduced to the form of a continuous meditation on the Supreme Soul. It thus corresponds to the Upāsanās, or meditations, described by Bādarāyaṇa, and does not mean a boundless love for God, as the word is commonly understood, though the meditation that is enjoined implies tacitly a feeling of love.

The tendency of Rāmānuja's system seems to be to give an exclusive Brāhmaṇic form to the traditional method of Bhakti, or devotion to God, and this is distinctly seen in the doctrines of the Vaḍakalai ; while Tenkalai, or southern learning, is more liberal and so shapes the doctrines of the system as to make them applicable to Śūdras also. But we shall find the Śūdras asserting themselves when we come to the disciples of Rāmānanda and to the Maratha saints and teachers, Nāmdeva and Tukārāma.

The fifth Upāya, or way to God, given in the Arthapañcaka, of surrendering oneself completely to a teacher or preceptor, doing nothing oneself and the preceptor doing all that is necessary for one's redemption, seems suspicious. It has a striking resemblance to the Christian doctrine of Christ suffering, or in the words of our author, going through the processes necessary for redemption, the believer doing nothing but putting complete faith in his saviour. If the prevalence of Christianity in and before the time of Rāmānuja in the country about Madras is a proved fact, this

doctrine as well as some of the finer points in the theory of Prapatti may be traced to the influence of Christianity. Rāmānuja's system is known by the name of Śrīsampradāya or the tradition springing from Śrī.

XVI Madhva or Ānandatīrtha

§ 50 The great object of the Vaiṣṇava teachers of the eleventh century and upwards was to confute the theory of Māyā, or the unreality of the world, and establish the doctrine of Bhakti, or love and faith, on a secure basis. Rāmānuja effected this by the system which he promulgated and which we have already noticed. But in order to reconcile his doctrine with the theory set forth in the Brahmasūtras on the basis of the Upaniṣads, that God is the material as well as the efficient cause of the world, he propounded the doctrine of God's being a composite person, having for his body the individual souls and the inanimate world. Even this Madhva considered objectionable as having a tendency to depreciate the independent majesty of God, and therefore he denies his being the material cause of the world. All the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa which set forth that doctrine have been interpreted by him in an entirely different way. Probably he would have set aside the Brahmasūtras altogether; but he could not do so, since the work had acquired an uncontested authoritativeness as regards religious truth before his time. He had therefore to show that his system did not go against the Brahmasūtras, and therefore accepted them and interpreted them in almost a fantastic manner. Texts from the Upaniṣads, too, which do not agree with his doctrines, he treats similarly.

In opposition to the pure monism of Śaṁkara and the qualified monism of Rāmānuja, Ānandatīrtha sets forth five eternal distinctions or individualities, viz., the distinction between

(1) God and the individual spirit,
(2) God and the inanimate world,
(3) the individual spirit and the inanimate world,
(4) one individual spirit and another,
(5) one inanimate object and another.

According to the Madhvavijaya, or the history of the triumphs of Madhva, by Nārāyaṇa, the son of Trivikrama, there was in the

town of Rajatapīṭha a family known by the name of Madhyageha. Madhva's father was called Madhyagehabhaṭṭa[1]; the name given to Madhva after his birth was Vāsudeva. After Vāsudeva had received the usual education of a Brāhmaṇa, he was initiated as an anchorite by Acyutapreksācārya who thus became his Guru. After his initiation he went to Badarikāśrama in the Himālaya and brought back the idols of Digvijaya Rāma and Vedavyāsa. He was raised to the seat of high priest in the presence of kings.

Ānandatīrtha went from country to country, putting down the advocates of the doctrine of Māyā and others, and established the Vaiṣṇava creed. He had for his pupils Padmanābhatīrtha, Naraharitīrtha, Mādhavatīrtha, and Akṣobhyatīrtha. Naraharitīrtha was sent to Jagannātha in Orissa to bring the original idols of Rāma and Sītā. Ānandatīrtha's other names were Pūrṇaprajña and Madhyamandāra, or wish-giving tree of the family of Madhya.

The date of his death given in the list preserved in several of the Maṭhas, or establishments of the sect, is Śaka 1119, and as he lived for seventy-nine years, the death of his birth has been given as Śaka 1040. But these statements are open to serious doubts. There is an Inscription in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam in the Chicacole Taluka of the Ganjam District, in which Naraharitīrtha is represented to have constructed a temple and placed in it an idol of Yogānandanarasiṁha in the year Śaka 1203.[2] The first person therein mentioned is Puruṣottamatīrtha, who is the sa ne as Acyutaprekṣa[3], then his pupil Ānandatīrtha, and the last is Naraharitīrtha, the pupil of Ānandatīrtha. This Naraharitīrtha is considered by some to have been the ruler of Orissa. But this arises from a confusion between him and a king bearing the same name, in the slightly modified form of Narasimha, who was the actual ruler of the country from about Śaka 1191 to

1. Kallianpur in the Udipi Taluka of the district of South Kanara is stated to be the birth-place of Madhva. It was probably the same as the Rajatapīṭha of the Madhvavijaya. (Imp. Gaz., Vol. XIV, page 314.)

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 260 ff.

3. Madhvavijaya, VI, 33.

1225. He is mentioned in an Inscription at Śrīkūrmam of Naraharitīrtha himself, bearing the date Śaka 1215, which is represented as the eighteenth year of the king's reign[1]. He was Narasiṁha II, and was the prince panegyrised in a work on rhetoric, the Ekāvali [2]. Naraharitīrtha's other dates gathered from other Inscriptions range between Śaka 1186 and 1212 [3]. All these epigraphical records confirm the truth of the tradition that Naraharitīrtha was sent by Ānandatīrtha to Orissa. He appears to have held a very high position there.

Now if Naraharitīrtha's active period extended from Śaka 1186 to 1215, his master could not have died in Śaka 1119, i. e., fully 67 years before. It seems, therefore, reasonable to take the date given in Madhva's Mahābhāratatātparyanirṇaya, which is 4300 of the Kali age, to be the correct date of his birth. It corresponds to Śaka 1121, which, bearing in mind the fact that some use the current year of an era and some the past, we must regard as equivalent to Śaka 1119, the date given in the lists for Anandatīrtha's death. But instead of taking it as the date of his death, we shall have to regard it as the date of his birth. He lived for 79 years according to the current account, so that his death must be placed in Śaka 1198 [4]. The two dates may, therefore, be taken as settled.

Ānandatīrtha thus lived in the first three quarters of the thirteenth century. He was succeeded, according to the list, by Padmanābhatīrtha who held the pontificate for seven years, i. e., up to Śaka 1205. He was succeeded by Naraharitīrtha who occupied the pontifical seat for nine years, i. e., up to Śaka 1214, or, if we regard 1121 as the date of the first pontiff's birth according to the strict interpretation of the Kali date, up to Śaka 1216 ; and, as we have seen, his latest date in the Inscriptions is Śaka 1215.

§ 51. The Mādhvas follow the method of Vaiśeṣikas and divide all existing things into the categories of substance, qualities, etc.,

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, page 262, note.
2. See my note in Trivedi's edition of the work, BSS. [=Volume II of this Edition, pp. 439ff. N. B. U.]
3. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 266.
4. This agrees with the tradition existing in the Maṭha at Phalmāru, near Mulki in South Canara, to the effect that Ānandatīrtha was born in Śaka 1119 and died in Śaka 1199; Ep. Ind., VI, p. 263, note.

with some modifications of their own [1]. God is a substance. The supreme soul possesses innumerable or an infinite number of qualities. His functions are eight, viz., (1) creation, (2) protection, (3) dissolution, (4) controlling all things, (5) giving knowledge, (6) manifestation of himself, (7) tying beings down to the world, (8) redemption. He is omniscient, expressible by all words, and entirely different from the individual souls and the inanimate world. He possesses the holy form made up of knowledge, joy, etc., independent of every thing, and one only, assuming different forms. All his forms are his full manifestations, and he is identically the same with his incarnations in qualities, parts, and actions. Lakṣmī is distinct from the Supreme Soul, but entirely dependent on him. She is eternal and blessed (Mukta) like the Supreme Soul and is his consort. She has various forms, but no material body, and is thus like the Supreme Soul, and like him is expressible by all words. She possesses the same extension in space and time as the Supreme Soul, i. e., is concomitant with him.

Jīvas or individual souls go through the usual succession of existences and are characterised by ignorance or other defects. They are innumerable individually, or as members of groups, such as Ṛjus [2] who are fit for attaining Brahmahood, and others who are fit for the attainment of the dignity of Rudra, Garuḍa, Asuras, or demons, etc. They are of three kinds : (1) fit for attaining final bliss, (2) always going through the circle of existences, and (3) fit for the conditon of darkness. The gods, Ṛsis, and the manes, and the best of men, belong to the first class, ordinary men belong to the second class, and demons, ghosts, and the vilest of men, etc., to the the third class. All these individual souls are distinct from each other and from the Supreme Soul.

Creation begins when the Supreme Soul disturbs the equilibrium of the Prakṛti, which then develops into all the other principles of the Sāṁkhya system, as modified by the Purāṇas, until the mundane egg is produced. Then placing the sentient and non-

1. This account of the system is abridged from a work called Madhvasiddhāntasāra by Padmanābhasūri, printed in Bombay by Javaji Dadaji, irnayasagara Press, published at Kumbhakonam in Śaka 1815, corresponding to 1883 A. D. The tedious details are omitted.

2. Ṛjus are a class of gods.

sentient objects into his inside, he enters into the mundane egg. Then, at the end of a thousand celestial years he produces from his navel a lotus, which is the seat of the four-faced Brahmadeva; and from this last after a long time the ordinary creation takes place.

All knowledge springs from Paramātman, whatever the means by which it is produced. It is of two kinds—that which leads to worldly existence, and that which leads to Mokṣa. Viṣṇu bestows knowledge on the ignorant, and Mokṣa on those who have knowledge. The knowledge, or feeling which creates an attachment to the body, child or wife, leads to a worldly life. This is not true knowledge, but ignorance from which results that worldly life, and that ignornce is dispelled by the knowledge of God.

Mokṣa is attained by the direct knowledge or perception of Hari by means of a method of service possible to oneself and in a body fitted for it. That direct perception is possible to all good individual souls from Brahmadeva to the best of men. This direct perception is to be attained by many means.

What are necessary for direct knowledge, which leads to Mokṣa, are: (1) Vairāgya, or the disgust of enjoyments of this world or the next, generated by seeing the vanity of the world by the company of good persons; (2) equanimity (Śama) and self-control (Dama), etc.; (3) acquaintance with the lore; (4) self-surrender (Śaraṇāgati), in which the mind is devoted to God, as the best of all beings, and is full of the highest love and in which everything is resigned to God and he is worshipped with devotedness in the three ways, and which is accompanied with the faith that He will unfailingly protect and the feeling that the devotee is His: (5) attendance on a Guru, or preceptor, and propitiation of him, which is necessary for Mokṣa or redemption; (6) acquisition of knowledge from the Guru and not from books, or, in the absence of a Guru, from a good Vaiṣṇava, and, in rare cases, from books also; (7) reflection over what has been taught; (8) devotion, in the order of their merits, to a preceptor and persons better than oneself and deserving respect; (9) love of God (Paramātmabhakti) consequent on the knowledge of God's greatness and his being the best of all. This love should be firm and higher

than that for all others, and this leads to Mokṣa or eternal bliss; (10) sympathy for those who are inferior, but good men, love for those who are equal, as if they were the same as themselves, and respectful love or reverence for superiors; (11) performing rites and ceremonies deliberately without any desire, which has the effect of purifying the soul; (12) the avoidance of prohibited deeds, i. e., sins great and small; (13) resigning every act to Hari as done by him and not by oneself; (14) the knowledge of the comparative position of beings and of Viṣṇu as the highest of all; (15) knowledge of the five distinctions already mentioned; (16) distinguishing Prakṛti from Puruṣa, all beings (from Nārāyaṇa down to men, with their consorts) being Puruṣas, and the inanimate world being the Prakṛti; (17) reprobation of false doctrines; (18) Upāsanā or worship. This last is of two kinds, viz., (1) the learning of the Śāstras, (2) meditation. Meditation (Nididhyāsa) is placing Bhagavat before the mind's eye to the exclusion of everything else. This meditation is possible for one who has a distinct knowledge of a thing acquired after the removal of ignorance, doubt and delusion by means of reading or hearing something read and reflection. Some people meditate on Bhagavat as a single spirit and others on him as having four phases as Sat (existence), Cit (knowledge), Ānanda joy), Ātman (spirit). Then are given meditations resorted to by gods and some of those mentioned in the Brahmasūtras.

All these eighteen ways lead to the direct knowledge of God, which is possible for all from Brahmadeva to man. The direct knowledge of God attained by men is comparable with the coruscation of lightning, and that attained by gods to the bright disk of the sun. Garuḍa and Rudra have that knowledge in the shape of a reflection, while Brahmadeva has the knowledge of the whole with all its parts, and some have the knowledge of Him as dwelling in the universe and limited by the universe. The direct knowledge is simply mental.

§ 52. The followers of Madhva wear a mark on the forehead composed of two white perpendicular lines made with an earth called Gopicandana above the bridge of the nose, and a dark line in the middle with a reddish spot in the centre. The two white lines are joined by a cross line on the bridge of the nose. They

wear on the shoulders and on the other parts of their body prints, made with the same white earth, of the conch-shell, the discus, and other weapons of Viṣṇu. These are impressed occasionally with a heated metallic stamp on the skin, so as to leave a permanent scar. Members of this sect exist in pretty large numbers in the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency, Mysore, and on the Western Coast from Goa to South Kanara, and there are only scattered adherents in Northern India. There are eight establishments, or Maṭhas, for the dissemination and preservation of the creed in South Kanara and three in the inner country. Some of these were founded by Ānandatīrtha himself.

Ānandatīrtha composed thirty-seven[1] different treatises. He includes among the authorities enumerated by him in support of his system the Pāñcarātra-Saṁhitās; but it will be seen from the account given above that in his creed there is no place for the Vyūhas, Vāsudeva and others, and the name by which the Supreme Spirit is spoken of is mostly Viṣṇu. Some of His incarnations, especially Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, are also adored. But the Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa element seems to be entirely absent from his system, and Rādhā and the cowherdesses are not mentioned.

It thus appears that the Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata system has been set aside by Ānandatīrtha or thrown into the background. The old traditional Vāsudevism of the Bhāgavata school gradually disappeared about his time and made room for general Vaiṣṇavism.

XVII. Nimbārka.

§ 53 We have thus noticed the form which Vaiṣṇavism assumed in the South from the middle of the eleventh century to the middle of the thirteenth. A strong feeling of Bhakti, or love, and a fear of the dangerous consequences of the doctrine of Māyā, or illusion, were the guiding principles of the new development. The influence of this last extended itself to the North, and we can distinguish between two classes of founders of sects, viz.,

(1) those who wrote in Sanskrit,

1 For the names of these, see the Granthamālikāstotra in my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during 1882–83, p. 207. [= Volume II of this Edition, p. 24f. N. B. U.]

and (2) those who used the vernacular for the propagation of their creed.

The first of the former class we have to notice is Nimbārka. Nimbārka is said to have been a Tailanga Brāhmaṇa by birth and to have lived in a village called Nimba[1], which perhaps is the same as Nimbāpura in the Bellary District. He was born on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha, and his father's name was Jagannātha, who was a Bhāgavata, and his mother's Sarasvati[2]. He is believed by his followers to be an incarnation of the Sudarśana, or the discus of Viṣṇu. As to when he flourished we have no definite information, but he appears to have lived some time after Rāmānuja[3]. Nimbārka composed the Vedāntapārijāta-

1 Manuscript No. 706 of the Collection of 1884–7. Nimbārka was the "Sun of Nimba".

2 Introduction to the commentary on Daśaślokī by Harivyāsadeva. It is to be regretted that the commentator does not give the year of Nimbārka's birth.

3 In my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for the year 1882–83, I have given two succession lists of spiritual teachers, one of the sect of Ānandatīrtha (p. 203) and another of that founded by Nimbārka (pp. 208–12). This contains 37 names. There is another list in Manuscript 709 of the Collection of 1884–7, which contains 45 names. The two lists agree to No. 32 Harivyāsadeva. After that, while the first has only five names, the second has thirteen names, and none of these agrees with any of the five, so that after Harivyāsadeva, the line appears to have divided itself into two branches. No. 709 of the same Collection was written in Saṁvat 1806 corresponding to 1750 A. D., when Gosvāmin Dāmodara was living. He was the thirty-third after Nimbārka in the new branch line. The thirty-third after Ānandatīrtha died in 1876 A. D. Ānandatīrtha according to our revised date died in 1276 A. D., so that thirty-three successors occupied 603 years. Supposing that the thirty-three successors of Nimbārka occupied about the same period, and allowing about fifteen years of life to Dāmodara Gosvāmin, who was living in 1750 A. D., and subtracting from 1765 A. D., 603 years, we have 1162 which is about the date of Nimbārka's death, so that he lived after Rāmānuja. This calculation of ours is of course very rough, and, besides, the date of the Manuscript No. 706, which is read as 1913 by some, but which looks like 1813, conflicts with this calculation, as nine more Ācāryas flourished after Dāmodara. And, if 1813 is the correct date, seven years cannot suffice for these, though 107 may, if the date is read 1913.

saurabha, which is a short commentary on the Brahmasūtras, and also a small work containing ten stanzas of the name of Siddhāntaratna, usually called Daśaślokī, from the number of stanzas contained in it. Śrīnivāsa, the immediate follower of Nimbārka, wrote a commentary called Bhāṣya on the first, and Harivyāsadeva, the thirty-second in the list of succession, wrote on the second. The thirteenth in the list, Devācārya, wrote the Siddhāntajāhnavī, and his successor, Sundarabhaṭṭa, wrote a commentary on it, called Setu. The thirtieth in the list composed a commentary, or Bhāṣya, on the Brahmasūtras. His name was Keśava Kaśmīrin.

§ 52. Nimbārka's Vedāntic theory is monistic as well as pluralistic. The inanimate world, the individual soul and God are distinct from one another as well as identical. Identical they are in the sense that the first two have no independent existence, but are dependent on God for their existence and action. The theory of the Brahmasūtras that Brahman is the material cause of the universe, is thus understood: To be the material cause of an effect is (1) to possess the capacity of assuming the form of that effect, and (2) to be fitted to do so. Brahman possesses various capacities which are of the nature of the animate and inanimate worlds. These in a subtle form constitute its natural condition. This satisfies the first of the two requirements. The capacities again contain in them the rudiment of the effect, i. e., the world, in a subtle form. This meets the second requirement. By realising these capacities and bringing the subtle rudiment into a gross form, Brahman becomes the material cause of the world. Rāmānuja's theory of Brahman forming with the animate and inanimate world a composite personality and of its being the material cause in so far as the bodily portion of the composite personality becomes developed, is rejected by the school[1]. For a further knowledge of the system, I will here give a translation of the Daśaślokī.

I. Jīva, or the individual soul, is knowledge, dependent on Hari, and is in a condition to be associated with, or dissociated from, a body; is an atom, different in different bodies, and is a knower and numberless.

It is called knowledge here to show that it is able to know

1. See Kes'ava's commentary, Br. S. I. 4. 23.

without the organs of sense, and it is not to be understood here that the soul is the mere phenomenon of knowledge, and not a substance, which is the doctrine of Śaṁkarācārya.

II. The individual soul has his form distorted by its contact with Māyā, or the constituent principle with the three qualities which has no beginning. Its true nature becomes known by the grace of God.

Individual souls are of two sorts : (1) those delivered or in a supremely blissful condition ; (2) those tied down to the circle of existences. The first are of two kinds : (I) those who are eternally in a supremely blissful condition, such as (*a*) Garuḍa, Viṣvaksena, and (*b*) the crown, ear-ornaments and the flute considered as living beings ; and (II) those who are freed from the trammels of life. Of these last some attain to the likeness of God and others are content with the perception of the nature of their own soul. Corresponding to these two last are two kinds of Mumukṣu, those who seek deliverance of either kind.

III. The inanimate objects are of three kinds : (1) not derived from Prakṛti ; (2) derived from Prakṛti ; and (3) time. In the things derived from Prakṛti we have the ordinary material objects having the three colours, viz., red, white, and dark.

The first class consists of those which are spoken of figuratively by the use of the names of objects belonging to the second class, such as the sunlike refulgence of the Supreme Soul. It is a refulgence not arising from the Prakṛti. Similarly the body, hands, feet, and ornaments of God, as well as all the surroundings, such as garden, palace, etc., belong to the first class and are of an inanimate nature, though they are not made of matter, i. e., not derived from Prakṛti[1].

IV. I meditate on the highest Brahman, viz., Kṛṣṇa, who has eyes like the lotus, who naturally is free from all faults, is the store of all beneficent attributes, who has Vyūhas for his parts, and who is adored by all.

1. The physical attributes, given to God by Rāmānuja and the rest and to which the word 'celestial' is sometimes prefixed, are to be understood in this sense.

The Vyūhas here mentioned are those usually referred to in the Pāñcarātra and Rāmānuja systems. The commentators understand the incarnations also by this expression. One gives a large number of these, divided into classes on certain principles. Kṛṣṇa is called Vareṇya or adored by all, because he has a holy celestial body and bodily qualities, such as beauty, tenderness, sweetness and charm. All these are of course non-material (Aprākṛta), though inanimate according to Stanza III.

V. I reflect on the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu (Rādhikā), who shines with a corresponding beauty on the left side (of Kṛṣṇa), is attended on by thousands of female friends, and who always confers all desired objects.

VI. This Parabrahman should be always worshipped uninterruptedly by men in order to be free from the darkness in the shape of ignorance, in which they are enveloped. So was Nārada, who directly perceived the whole truth, taught by Sanandana and others.

VII. All things having Brahman for their souls in accordance with the Śrutis and Smṛtis, the knowledge that [Brahman] is all is true. This is the doctrine of those who know the Vedas, and at the same time the three forms are true as determined from the sacred precepts (Smṛtis) and the Sūtras.

Here is laid down the unity of all things in so far as Brahman is the inner controlling soul of all and is concomitant with them, and their existence and actions are dependent on it, and also pluralism, since there are three distinct substances, which are called forms of Brahman in the Stanza, viz., the inanimate world, the individual soul and the Supreme Soul.

VIII. There appears no way to salvation except the lotus-like feet of Kṛṣṇa, which are adored by Brahmadeva, Śiva and others— Kṛṣṇa, who, at the desire of a devotee, assumes a form easy of meditation and whose power is unthinkable and whose essence cannot be comprehended.

IX. His grace extends itself to those who have a feeling of helplessness and other qualifications, and by that grace is generated Bhakti, or devotion, consisting of special love for Him, Who has

no superior lord. This Bhakti is of two kinds: the highest is one, and the other is that which leads to or is instrumental to it.

By the feeling of helplessness and other qualifications are meant the six modes of Prapatti given in connection with Rāmānuja's system. The Bhakti which is instrumental to that which is the highest, is of the nature of the six or nine modes mentioned in previous Sections.

X. These five things should be known by the devotees: (1) the nature of the being to be worshipped; (2) the nature of the worshipper; (3) the fruit of Gods's grace; (4) the feeling of enjoyment consequent on Bhakti, or love; (5) obstructions to the attainment of God.

The first is the knowing of the nature of the Supreme Being as existence, intelligence and joy (Saccidānanda), of his possessing a celestial body (non-material), of his dwelling in such places as the cow-settlement (Vraja), which is called the celestial city (Vyomapura), of his being the cause of all, omnipotent, tender, merciful, gracious towards his devotees, and so forth. The second consists in knowing the worshipper as an atom, possessing knowledge aud joy, and as the servant of Kṛṣṇa, etc. The third is the self-surrender and the giving up of all actions except the service of God, which results in self-surrender. The fourth arises from serenity, servitude, friendliness, affection, and enthusiasm. These states of mind are consequent upon the peculiar relation to God of each individual, as affection was the feeling of Nanda, Vasudeva and Devakī, and enthusiasm, of Rādhā and Rukmiṇī. The fifth are such as regarding the body as the soul, dependence on others than God and one's preceptor, indifference to the commands of God contained in the sacred books, worshipping other gods, giving up one's own peculiar duties, ingratitude, spending one's life in a worthless manner, vilification of good men, and many others.

§ 55. These ten Stanzas contain the quintessence of Nimbārka's system. This appears to have Rāmānuja's doctrines for its basis and is a sidewise development of it. It gives predominance to Prapatti or self-surrender of the six kinds, alluded to above, and then, by the grace of God, love for Him is generated. His Sādhana

Bhakti comprehends all the Yogas of Rāmānuja's system. Rāmānuja, as we have already remarked[1], changes the original sense of Bhakti and renders it equivalent to the Upāsanā, or the meditation prescribed in the Upaniṣads. But Nimbārka keeps to the original sense. His doctrines make a nearer approach to the Tenkalai, or Southern Learning, of the Rāmānujīyas. But the great difference between the two teachers is, that, while Rāmānuja confines himself to Nārāyaṇa and his consorts Lakṣmī, Bhū and Līlā, Nimbārka gives almost an exclusive prominence to Kṛṣṇa and his mistress, Rādhā, attended on by thousands of her female companions. Thus the fourth element of Vaiṣṇavism which we have mentioned[2] rises to the surface in Vaiṣṇavism about this time, and retains its place in Northern India, including Bengal, except in the case of those sects whose favourite deity is Rāma and not Kṛṣṇa; and to these for the present we will now turn our attention, coming back again to Kṛṣṇaism later on.

Nimbārka's system is known by the name of Sanakasampradāya, or the tradition originating with Sanaka. Though Nimbārka was a Southerner, he lived at Vṛndāvana near Mathurā, which accounts for the preference given by him to the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa form of Vaiṣṇavism. His followers are scattered over the whole of Northern India, and exist in large numbers near Mathurā and in Bengal. They wear two perpendicular lines of Gopīcandana with a black spot in the middle on the forehead, and use a necklace and rosary of the wood of the Tulasī plant. They are divided into two classes, the ascetics and householders. This distinction appears to have originated at the time of Harivyāsadeva, after whom, as I have observed in a note, the successors of Nimbārka were divided into two branches. The reason for the division was probably this new distinction.

XVIII. Rāmānanda.

§ 56. A spirit of sympathy for the lower castes and classes of Hindu society has from the beginning been a distinguishing feature of Vaiṣṇavism. Still, so far as we have advanced, the great teachers kept these castes and classes into, what might be

1. [Ante, p. 80. N. B U.]

2. [Ante, p. 49. N. B. U.]

called, an outer court, though they were admitted to the benefits of the new dispensation. They had not, as the pure Vedāntins assert, to do the duties prescribed for their mean position, and rise in succeeding lives until they were finally born as Brāhmaṇas, when alone they could avail themselves of the methods laid down for the attainment of Mokṣa, or deliverance. They could attain this even as members of the lowest caste by resorting to devotion, but the Brahmanic teachers, Rāmānuja and others, made the methods based on the study of the Vedic literature accessible only to the higher castes, leaving other methods to the rest.

But Rāmānanda now began a radical reform and made no distinction between Brāhmaṇas and members of the degraded castes, and all could even dine together, provided they were the devotees of Viṣṇu and had been admitted into the fold. Another reform, which must be traced to Rāmānanda, was the use of the Vernaculars for the propagation of the new creed. And a third very important reform made by him was the introduction of the purer and more chaste worship of Rāma and Sītā instead of that of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

Mr. Macauliffe mentions Mailkot as the place of his birth and says that he must have flourished in the end of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century, which, he states, corresponds with a reckoning which gives 1398 A D., as the date of the birth of Kabīr. This would rather make Rāmānanda live long before the end of the fourteenth century, as Kabīr was his successor, and ordinarily believed to be his pupil[1]. The authority[2] I have consulted states that he was born at Prayāga as the son of a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa, named Puṇyasadana, and his wife Suśīlā. The date of his birth is given as 4400 of the Kali age, equivalent to 1356 of Vikrama-Saṁvat. This corresponds to 1299 or 1300 A. D., and is more consistent with the traditional statement that there were three generations between him and Rāmānuja. The

1. The Sikh Religion, etc., by M. A. Macauliffe, Vol. VI, pp. 100—1. 1908 A. D. is said by Macauliffe to correspond to the 510th year of his era. By his he must mean Kabīr's.

2. Chapters from the Agastya-Saṁhitā with a Hindi translation by Rāma Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, completed in Saṁvat 1960, corresponding to 1904 A. D.

date of Rāmānuja's death is usually given as 1137 A. D., though it makes him out as having lived for 120 years. The lapse of three generations between 1137 and 1300 A. D., is a more reasonable supposition than between 1137 and the end of the fourteenth century. This last date, therefore, given for Rāmānanda is manifestly wrong, and that occurring in the book I have consulted appears to be correct in all probability.

From Prayāga Rāmānanda was sent to Benares for the usual education of a Brāhmaṇa. After he finished this, he became a disciple of Rāghavānanda, a teachar of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Rāmānuja. After some time he gave up some of the restrictive practices of the sect, such as that of taking food without being seen by anybody, and separated himself from his preceptor, and himself became the founder of a school. As indicated above, he took pupils from the degraded castes also. Thirteen of them became noted and their names are: 1. Anantānanda, 2. Surasarānanda, 3. Sukhānanda, 4. Naraharīyānanda, 5. Yogānanda, 6. Pīpā, 7. Kabīr, 8. Bhāvānanda, 9. Senā, 10. Dhannā, 11. Gālavānanda, 12. Rāidās, and 13. Padmāvatī.

Of these Pīpā was a Rajput, Kabīr was a Śūdra and spoken of also as a Mahomedan following the profession of a weaver, Senā was a barber, Dhannā a Jāṭ, Rāidās belonged to the degraded caste of curriers or workers in leather, and Padmāvatī was a woman. With the first twelve he went about the country visiting holy places, conducting disputations with the advocates of the Māyā doctrine, Jains, Buddhists, etc., establishing his own Viśiṣṭādvaita theory, and converting men to his views and admitting them as his disciples. Rāmānanda is stated to have died in 1467 of Vikrama-Saṁvat, corresponding to 1411 A. D. This gives him a life of 111 years, which is rather improbable. Some of his pupils became the founders of different schools, and through them the worship of Rāma spread over an extensive portion of Northern and Central India, successfully competing with that of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa.

XIX. Kabīr.

§ 57. The few particulars that have come down to us about the birth and life of Kabīr are these. He was the son of a

Brāhmaṇa widow who cast him away as soon as he was born, to hide her shame, near the Lahar Tank in Benares. A Mahomedan weaver of the name of Nīrū was passing by the way with his wife Nīmā, when the latter saw the child and carried it home. He was nurtured and brought up by her and her husband Nīrū, and Kabīr when he had grown up, followed the occupation of a weaver. He showed leanings towards the Hindu faith, and the idea of making Rāmānanda his Guru, or preceptor, arose in his mind. But he conceived it not possible that that sage should receive a Mahomedan as his disciple and therefore had recourse to a contrivance. He laid himself down on the Ghāṭa, or pavement on the Ganges, at which Rāmānanda bathed very early in the morning. On the way Rāmānanda trampled on the boy and exclaimed : " Rāma, Rāma ! What poor creature is it that I have trampled upon ?". Kabīr rose up and received the exclamation " Rāma, Rāma " as a Mantra communicated to him by Rāmānanda, and he understood that he had thus been made a disciple.

Another account is that, being trampled on, Kabīr rose up and cried aloud, when Rāmānanda told him to be quiet and go on uttering the name of "Rāma". Considering that he had thus been accepted as a pupil, Kabīr went on with his adorations of God, proclaiming that he was the disciple of Rāmānanda. Some Hindus went to the latter and asked him whether he had initiated Kabīr. Thereupon Kabīr was sent for and asked by Rāmānanda, when it was that he had been initiated. Kabīr mentioned to him the incident of his having been trampled upon the Ghāṭa. Then Rāmānanda remembered the matter and clasped Kabīr to his breast. Since that time Kabīr regularly attended at his master's Maṭha and joined him in his disputations with the Pandits.

For some time Kabīr lived at Manikapur, as is mentioned in one of his Ramainīs. There he heard of the fame of Shaikh Taqqi and of twenty-one Pīrs. He heard their discourses, condemned their teachings and said : "O Shaikhs, of whatever name ! listen to me. Open your eyes and see the origin and the end of all things and their creation and dissolution". In one of the books of this sect, Shaikh Taqqi is represented as an enemy of Kabīr, and a Pīr, or the religious guide, of Sikandar Lodi. At his advice the emperor persecuted Kabīr and used various methods to destroy

him. But Kabīr miraculously escaped death and was eventually reconciled to Sikandar Lodī, who received him into his favour.

Kabīr died at Maghar, and there was a dispute between the Hindus and the Mahomedans as to the disposal of his dead body, which was covered by a sheet of cloth. When the sheet was removed, the body had disappeared, and in its stead there was a heap of flowers. The Mahomedans took one-half of the quantity and buried it at Maghar and erected a tomb over it, and the Hindus took their share to Benares, where it was burnt. Kabīr had a wife of the name of Loi, a son of the name Kamāl, and a daughter of the name of Kamālī. But there are miraculous stories as to how Kabīr came by them.

As to how much of this account is historical and how much legendary, it is difficult to say. But that he was a Mahomedan weaver at the beginning may be accepted as a fact. And that Shaikh Taqqi, a Mahomedan Pīr, who is mentioned in one of the Ramainīs, as stated above, was his rival and that Kabīr lived about the time of Sikandar Lodi may also be regarded as historical. As to whether Kabīr was a disciple of Rāmānanda, there is some question, as will be presently mentioned. Mr. Westcott considers it not impossible that he should have been both a Mahomedan and a Sūfi[1], but all his writings show a complete familiarity with the names occurring in Hindu religious literature and Hindu manners and customs, so that it appears to me that there is little or nothing in Kabīr's writings calculated to show that his teachings had a Mahomedan basis. The basis appears to be purely Hindu, though Kabīr was a bold and uncompromising reformer and hurled anathemas at the Pandits, the Brāhmaṇas proud of their caste, and the teachers of the existing sects of the Hindus, and thus appears to have come under the influence of Mahomedanism.

The dates given by various writers for the birth and death of Kabīr are conflicting. Mr. Westcott makes him live for 78 years, from 1440 to 1518 A. D.,[2] and according to Mr. Macauliffe he

1. Kabir and the Kabir Panth by Rev. G. H. Westcott. Cawnpore, 1907, p. 44.
2. Ibid, Chronological Table, p. VII.

was born in Saṁvat 1455, corresponding to A. D. 1398[1], and he died in A. D. 1518[2], having lived for 119 years, five months and twenty-seven days. In a footnote he quotes from an original work the date Śaka 1370, corresponding to 1448 A. D., as the date of his death. Sikandar Lodi was on the throne of Delhi from 1488 to 1517 A. D. The last of the three dates does not harmonise with this, and so it must be given up. Rāmānanda, we have seen, is spoken of as having been born in 1298 A. D. and died in 1411 A. D. If Mr. Westcott's date for Kabīr's birth is true, Kabīr cannot have been a disciple of Rāmānanda. If that of Mr. Macauliffe is accepted, it is just possible that he should have so become, for at the time of Rāmānanda's death, Kabīr must have been thirteen years of age, and he is represented in one of the legends to have been but a boy when he was accepted as a disciple by the old sage. The date 1518 A. D. given by both the writers for his death may be accepted as correct. But if that of his birth given by Mr. Macauliffe is also accepted, we shall have to suppose that Kabīr lived for 119 years; Rāmānanda also according to the dates given in the last section lived for 113 years. Whether both of them lived such long lives might well be questioned. But, until we have more evidence, the dates for Rāmānanda already noticed, and for Kabīr as given by Mr. Macauliffe may be provisionally accepted, and thus Kabīr might be considered to have really been a disciple of Rāmānanda, though of course, being a boy of thirteen, he could not have taken part in his master's disputations with Pandits. In Kabīr's works, however, so far as I have seen them, Rāmānanda's name does not occur, though the name Rāma as that of the Supreme Being and also the relation of the individual soul with Rāma, as well as his refutation of the doctrine of God's being Videha or Nirguṇa, i. e., without attributes, must have been borrowed from Rāmānanda's doctrines, which again are based on Rāmānuja's system.

§ 58. We now give a translation of a few passages illustrative of the teachings of Kabīr[3].

1. The Sikh Religion, &c., Vol. VI, p, 122.
2. Ibid. pp. 139-40.
3. The edition consulted is that published with a commentary under the orders of Raghurajasimha, Maharaja of Rewah, in Saṁvat 1924.

First Ramainī.[1]

1. There was in the inside a substance called Jīva or individual soul; the Internal Light illuminated [it]. 2. And then followed a woman of the name of 'desire'; and she was called Gāyatrī. 3. That woman gave birth to three sons; Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. 4. Then Brahmā asked the woman who was her husband and whose wife she was. 5. (She replied:) "Thou and I, I and thou, and there is no third. Thou art my husband and I am thy wife." 6. The father and son had a common wife; and one mother has a two-fold character; there is no son who is good son and who will endeavour to recognise his father.

Second Ramainī.

1. In the light there was sound, which was a woman. 2. And of the woman were Harī, Brahmā and the enemy of the three cities (Śiva). 3. Then Brahmā created an egg and divided it into fourteen regions. 4—6. Then Harī, Hara and Brahmā settled in three regions, and thus they arranged the whole Brahmāṇḍa and the six philosophies and ninety-six heresies. Nobody then taught the Veda for his sustenance; and Turuk did not come for making circumcision. 7. The woman brought forth from her womb children. They became distinct individuals and followed different courses of action. 8. Therefore I and thou are of one blood and are one life. Distinctness arises from ignorance. 9. From one woman all sprang, and what knowledge is it that brought about distinctness between them? 13 (Sākhī). Kabīr proclaims: All this ordinary world is destructible; without knowing the name of Rāma all individuals are drowned in the ocean of existence.

Kabīr's account of creation seems to be this. In the light of Rāma there existed a substance which was the subtle element, the sum total of all individual souls. And then that substance was illuminated by that light. Then followed a desire in the shape of a woman, which was at the same time called Gāyatrī and sound (Śabda), and from her the creation took its rise. His idea thus

1. Ramainī is a piece of composition consisting of several Caupāīs (Sk. Catuṣpadī), which are stanzas consisting of four lines with the ends of the first two and of the last two rhyming with each other, and a Sākhī (which is another species of metre) at the end.

seems to be that individual souls came into being, or were developed out of a substance which was their subtle form, at the will of the Supreme Soul, which (will) was uttered in the form of a sound. That is to say, the Supreme Soul was not the material cause of the world, but a distinct subtle entity. What, in the language of the Upaniṣads, became many was this entity and not the Supreme Soul himself. Kabīr's philosophy is thus not a monism, but dualism. All individuals sprang into existence from the same cause, there was one blood and one life, and consequently the distinction of castes and races was a later fiction. Kabīr thus appears to be an opponent of this distinction.

Fifth Ramainī.

The substance of the first five Caupāīs seems to be that Hari, Hara and Brahmā, taking the two letters (Rāma), laid the foundation of all learning, and gradually the Vedas and Kitābs (books) came to be composed. 6—8. In all the four ages the devotees devised systems, but were not aware that the bundle they had tied up was torn. Men ran in all directions for salvation, being afraid. Abandoning their lord they ran towards hell.

Eighth Ramainī.

1. The precept "Tat tvam asi" (that thou art) is the message of the Upaniṣads. 2. They lay great stress upon it, and those who are qualified explain it (at great length). 3. Sanaka and Nārada became happy by regarding the highest principle to be distinct from themselves, 4. The colloquy between Janaka and Yājñavalkya comes to the same effect, and that same sweet sentiment was tasted by Dattātreya. 5. Vasiṣtha and Rāma sang together the same thing, and that same thing was explained to Uddhava. 6. That same thing was substantiated by Janaka, and though he had a body, he was called bodiless (Videha). 7 (Sākhī). No mortal becomes immortal without abandoning the pride of birth. That which one cannot see by experience is to be considered as "unseen" or "unperceived".

In this Ramainī Kabīr shows acquaintance with the Upaniṣads and other branches of Hiudu sacred literature, so that he cannot have been a mere "Sūfi and Mahomedan". He rejects the theory of the identity between the Supreme and the individual souls,

which is regarded as being laid down in the expression "That thou art" of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. The commentator says that by "that" is to be understood the subtle body of sixteen parts and the expression means "Thou art that subtle body". Kabīr takes all the individuals he has named in this Ramainī to have preached duality.

In the fourteenth Ramainī there is a condemnation of the several systems of religion-that contained in the Purāṇas, that of Brahmā, Haṁsa, Gopāla, Śaṁbhu, ghosts and goblins and various forms of worship upto the Nevāja of the Mahomedan.

Thirty-fourth Ramainī.

1. The Pandits were misled by the study of the Vedas which are based on the Guṇas, or qualities, and did not know their own nature and their true friend (God). 2. They practise Saṁdhyā, Tarpaṇa, the six rites and various other such ceremonies. 3. In all the four Yugas Gāyatrī has been taught; ask who obtained salvation (Mukti) by its means. 4. When you are touched by other people, you bathe; tell me who is more degraded than yourselves. 5. You are very proud of your virtues. Too much pride is not good. 6. How can he whose name destroys all pride bear this proud behaviour? 7 (Sākhī). Giving up the traditional mode of worship of the family, they seek the place of Nirvāṇa; having destroyed the seed and sprout, they became an entity without attributes (Videha or Nirguṇa).

Kabīr here condemns the rites, ceremonies and other practices of the Brāhmaṇas, the pride that is generated in them by these, the contempt in which they hold people of other castes, and also their search of Nirvāṇa, or a condition without any attributes, i.e., the Advaita, or adualistic, system which they follow.

Fortieth Ramainī.

1. The sea, which is a collection of waters, is a ditch, and in it are the sun, the moon, and the thirty-three crores of brothers. 2. In the whirlpools (of such a universe) they (men and gods) have seated themselves and desire happiness, but have not shunned the touch of misery. 3. Nobody knows the secret of misery, and the world has become mad in a variety of ways.

4. Everybody is a fool or a sage in himself and nobody knows Rāma who dwells in the heart. 5. (Sākhī). They themselves are Hari (God), they themselves are lords, they themselves are the slaves of Hari. When there is no guarantee, the lady (Mukti or salvation) goes away disappointed.

Here again there is a condemnation of various systems and of the self-confidence which has given rise to them and the neglect of God dwelling in the heart.

Sākhīs.

I.

31. The crowds went by the path traversed by the Pandits. Lofty is the ascent to Rāma. Kabīr has climbed it. 135. The whole world has gone astray by partiality for one's own system. He who, becoming free from partiality, adores Hari, is a wise sage. 138. The great ones are lost in their own greatness; pride peers out through every pore; when they are not familiar with a wise preceptor, all the orders of men are of the Camār caste, i. e., the degraded caste of curriers. 182. The Kali is a wicked age; the world is blind and nobody believes in the true word. He to whom a salutary advice is given, becomes an enemy. 211. Three things went to a holy place (the body, the fickle heart, and the mind which is a thief). They did not destroy a single sin, but on the contrary the mind contracted ten others. 260. The Kabīrs (men in general) polluted the path of Bhakti, or faith, by washing pebbles and stones. Keeping poison within, they have thrown out the nectar. 358. "I am the author of the whole creation, there is no other who is superior to me." (This is what some people think). Kabīr says that, when one does not know what one is oneself, one thinks everything to be contained in oneself. 365. In this world all have passed away considering themselves to be Rāma, but no one actually became Rāma. Kabīr says that, those who know Rāma as he truly is, attain all their objects. 366. This world has become mad and has conceived a love for something which can be no matter of experience; and denying all authoritativeness to actual experience, they attach themselves to a soul without attributes (Videha). 372. Seeing a void, men were misled

and went about searching in all quarters till they died, but did not find a form without attributes.

II.

91. The bee loiters in the garden, being enticed by the innumerable flowers in it. In the same manner the individual soul loiters among the objects of sense and at the end goes away disappointed. 95. The soul is to the mind as a monkey is to a showman. Making it dance in a variety of ways, it (mind) finally retains it in its own hands. 96. The mind is fickle, a thief and perfect swindler. The gods and the sages fell off in consequence of the mind and mind finds a hundred thousand openings. 136. If a man gives up his belongings, it does not mean much. Egotism, or self-pride, cannot be given up. Self-pride, which led astray the great Munis, devours all. Running after gold and women, men are burnt by the passion generated by an illusion. Kabīr says, how can they be saved, being like cotton which has come in contact with fire? 147. All became subject to the power of illusion: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa, and the four, Nārada, Śārada, Sanaka, and Gaṇeśa, the son of Gaurī. 209. Do not kill a poor living creature; the life of all is the same. You will not be free from (the sin of) killing, even if you hear crores of Purāṇas.

III

122. He to attain whom the great sages (Munis) go through austerities and whose virtues the Vedas sing, himself gives instruction, but nobody believes. 208. One single poor soul is bound up by many fetters. If the father (God) will not liberate him, what power has the soul himself to do so? 243. I (God) instruct him; but he does not understand and sells himself into the hands of others. I pull him towards myself; but he runs away to the city of death (Yama). 282. If you endeavour to acquire one thing (God), every other thing will come to you; but if you endeavour to acquire every other thing, that one thing will be lost. If you water the root of a tree, you will obtain a sufficiency of flowers and fruits. 310. If you want me (God), give up your desire for every other thing and become mine, and then everything will be yours. 236. He has entered into every body and remains there fully watchful. When one wants a certain accomplishment, he

inspires him with the corresponding thoughts (calculated to enable him to achieve success).

Here the first group contains a condemnation of the current religious doctrines; the second gives a specimen of Kabīr's moral teachings; and the third explains the way in which God's grace operates towards the deliverance of man. Kabīr, therefore, was as much a constructive reformer as destructive. In Sākhī 260 of the first group, Kabīr, it will be seen, condemns the worship of idols. The religion which he promulgated, therefore, was a pure spiritual theism. The mode of worship used by his followers up to the present day consists of prayers and praises only.

Kabīr founded a Pantha, or a sect, and the Mathas, or establishments of that sect exist in several parts of India. The principal one is at Benares, with a branch at Maghar in the Gorakhpur District, where he died. This last is said to be in the charge of a Mahomedan Mahant, or superior. The second was established by Dharmadās, his chief disciple, in the Chattisgarh District of the Central Provinces[1]. The followers of Kabīr's sect are to be found principally among the lower castes, but the sage is highly venerated by all Vaiṣṇavas of whatever caste or class.

XX. Other Rāmanandins.

§ 59. Malukdās, who lived about the end of Akbar's reign, i. e., about the end of the sixteenth century, was a worshipper of Rāma. The tradition that he belonged to the school of Rāmānanda appears to be correct. Like Kabīr, he seems to have been a non-idolater, since in a hymn which I have seen, he ridicules men and women who hammer valuable metals into gods, worship them, and, whenever there is a necessity, sell them for the price of the metal, and says that the true way was shown to him by his wise preceptor. The sect founded by him has seven Mathas, or establishments, and its adherents follow the occupation of householders.

Dādu was a cotton cleaner at Ahmedabad. At twelve he removed to Sambhar and finally settled at Naraina, about twenty Kośas from Jaipur. He flourished about 1600 A. D., at the end of Akbar's reign. His doctrines appear to be similar to those of Kabīr. The only mode of worship was Japa, or the repetition of

1. For details, see Rev. G. H. Westcott's Volume on Kabīr referred to above.

the name of Rāma. The sect does not worship images of Rāma and it erects no temples. Dādu inculcates faith in, and love of, Rāma and meditation on him. His followers are divided into three classes: (1) Viraktas, (2) Nāgas, and (3) Vistaradhārins. The first live the life of ascetics, the second are bearers of arms and enter into the service of princes as soldiers, and the third lead an ordinary life.

Rāidās, a pupil of Rāmānanda, was a founder of a sect the followers of which are to be found in the caste of Camārs, or leather-workers. Nābhājī in his Bhaktamālā tells many legends about him. Under the name of Rohidās he is known and revered even in the Maratha country, and Mahīpati, the Maratha writer on saints, devotes a chapter to him.

Senā the barber, a follower of Rāmānanda, is also reported to have founded a sect. He too is known in the Maratha country[1].

XXI. Tulasīdās.

§ 60. Another person who contributed to the propagation of the cult of Rāma over Northern India, was the famous Tulasīdās, whom we will now briefly notice. Tulasīdās belonged to the Saravaryā or Sarayūparīṇa caste of Brāhmaṇas and was born in Samvat 1589, corresponding to 1532 A. D., under an inauspicious constellation. He was abandoned by his parents and was picked up by a Sādhu, or a pious man, in whose company he visited many places in India. His father's name was Ātmārāma Śukla Dūbe, his mother's Hulasī, and his own Rāma Bōta. His father-in-law was a man of the name of Dīnabandhu Pāṭhaka, and his wife was called Ratnāvalī. His son's name was Tāraka.

Tulasīdās commenced the composition of his great work, Rāmacaritamānasa, usually known as Rāmāyaṇa, at Ayodhyā in 1574 A. D., and finished it at Benares. He wrote eleven other works, six of which were smaller. Tulasīdās was not a sturdy reformer like Kabīr and does not seem to have founded a sect or even to have promulgated a definite Vedāntic theory. In this respect he appears to have been, like a host of other persons who flourished in the country, a teacher of the Bhaktimārga, or the path of devo-

1. See Wilson's Hindu Religions.

tion, which is based upon a dualistic philosophy with a leaning towards spiritual monism of the Advaita system. Tulasīdās died in 1623 A. D.[1]

§ 61. I will now give a short specimen of Tulsīdās' teachings from his Rāma-Satasaī, the composition of which, as stated in Dohā 21 of the first chapter, was commenced on Thursday, the ninth of the bright half of Vaiśākha, Saṁvat 1642 = 1585 A. D.

Chapter I.

(Dohā 3) The highest soul, the highest excellent place, than whom or which there is no other, Tulasī understands and hears to be Rāma, the blessed. (Dohā 4) "Rāma whose attributes confer blessings upon all is himself free from all desires. He fulfils all desires, is the benefactor of all. The sages assert this."—So says Tulasī. (Dohā 15) Tulasī sees plainly that in every pore of Rāma there is an endless universe. He is pure, is unchangeable and is irresistible. (Dohā 6) The blessed Jānakī is the mother of the world, and Rāma the father. Both are beneficent. Their grace destroys sin, and creates conscience (confers the knowledge of distinguishing good from evil). (Dohā 44) Where there is Rāma, there is no [evil] desire; where there is [evil] desire, there is no Rāma. Oh Tulasī! the sun and the night do not exist in one place. (Dohā 45) When Rāma is afar, Māyā (illusion or temptation) is strong. When he is known, it becomes tiny or thin. When the sun is at a distance, the shadow is long; when he is on the head, it is below the feet. (Dohā 48) Says Tulasī: "If there is no love for Rāma, all learning is thrown into an oven; and Yama takes away knowledge and devours it; everything burns away and the very root is destroyed". (Dohā 57) All things by which a man is surrounded, serve as hindrances, and none proves a help (towards the way of bliss); and, in such circumstances, if the end is good, it can become so only through Rāma's grace.

Chapter II.

(Dohā 17) Says Tulsī: "Through the disobedience of God, man brings evil on himself and all his associates. The king of

1. For details, see Dr. Grierson's articles in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXII.

the Kurus, while governing his kingdom, was reduced to dust along with his army and family". (Dohā 18) Says Tulasī: "From sweet words results good on all sides. This is a spell that overcomes everything; avoid all harsh words". (Dohā 19) "A man attains happiness by the grace of Rāma, and it escapes one without it", says Tulasī, "though they know this, bad men neglect to adore Rāma."

Chapter IV.[1]

82 (89 B. I.). The excellent retentive faculty is called Girā or Sarasvatī, and the immutable Dharma is a Vaṭa tree. Dharma consists of a triad of confluent rivers destroying sin. Oh Tulasī, conceive no dislike for these and accept these.

The triad is given by the commentator as action, knowledge, and Bhakti, or devotion.

83 (90 B. I.). One becomes clean by bathing (in these three confluent rivers), i. e., grasping the triad by the understanding. The dirt in the shape of immortality is washed off, and then there is no doubt as to the easy attainment of the place of Rāma. 84 (91 B. I.). Forgiveness is holy Vārāṇasī. Bhakti, or devotion, is like the river of gods (Gaṅgā) and clear knowledge is like Viśveśvara. These together with compassion, which is power (Pārvatī), shine.

The commentator remarks that just as Benares with the other three brings about deliverance, so do forgiveness, devotion, knowledge, and compassion.

85 (92 B. I.). Vārāṇasī is not far from him whose heart dwells in the house which is Kṣamā (forgiveness) — Vārāṇasī, in which shines, oh Tulasī! the celestial river in the shape of Bhakti, which results in numerous virtuous deeds. 86 (93 B. I.). Kāśī is the bright half of a month and Magaha, or Magadha, is the dark half in which dwell covetousness, infatuation, intoxication, and lust. Oh Tulasī! considering which is beneficial and which is injurious, do [choose where to] reside during all the watches of the day.

1. The editions consulted are those published by Navalkiśora at Lakhnau in 1886 and in the Bibliotheca Indica in 1897.

Kāśī is associated with the four virtues mentioned above, and Magadha with the vices noticed here. So one is told to practise what is beneficial and to avoid what is injurious.

87 (94 B. I.). What has gone away will not come again. Therefore do acquire knowledge. The same thing that you have to-day you will have tomorrow; therefore, oh Tulasī! give up all infatuation.

The idea seems to be: Do not waste time by procrastination; begin your devotions at once.

88 (95 B. I.). The past and the future hāng together on the present. Oh Tulasī! do not entertain any doubt; get through that which is before you at present.

89 (96 B. I.). A good soul is like the Mānasa (lake), and in it is the pure water of the sweet glory of Rāma. Sin is washed off and the heart becomes pure (by bathing in that water); and this calm water is not inaccesible to the wise.

The idea seems to be that in a good soul a taste for devotion to Rāma springs up, and when it is cultivated, the soul becomes pure.

From these extracts it will be seen that according to Tulasīdās Rāma is the supreme God, and that through his grace man becomes holy and blessed. He should, therefore, be adored; where he is, sin is not, and therefore, for the purification of the mind, he should always be thought of and meditated on. The ways to God usually followed are, he says, inefficacious and as such may be thrown into the fire.

XXII. Vallabha.

§ 62. We will now turn our attention to the more extensive and almost exclusive cult of the Kṛṣṇa of Gokula. The founder of it was Vallabha. He was the son of a Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇa named Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, who was a student of the Black Yajurveda and lived at a village named Kānkarava in the Telugu country. On one occasion Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa went on a pilgrimage to Benares with his wife, Elamāgāra. On the way she gave birth to a son on the eleventh of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the Vikrama year

1535, corresponding to 1479 A. D.[1] That son was known as Vallabha.

Vallabha lived for some time in Vṛndāvana and for some time at Mathurā. About that time it is alleged that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa manifested himself on the Govardhana Hill by the name of Devadamana, called also Śrī-Nāthajī. The God told Vallabha in a dream to come and see him, informing him that his companions in the cow-settlement, when he became incarnate as Kṛṣṇa, were born again in the present age, and commissioned him to make them his attendants, that he might sport with them as in the former age. Accordingly, Vallabha went and saw Devadamana or Śrī-Nāthajī. Śrī-Nāthajī commanded him to erect a shrine for himself and to promulgate the method of worshipping him, without which a man would not be admissible to the Puṣṭimārga, or the path of divine grace, which Vallabha had founded. The meaning of this seems to be that Vallabha connected his system with a special manifestation of Kṛṣṇa known by the name of Śrī-Nāthajī[2].

Vallabha's Vedāntic theory is the same as that of an earlier author of the name of Viṣṇusvāmin. This Viṣṇusvāmin is said to have been the son of the councillor of a Draviḍa chief dependent upon the Emperor of Delhi[3]. Nābhājī in his Bhaktamālā makes Jñānadeva, Nāmdeva, Trilocana, and lastly Vallabha his successors[4]. The first was Jñānadeva, who is represented as a follower of his system (Saṁpradāya). He was one of three sons born to a man, who became a householder after he had assumed the order of an ascetic. He was, therefore, excommunicated and was not allowed to learn the Vedas. But he himself by his miraculous power made a male buffalo repeat the Vedas. This story is the same as that related of the Jñanadeva of Mahārāṣṭra, the author of a Vernacular commentary on the Bhagavadgītā. But the Marathas do not know of Viṣṇusvāmin as his Guru, or teacher,

1. Yajñeśvara, Āryavidyāsudhākara.
2. See Harirāya Mahārāja's Govardhanaprākaṭyakī Vārtā, published in Saṁvat 1935, p. 11.
3. Yajñeśvara, Āryavidyāsudhākara, p. 228.
4. Ed. by Khemaraj, Bombay, Śaka 1827 (1905 A. D.), pp. 95–98.

or of Jñānadeva being his successor or follower. If, however, the tradition reported by Nābhājī is correct, Viṣṇusvāmin must have lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. The date of the commentary above alluded to is Śaka 1212, corresponding to 1290 A. D.

The Vedāntic theory of Viṣṇusvāmin which is the same as that of Vallabha is as follows. The one primeval soul was not joyful, because he was alone (BU. I. 4. 3), and, desiring to be many, he himself became the inanimate world, the individual soul, and the inward controlling soul. These sprang from him like sparks from a burning fire and are his parts (MU. II. 1). By his own inscrutable power he rendered the properties of intelligence and joy imperceptible in the first, and his joy alone in the second, while the third has all the attributes perceptible in it. Simple Brahman as such has perceptible joy prevailing in it[1].

§ 63. The following particulars have been gleaned from two works belonging to Vallabhācārya's sect[2]. The whole world has Brahman for its material cause. The perception of forms apparently different from the Brahman is due to ignorance or delusion and to the true nature of Brahman being rendered imperceptible. The individual soul is identical with Brahman, a part of Brahman and atomic. From the Akṣara composed of existence, intelligence, and joy (Saccidānanda) particles come out as sparks from fire. From the predominance of the Sat portion in them the joy portion is concealed, and thus we have the individual souls possessing Sat, existence, and Cit, intelligence. The individual soul is not a form of the Supreme Soul altered by a third thing being involved in it, such as the Māyā (illusive power), but is itself the same substance as the Supreme Soul with one attribute rendered imperceptible. The relation between the two is thus that of identity (Advaita), both being in the pristine unchanged form, i. e., identity of untransformed souls (Śuddhādvaita).

The individual soul is of two kinds : (1) going through the circle

1. Sakalācāryamatasaṁgraha by Śrīnivāsa, Chowkh. Series.

2. Śuddhādvaitamārtaṇḍa by Giridhara, and Prameyaratnārṇava by Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, Chowkh. Series.

of existences, and (2) delivered from the trammels of life. The first is subject to misery in consequence of his delusion that his body and senses are his soul. He remains in this condition till he acquires knowledge, sees the vanity of the world and devotes himself to meditation and the love of God, when he is delivered. The delivered souls are: (1) those who have become so while in their previous condition, by the termination of ignorance or delusion, such as Sanaka and others; and (2) those who dwell in the world of the Bhagavat, other than the pervading Vaikuṇṭha[1], where they attain the condition of pure Brahman by the favour of the Bhagavat; (3) there are others, who, having the divine nature in them, and coming in contact with good men, resort to various ways of Bhakti, or the propitiation of God, until perfect love alone for Him comes to dwell in their heart, and finally become the associates of the Bhagavat in His eternal sports and amusements. This last is the Mokṣa, or deliverance.

That class of worldly souls who have no divine nature in them, and in whom evil predominates, are ever moving in the circle of existences. The souls who have the divine nature in them are of two kinds: (1) those who subject themselves to certain moral discipline (Maryādājīva), and (2) those who depend entirely on God's grace (Puṣṭijīva). Both attain final deliverance, but there is a difference which corresponds to that between (2) and (3) above and which will be further explained below.

Śrī-Kṛṣṇa is the highest Brahman. He has hands and feet not made up of ordinary matter (Aprākṛta), but celestial. His body consists of Sat, existence; Cit, intelligence; Ānanda, joy. He is called Puruṣottama, as the most excellent of all beings, and has all attributes which are not ordinary, but celestial. All his sports

1. I translate the word Vyāpi-Vaikuṇṭha thus. The Vyāpi-Vaikuṇṭha is above the Vaikuṇṭha of Viṣṇu, the protector of the world. There dwells Puruṣottama, who manifests himself variously to his various devotees. To those in whom Bhakti has risen to the highest pitch and has become a haunting passion he manifests himself as the sportive Kṛṣṇa. In a portion of the Vyāpi-Vaikuṇṭha there is the Goloka with Vṛndāvana in which there are extensive trees, bowers of creepers, and the river Yamunā. The highest Bhaktas are transferred to this Vṛndāvana, and Kṛṣṇa sports with them there.

are eternal. He, with his four arms or two arms, sports with his various devotees, or Bhaktas, in the extensive Vaikuṇṭha, which contains Vṛndāvana with its large forests. Kṛṣṇa is, therefore, the hight joy (Paramānanda). By his will, his Sattva portion overcomes the Ānanda or joy portion, and, becoming Akṣara, or unchangeable, he is the cause of all causes and creates the world. Then Akṣarabrahman is of two kinds : (1) that which is recognised by the devotees as the place of Puruṣottama, which has the attributes of the extensive Vaikuṇṭha and others ; (2) to the enlightened it appears in the form of existence, intelligence and joy, infinite in time and space, self-manifesting and devoid of all qualities. Therefore, in the form in which the enlightened see it, all the positive qualities are hidden or rendered imperceptible by the inscrutable power referred to above, and therefore they are not to be regarded as non-existing. When Brahman is spoken of as devoid of all qualities, what is meant is just this. There are thus three forms of the Supreme Being, Puruṣottama and the two kinds of the Unchangeable here mentioned.

To explain the controlling of all by Puruṣottama, that form of his that dwells in the sun, the gods, the earth, etc., is called Antaryāmin (the inward controller). It is this inward controller that becomes incarnate in the various forms usually mentioned. The celestial Sattva quatity of Kṛṣṇa becomes Viṣṇu, and in this form he becomes the protector of all. Similarly the qualities of Rajas and Tamas assume the forms of Brahmadeva and Śiva for discharging the functions of creation and destruction.

Puṣṭi is the grace (Anugraha) of God which is to be inferred from its fruit or the results, which are ordinary, or of this world, and extraordinary, or of the next world. Mahāpuṣṭi, or the highest grace, is that which removes great obstacles and conduces to the attainment of God himself. Puṣṭi enables one to attain the four objects of life. Extraordinary, or special Puṣṭi, conduces to Bhakti, which leads to the attainment of God. The Bhakti, or devotion generated by this special grace, is called Puṣṭibhakti. The frame of mind generated by this kind of devotion is the desire of the attainment of God to the exclusion of everything else.

This Puṣṭibhakti is of four kinds : (1) Pravāha-Puṣṭibhakti,

(2) Maryādā-Puṣṭibhakti, (3) Puṣṭi-Puṣṭibhakti, (4) Śuddha-Puṣṭi-bhakti. The first is the path of those who, while engaged in a worldly life with its *me* and *mine*, which is compared to a stream (Pravāha), do acts calculated to bring about the attainment of God. The second is of those who, withdrawing their minds from worldly enjoyments, devote themselves to God by hearing discourses about him, singing his name, and such other processes. The third is of those who already enjoying God's grace are made by another grace competent to acquire knowledge useful for adoration; and thus they come to know all about the ways of God. The followers of this path have to depend on their own efforts for the acquisition of knowledge referred to. The fourth is of those who through mere love devote themselves to the singing and praising of God as if it were a haunting passion. This Bhakti is generated by God himself and does not depend upon man's will as the third, mentioned above, does. First a liking for Himself is generated by God in the mind of a man to whom his grace extends. Then a man sets about acquiring knowledge about God, and all this is called Premabhakti (love-adoration). Now the stages in the development of this are as follows: (1) love or liking (Preman), (2) attachment or addictedness (Āsakti), (3) a haunting passion, which is the mature condition of the first two (Vyasana).

The haunting passion leads to attainment of the end, that is, the highest bliss. Those in whom Bhakti has attained to this pitch reject with scorn the four kinds of Mukti and choose the eternal service of Hari, as noticed in the section on the Pāñcarātra system. By the haunting passion about Hari he is seen everywhere, and therefore everything becomes an object of love, and the devotee identifies himself with everything. Then the inner and the outer world is, for the devotee, full of Puruṣottama, or the highest soul.

The final fruit of this devotion is admission to the eternal sports of Kṛṣṇa. The Bhaktas join in these sports, assuming the forms of cows, beasts, birds, trees, rivers, etc., and enjoy the company of Puruṣottama, which confers boundless joy. These eternal sports are like those which Kṛṣṇa went through when he

became incarnate in Vraja and Vṛndāvana. Some of the devotees become, in the celestial Vṛndāvana, Gopas and Gopīs and join in the sports. The Maryādābhaktas attain Mukti called Sāyujya, which consists in being one with Hari. The Puṣṭibhaktas reject it with scorn and seek for participation in the sports of Hari.

§ 64. These are the doctrines of the school of Vallabha. We will now proceed to give a short description of the practical modes of worship. Vallabha had a son named Viṭṭhaleśa, and they are spoken of respectively as Ācārya and Gosāīn or Gosvāmin. The latter had seven sons of the names of Giridhara, Govindarāya, Bālakṛṣṇa, Gokulanātha, Raghunātha, Yadunātha, and Ghanaśyāma. The Gurus of this sect ordinarily called Mahārājas are descendants of these seven. Each Guru has a temple of his own, and there are no public places of worship. The devotee should visit the temple of his Guru at stated intervals, which are eight in number during the day. The mode of worship is as follows.

The conductor of the worship should rise early in the morning, utter the name of Bhagavat and rinse his mouth and drink a little of the washings of the feet [of Bhagavat], and, with his face to the north or the east, should utter the name of the Ācārya and pray to him and make a bow. The same should be done to Viṭṭhaleśa and the names of his seven sons should be uttered, as well as of one's own Guru, and then a bow should be made to Kṛṣṇa after uttering the names Govardhana and others. Then the river Yamunā should be remembered and bowed to, and six stanzas of a poem called Bhramaragītā should be repeated; and then the Gopīs, or cowherdesses, should be adored.

After this the worshipper should answer the call of nature, wash his hands, feet and face, and then drink a portion of the washings of the feet of Kṛṣṇa, and eat the residue of the betel leaves supposed to be eaten by Kṛṣṇa. Then he should besmear his body with oil and bathe. After bathing he should drink in a little water, after repeating the name of Nārāyaṇa. Then he should make a perpendicular mark on his forehead with white earth, the mark of a lotus on the bosom and of a bamboo leaf on the arms, etc., twelve in all, to represent the twelve

forms of Viṣṇu, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, etc. He should then print the forms of the various weapons of Viṣṇu on his body, and then, saluting Vallabhācārya, should adore Kṛṣṇa with the Gopis. He should then open the door of the temple, and going into the sleeping apartments, bring out the wreaths of flowers and all other things used on the previous day, and then sweep and clean the apartments. He should then brush the throne and make all the arrangements necessary for the reception of Kṛṣṇa awakened from sleep.

He should then approach the bed-room and sing a song calling upon Kṛṣṇa to rise from sleep, to take the refreshments prepared for him and to go with his companions to the forest for grazing the cows. Kṛṣṇa should be brought out and placed on the throne. Rādhā should be placed to his left hand, and then the worshipper should prostrate himself before her. The refreshments already prepared should then be placed before them, and they should be requested to eat them. Then the bed should be dusted and cleaned and then Kṛṣṇa should be made to wash his mouth. Other refreshments should be then placed before the two. And at the end of all an Āratī, or waving of lamps, should be gone through with a song. Vallabhācārya should then be saluted.

Then comes the bath of Kṛṣṇa. After bathing saffron paint should be applied. Then he should be dressed and milk given to him. Afterwards by the churning of milk, froth should be prepared and offered to Kṛṣṇa. He should be then told to wash his mouth with water. Then betel leaves should be offered to him. Then a cradle should be adorned and Kṛṣṇa should be told to get into it, and then it should be rocked and toys should be got ready for the divine boy.

Afterwards the mid-day dinner should be prepared. A Caukā, or a small four-legged table, should be placed before him and viands of all kinds in cups should be put on the table. The lord should then be told to eat them. A little rice should be placed in a small plate and, mixed with ghee, five or seven mouthfuls should be held before him. Then lamps should be waved about him. Subsequently all the other dishes should be offered. In this manner the ceremonies go on. A meal is again prepared

at night and Kṛṣṇa is laid on the sleeping cot and made to sleep again.

Thus the order of the ceremonies is as follows: (1) the ringing of the bell; (2) the blowing of the conch-shell, (3) awakening of the Lord (Ṭhākurjī) and offering morning refreshments, (4) waving of lamps, (5) bathing, (6) dressing, (7) Gopīvallabha food, (8) leading the cows out for grazing, (9) the mid-day dinner, (10) waving of lamps; (11) after the last, the screen is drawn up and the God cannot be seen; this interval is called Anosara or Anavasara,–i. e., no time for seeing him,–(12) the finishing up, (13) the evening meal, (14) going to bed.

Besides the ordinary worship detailed above, the followers of this sect hold a number of feasts and festivals, some of which are in honour of Vallabhācārya, his son and seven grandsons. The influence exercised by Vallabha and his successors over their adherents seems to have been immense, and this has come down to their descendants or existing Gurus of the sect also. This is kept up by the fact that the God cannot be worshipped independently in a public place of worship, but in the house and temple of the Guru or the Mahārāja, which therefore has to be regularly visited by the devotees with offerings. The followers of this system consist principally of the trading classes of Gujarāt, Rājputāna and further to the north about Mathurā. The principal doctrine which these latter are taught is that all their belongings should be dedicated to their Guru; and this doctrine is not seldom carried to an extreme.

Among the different kinds of Bhakti mentioned above there is only one which contemplates non-attachment to worldly objects. The highest Bhakti as well as the others are generated in the heart of man by the grace of God; and the first even ripens into a haunting passion. This grace of God one may enjoy even while engaged in a worldly life. The Maryādā-Puṣṭi, which is one of the four forms and requires the restraint of passions, does not conduce to the attainment of the highest bliss, which consists in joining in the eternal sports of Hari in the Goloka. The spirit of this system, therefore, seems to be sportive enjoyments and it cannot but be expected to influence the ordinary life of its

followers. Moral rigidity culminating in indifference to worldly enjoyments and self-abnegation does not appear to be a characteristic of this school. Vallabhācārya himself was a married man, and so were all his successors and so are all the Gurus of the sect, who are as much men of the world as their followers.

§ 65. From the account we have given, it will be seen that the fourth element of Vaiṣṇavism, that we have described in a preceding section, alone constitutes the religion of Vallabha. The sportive boy Kṛṣṇa of the cow-settlement with all his pranks is the highest god of this school; and his mistress Rādhā, who is mentioned only in the later books and dignified into his eternal consort, as will be mentioned further on, is the object of the deepest adoration. This sportive Kṛṣṇa with his Rādhā is transferred to a heaven which is in a region higher than the ordinary Vaikuṇṭha of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, and is called Goloka. The highest aim of man's life is to get to this place and join in the sports. Thus the doings of Kṛṣṇa in Gokula, and his relations with the men and women as well as the inferior animals, trees, and even the river Yamunā, constitute the basis of Vallabha's system and also its goal when transferred to Goloka.

XXIII. Caitanya.

§ 66. About the same time as Vallabha, there flourished in Bengal another propagator of the religion of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, who is known by the name of Caitanya. The prominent distinction between the two appears to be, that while Vallabha and those who followed him developed the ceremonial side of the religion, Caitanya and his successors devoted themselves to the cultivation of the emotional side. Caitanya endeavoured to win the hearts of man, by instituting Kīrtanas or the fervent singing of songs about the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and other devotional matters. The love of the cow-herd god and his mistress had already become the subject of bewitching songs by Jayadeva in Sanskrit and by other poets in the Vernacular.

Caitanya also was a more courageous reformer in so far as he cried down the mechanical religious ceremonial of the prevalent Hinduism, and preached spiritual devotion and at the same time

condemned the distinctions of castes, and admitted all, including even Mahomedans, as his pupils.

§ 67. Caitanya's original name was Bisambhar (Viśvaṁbhara) Miśra, and his father's name was Jagannātha Miśra and mother's Sacī Debī. The father lived originally in Sylhet in Eastern Bengal, but had emigrated to Nadiya (Nabadvīpa) before the birth of Bisambhar, his youngest son. The eldest son's name was Bisvarūpa, who is called Nityānanda in the history of Caitanya. These were the only two sons of Jagannātha, and between these were eight daughters, who died young.

Caitanya was born on the full-moon day of Phālguna in the year 1407 of the Śaka era, corresponding to 1485 A. D. He was afterwards called Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and was considered by his disciples an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa himself. As such he is reported to have played pranks with the women of the village, which, however, cannot be considered as historically true. Caitanya is also known by the name of Gaurāṅga, i. e., possessed of a fair and not a dark body, and Gauracandra, or a fair moon. When he was eighteen years of age, he married a wife of the name of Lachmī Debī and began to live the life of a householder, taking pupils and giving them secular instruction. Soon after he took to a wandering life and visited many places in Eastern Bengal. Begging and singing were his occupation, and he is said to have collected a great deal of money. During his peregrinations his wife died, and on his return home he married another. When he was about twenty-three years of age, he went to Gayā to make offerings to his manes and on his return he began the mission of his life. He condemned the ritualistic system of the Brāhmaṇas and preached faith in Hari and the love of Him as well as singing His name as the only effectual ways to salvation. He also preached the doctrine of the brotherhood of men, denouncing the system of castes.

It is stated that the doctrine of faith and love had been preached before Caitanya by a person of the name Advaitācārya, whose practice it was, after the performance of the usual Brahmanic rites, to go to the banks of the Ganges and call out for the appearance of God to substitute the doctrine of faith and love for

that of the performance of various rites. It is also said that this Ācārya was at first the instructor of Caitanya and afterwards became his pupil. Whatever it may have been, the new doctrine was first publicly proclaimed to the exclusion of others by Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. He was assisted by his brother Nityānanda, who was regarded as an incarnation of Balarāma, the brother of the god Kṛṣṇa.

Caitanya now began to hold meetings for the singing and glorification of the name of Hari. These were at first private and held in the house of a pupil named Srībāsa. The doings of these devotees met with scorn and ridicule, especially at the hands of the worshippers of Kālī, one of whom put red flowers and goat's blood on the steps of the door of the house in which the Vaiṣṇava meetings were held. The fervour displayed at these Kīrtanas, or singing of the name of Hari, gradually increased in intensity, until the loud singers, and principally Caitanya himself, swooned away and dropped senseless on the ground.

In the year 1510 Caitanya became a Saṁnyāsin, or an ascetic, and was initiated into the order by Keśab Bhāratī of Katva. After this he first went to Purī to visit the shrine of Jagannātha, and thence wandered about the country for six years preaching his new faith[1]. On one occasion he went to Benares, where he is reported to have held a disputation with Prakāśānanda, a teacher of the monistic Vedānta of Śaṁkarācārya. Caitanya condemned Śaṁkara's commentary on the Vedāntasūtra and said that it mystified the sense of the original. Śaṁkarācārya did not give the plain ordinary sense of the words of Bādarāyaṇa but forced his own views into them. The doctrine of development (Pariṇāmavāda) was held by the author of the Sūtras, while Śaṁkarācārya rejects it and brings in his doctrine of illusion (Vivartavāda). The former alone is true according to Caitanya. After these wanderings he returned to Purī, where he spent the last eighteen years of his life, and died in Śaka 1455, corresponding to 1533 A. D.

§ 68. Some of the doctrines attributed to Caitanya are as

1. The above is an abstract of the account given by J. Beames in his paper published in Ind. Ant. Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.

follows. Kṛṣṇa is the highest god and is so beautiful that he excites love for himself even in the heart of the God of love, and is enamoured of himself. His Parabrahmaśakti (power) pervades the universe and assumes a corporeal form by his wonder-creating power (Māyāśakti), though he is the soul of all. He possesses a self-multiplying power (Vilāsaśakti) which is of two kinds. By one of these, in sporting with the cowherdesses, he became as many Kṛṣṇas as were sufficient to give one to every two of them (Prābhavavilāsa). By the other self-multiplying power (Vaibhavavilāsa) he assumes the forms of the four Vyūhas, or forms of Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, etc., Vāsudeva representing intelligence, Saṁkarṣaṇa, consciousness, Pradyumna, the love, and Aniruddha, sprotiveness.

Here, it will be seen, the functions of the four Vyūhas are changed, and the principle of love is attributed to Pradyumna, instead of that of the mind as in the older system, and that of sportiveness, instead of self-consciousness, which is transferred to Saṁkarṣaṇa, is attributed to Aniruddha. This change is in consonance with a system of which love and sport form the distinguishing characteristics. All the usual incarnations spring from one or other of the Vyūhas. According as the quality of Sattva, Rajas, or Tamas predominates, Kṛṣṇa becomes Viṣṇu, Brahmadeva, or Śiva, respectively.

The sports of Kṛṣṇa go on always, as the rising and setting of the sun. His eternal sports are carried on in the Goloka. Kṛṣṇa has three powers: the internal which is intelligence, the external which generates appearances, and the differentiated which forms the Jīva, or individual soul. His chief power is that which creates dilatation of the heart, or joy. This appears to be the power of love. When this love becomes settled in the heart of the devotee, it constitutes Mahābhāva, or the best feeling. When love attains to the highest pitch, it constitutes itself into Rādhā, who is the most loveable of all and full of all qualities. She was the object of the highest love of Kṛṣṇa, and being idealised as love, some of the agreeable feelings of the heart are considered her ornaments. The sports of the cowherdesses were due to simple love (Preman), and this it was that Uddhava and other devotees sought to attain.

The Supreme Soul (Paramātman) is boundless and is full intelligence itself. The individual soul is an atom having intelligence. They are necessarily connected together and this connection can never be destroyed. Kṛṣṇa is the support (Āśraya) and Jīva rests on him (Āśrita). The relation between the two is identity as well as difference. Thus the Vedāntic theory of Caitanya's system is the same as that of Nimbārka. As the bee is distinct from the honey and hovers about it, and, when it drinks it, is full of it, i. e., is one with it, so the individual soul is at first distinct from the Supreme Soul, seeks the Supreme Soul consistently and continuously, and, when through love he is full of the Supreme Soul, he becomes unconscious of his individual existence, and becomes, as it were, absorbed in him. Herein is described the ecstatic condition in which the individual soul becomes one with God, though they are really distinct. Kṛṣṇa is the lord of the power of delusion or ignorance (Māyā), and Jīva is the slave of it. When the latter cuts off its shackles, he distinctly sees his own nature and his true relation to God. Kṛṣṇa is to be approached and attained by Bhakti alone[1].

§ 69. Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, Nityānanda and Advaitānanda are called the three Prabhus, or masters of the sect. The descendants of Nityānanda live at Nadiya, and those of Advaita at Śāntipur. They are the spiritual heads of the sect. Nityānanda was appointed by Caitanya himself as the superior of the church. His female descendants live at Bālegor, and male ones at Khordu near Barrackpur. There are temples belonging to Caitanya's followers at Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, and three principal ones in Bengal: one at Nadiya dedicated to Caitanya, the other at Ambikā, to Nityānanda, and the third at Agradvīpa, to Gopināth. There is a shrine dedicated to Caitanya in the vicinity of Dhākā-dakṣiṇa in Northern Sylhet, where his father originally lived. It is visited by pilgrims from all parts of the district and even from Bengal. At Khetur, in the Rajaṣāhi district, a temple is erected in his honour, where a religious fair is held in the month of October, which is attended by about 25,000 persons.

1. See Gaurāṅgatattvasaha Gaurāṅgacarita by Prasanna Kumāra Vidyā-ratna, printed at Calcutta.

The sectarian marks worn by the followers of Caitanya are two white perpendicular lines on the forehead joined together at the bridge of the nose and a line continued up to the tip of the nose. They also use necklaces of three strings of Tulasī beads and a rosary of the same, as a help in the muttering of Hari's name. The worship of Gurus, or spiritual heads, as gods characterises this system. Most of Advaita's followers observe caste distinctions, but a minority consists of Bairāgis, or recluses. In one branch of the sect there are monks as well as nuns. They live in the same convent. And there is only a platonic relation between them.

A person of the name of Rām Saram Pāl of the Sadgopa caste founded about two hundred years ago a branch of the sect called Kartābhājas, or worshippers of the Kartā, or headman. It admits of recruits from all castes and observes no distinction. The founder, also called Kartā Bābā, died at Ghoṣapur, and his votaries assemble periodically to do honour to him. The spiritual teachers of Caitanya's sect, whether male or female, are celibates.

The three Prabhus, or masters, did not leave any compositions. But Caitanya's pupils, especially Rūpa and Sanātana, wrote a great deal. A work by the latter entitled Rasāmṛtasindhu contains an analysis of the feeling of love, or Bhakti, explaining the states of mind which lead to it and its various forms. A considerable body of literature has grown up round this system of religion.

XXIV. Debasement of Vaisnavism.

§ 70. The worship of Rādhā, more prominently even than that of Kṛṣṇa, has given rise to a sect, the members of which assume the garb of women with all their ordinary manners and affect to be subject even to their monthly sickness. Their appearance and acts are so disgusting that they do not show themselves very much in public, and their number is small. Their goal is the realisation of the position of female companions and attendants of Rādhā; and hence probably they assume the name of Sakhībhāvas (literally, the condition of companions). They deserve notice here only to show that, when the female element is idolised and made the object of special worship, such disgusting corrup-

tions must ensue. The worship of Durgā in the form of Tripura-sundarī has led to the same result.

Though the Vaiṣṇava systems of Nimbārka, Vallabha and Caitanya are based on the fourth element of Vaiṣṇavism that we have pointed out in a preceding Section, still that element has undergone an important modification. Before, Kṛṣṇa was a person who had amorous dalliances with the Gopīs generally. But now Kṛṣṇa had a definite consort in Rādhā, who had a large number of female companions, who were probably the original Gopīs. She is indissolubly united with him in the creed of worshippers.

This Rādhā is not mentioned by name in the Harivaṁśa, Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and the Bhāgavata. In the last, however, among the cowherdesses engaged in Kṛṣṇa's amorous sports in Vṛndāvana on an autumnal moonlight night, there was one with whom the youthful god carred on his dalliance further, after he had become invisible to the rest. This woman became proud of Kṛṣṇa's special attachment for her, whereupon the god disappeared from her also. Here was contained a suggestion which probably led to the creation of Rādhā in later times. In the apocryphal Nāradapañcarātra-Saṁhitā, as mentioned before,[1] the one single lord is represented to have become two, one a woman and the other a man, who was he himself. He then had amorous intercourse with her. The woman was Rādhā. In the Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa she has been made to spring from the primordial body of Kṛṣṇa forming its left side, and is eternally associated with him in his amorous sports in this world as well as the world of cows (Goloka). The name of Rūkmiṇī occurs in the ordinary form of Kṛṣṇaism, but in the systems named above it is entirely absent. The introduction of Rādhā's name, and her elevation to a higher position even than Kṛṣṇa's, operated as a degrading element in Vaiṣṇavism, not only because she was a woman, but also because she was originally a mistress of the cowherd god, and her amorous dealing were of an overt character.

In the Rāma cultus, Sītā is a dutiful and loving wife, and is

1. [Ante, p. 58 N. B. U.]

benignant towards the devotees of her husband. She holds a position entirely subordinate to Rāma, while Rādhā is often preferred to Kṛṣṇa. There is no amorous suggestion in her story as in that of Rādhā, and consequently the moral influence of Rāmaism is more wholesome. Kabīr does not, so far as I know, mention the name of Sītā at all. He was a strict monotheist, and his Rāma was the supreme lord (Sāheb) only. Those other teachers who followed him maintain the same attitude, so that the Rāma cultus represents a saner and purer form of Hindu religious thought than Rādhākṛṣṇaism.

XXV. Nāmadev and Tukārām.

§ 71. The popular Vaiṣṇavism of the Maratha country centres itself round the shrine of Viṭhobā at Paṇḍharpur, which is a city situated on the banks of the Bhīmā or Bhīmarathī. The full name of the god is Viṭṭhal, which is not a Sanskrit name, but the etymology is clear enough. It is stated that the corruption of the Sanskrit name Viṣṇu in the Canarese language is Viṭṭhu, and this looks probable, since Kṛṣṇa is corrupted into Kuṣṭa in the Goanese dialect and Kuṭṭa, Kiṭṭi, or Kṛṣṭa in the Canarese; and we have seen that Viṣṇu, the first portion of the name of the Hoysaḷa prince Viṣṇuvardhana, was corrupted to Viṭṭi or Biṭṭi[1]. The terminations bā and la are appended to the name Viṣṇu or Viṭṭu to indicate additional sense such as tenderness or reverence. When the shrine was established, we have not the means of determining, but we have clear evidence of its being in existence in the middle of the thirteenth century. In a copperplate Inscription of the reign of Kṛṣṇa of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri, it is stated that Mallisetṭi, a general and viceroy of the king, made, while engaged on a military expedition, the grant of a village in the Belgaum district at Puṇḍarīkakṣetra, a holy place situated on the Bhīmarathī, in the vicinity of the god Viṣṇu, in the year 1171 of the Śaka era corresponding to 1249 A. D.[2]. Now if the Puṇḍarīkakṣetra was situated on the Bhīmarathī or Bhīmā river, it is certainly not unreasonable to suppose that is was the same as Paṇḍharī which is the alternative name of Paṇḍharpur; and

1 See above, p. 72.

2 Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, p. 68ff.

the god in whose vicinity the grant was made must therefore have been Viṭṭhal, or Viṭhobā, here mentioned by his Sanskrit name and not the popular Canarese corruption. In another Inscription on stone, existing at Paṇḍharpur itself and dated 1192 Śaka, which corresponds to 1270 A. D., Bhānu the son of Keśava, is represented to have performed an Aptoryāma sacrifice in Pāṇḍuraṅgapura, in consequence of which crowds of people, and Viṭṭhala together with the gods, were greatly gratified.[1] Here we have another name of Paṇḍharpur, and that was probably given to it because it was the city of Pāṇḍuraṅga.

Paṇḍaraṅga, or Paṇḍuraṅga, is according to Hemacandra a name of Rudra or Śiva[2]. And we have a temple of Śiva at Paṇḍharpur, and pilgrims have to visit it first before going to that of Viṭhobā or Viṭṭhal. Pāṇḍuraṅga, which is the same as the Paṇḍuraṅga of Hemcandra, is however in modern times a popular name for Viṭṭhal. Whether then the city was called Pāṇḍuraṅgapura on account of it containing the temple of Viṣṇu or Viṭṭhal, or that of Śiva is doubtful. But from the wording of the Inscription, in which Viṭṭhala and Pāṇḍuraṅgapura are mentioned independently, it would appear as if Viṭṭhal had no connection with the name, and it was given to the city on account of its containing a Śiva temple. But when Viṭhobā's importance increased in later times so vastly that Śiva was thrown entirely into the shade, Pāṇḍuraṅga became identical with Viṭṭhala.

The name Puṇḍarīka occuring in the first Inscription seems to owe its origin to a man named Puṇḍarīka, the popular legend about whom is to the following effect. The region about Paṇḍharpur was, it is said, a forest of the name of Diṇḍiravana. There lived a man of the name of Puṇḍalīka, who spent all his time in the service of his aged parents, and the god Kṛṣṇa was pleased with his devotion to them. In the meantime, while Kṛṣṇa was living at Dvārakā, he remembered Rādhā, who was the object of

1. Early History of the Deccan, Second Ed., p. 115, in which, however, Keśava, the father of Bhānu, is by mistake represented as the sacrificer. [= Volume III of this Edition, page 161.—N. B. U.]

2. Deśīnāmamālā, VI, 23.

his fervent love while he was in Gokula. Rādhā, who had, after Kṛṣṇa's leaving Gokula, betaken herself to a residence in the Himālaya mountain, for the practice of austerities in consequence of her separation from Kṛṣṇa, came to know of this through her innate cognitive power, and came at once to Dvārakā and sat on the lap of Kṛṣṇa. Some time after Rukmiṇī, the wedded wife of Kṛṣṇa, came to the place, and Rādhā did not rise up to honour her, as every other woman in similar circumstances did at her approach. Kṛṣṇa even did not take Rādhā to task for this dishonour of Rukmiṇī, and Rukmiṇī got offended, left Dvārakā and wandered about, until she came to Diṇḍiravana, and rested there on the site of the modern Paṇḍharpur. Kṛṣṇa was filled with sorrow at the disappearance of Rukmiṇī and went about in quest of her to all parts of the country, until he came to the place where Rukmiṇī was lying. After some explanations she was reconciled to him, and Kṛṣṇa then went to the hut of Puṇḍalīka to reward him for his devotion to his parents by personal manifestation. Puṇḍalīka being engaged in attending to the wants of his father and mother, was not able to greet him at once, and threw back a brick (Marāṭhī : vīṭ) and asked him to stand on it and wait for him until he finished what he was engaged on. Kṛṣṇa stood on the brick and there he was joined by Rukmiṇī, and thus the shrine of Paṇḍharpur grew up.

Puṇḍalīka has been referred to as the originator of the Viṭṭhal cult of devotion both by Nāmadev and Tukārām, and that is the popular belief. The legend points to this fact, and we may therefore take him to be the person who promulgated the cult of Viṭṭhobā, or Viṣṇu, in the Maratha country. He established himself at Paṇḍharpur and it must be on that account that the city is called the holy place (Kṣetra) Pauṇḍarīka, which I identify with the modern name Paṇḍharī in the first Inscription. The Pāṇḍuraṅgapura of the second may have become the later Paṇḍharpur.

There is another historical significance in this legend, and that appears to be this. At first, no woman was connected with the Kṛṣṇa worship, as we have seen in the case of the pure Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata system. Then came Rādhā to be associated with him in the North, as we have seen, in the systems of

Nimbārka, Vallabha and Caitanya, while Rukmiṇī, the lawful wife, was united with him in the Maratha country. The Kṛṣṇa of Paṇḍharpur is almost exclusively known by the name of Viṭṭhala or Viṭhobā, and Rukmiṇī by the name of Rakhamāī or Rakhamābāī. In the religious literature of the country, Viṭṭhala, or Kṛṣṇa, is almost exclusively spoken of as Rukmiṇīpati or Rukmiṇīvara, the lord or husband of Rukmiṇī, and not as Rādhā-vallabha, or the lover of Rādhā. Thus the Vaiṣṇavism of the Maratha country, associated as it is with these two names, is more sober and purer than that of the three systems named above. Rāhī the Marathi form of Rādhikā, is not unknown, but an insignificant place is assigned to her. The sports of Kṛṣṇa in Gokula are also represented occasionally in the mode of worship, but very little importance is attached to them.

This Vaiṣṇavism of the Maratha country found a fertile soil among the lower classes, though it has had followers among Brāhmaṇas and other higher classes also. Like the Vaiṣṇavism of the disciples of Rāmānanda, it had no learned or Sanskrit-knowing promulgators, but its prophets were Śūdras, who, however, had the true religious instinct and possessed a clear spiritual insight. Such were Nāmdev and Tukārām.

§ 72. The family of Nāmdev originally lived at the village called Narasi Vāmaṇī, situated near Karhad in the Satara District, and now known by the name of Bhayē-Narsingpur or Kolem-Narsingpur. It belonged to the tailor caste and followed that occupation or of dealers in cloth. The name of Nāmdev's father was Dāmā Śeṭ, and that of his mother, Goṇābāī. They migrated to Paṇḍharpur, where Nāmdev was born in the Śaka year 1192, corresponding to 1270 A. D. Nāmdev received ordinary education, but showed little capacity for the usual occupation of his family. He became a devoted worshipper of Viṭhobā and had for his Guru a person named Visobā Khecar, who appears to have been a non-idolater. For Nāmdev says of him that he gave him the following instruction :—

No.191[1]. "A stone-god never speaks. What possibility then of his removing the disease of mundane existence? A stone

1. Tukaram Tatya's edition, published in Bombay in 1894.

image is regarded as God, but the true God is wholly different. If a stone-god fulfils desires, how is it he breaks when struck? Those who adore a god made of stone, lose everything through their folly. Those who say and hear that a god of stone speaks to his devotees, are both of them fools. Those who extol the greatness of such a god and call themselves his devotees, should be regarded as worthless persons and their words should not be heard by the ear. If by chiselling a stone, a god is made of it and is worshipped with care for many years, will he be of use at any time? Do reflect on this well in your mind. Whether a holy place is small or large, there is no god but stone or water. In the village of Dvādaśī (Bārsī)[1] instruction was given that there is no place which is devoid of God. That God was shown to Nāmā in his heart, and thus Khecar conferred a blessing on him."

The omnipresence of God and his being neither stock nor stone are well brought out here. The omnipotence of God Nāmdev brings out in the following :—

No. 151. "The Veda has to speak by thy might and the sun has to move round; such is the might of thee, the lord of the universe! Knowing this essential truth, I have surrendered myself to thee. By thy might it is that the clouds have to pour down rain, mountains to rest firm and the wind to blow. Nothing moves at all (without thee). Oh lord Pāṇḍurang! thou art the cause of all."

It will thus be seen that, though Nāmdev worshipped the idol at Paṇḍharpur, he had full knowledge of the true nature of God, as given in treatises like the Upaniṣads; and this God it was that he tried to attain.

No. 1029. "Your mind is full of vices. What is the use of the pilgrimages you make? What is the use of austere practices, if there is no repentance? The sins resulting from a mental act cannot be effaced by the highest holy place (literally: the father of the holy places). The essence of the matter is very simple: Sin is effaced by repentance", so says Nāmā.

1. Bārsī is a town near Paṇḍharpur.

No. 887. "Vows, fasts, and austerities are not at all necessary; nor it is necessary for you to go on a pilgrimage. Be you watchful in your hearts and always sing the name of Hari. It is not necessary to give up eating food or drinking water; fix your mind on the feet of Hari. Yoga or sacrificial ceremonies or giving up objects of desire is not wanted. Realise a fondness for the feet of Hari. Neither is it necessary for you to contemplate (lit. dwell in) the one without attributes. Hold fast to the love of the name of Hari; says Nāmā, be firm in singing the name and then Pāṇḍurang will render himself manifest to you."

In these two songs Nāmdev urges upon his hearers the total inefficacy of the usual modes of purification and of the attainment of God, such as pilgrimages, vows, fasts, or meditation on the absolute, and sacrifices.

No. 245. "Recognise him alone to be a righteous man, who sees Vāsudeva in all objects, eradicting all pride or egoism. The rest are entangled in the shackles of delusion. To him all wealth is like earth and the nine species of gems are mere stones. The two, desire and anger, he has thrown out and cherishes in his heart (lit. house) quietude and forgiveness. He constantly repeats the name of Govinda, not desisting even for a moment."

No. 1004. "Firmly grasp the truth which is Nārāyaṇa. Purity of conduct should not be abandoned; one should not be afraid of the censure of people and thus accomplish one's own purpose. Surrender yourself to your loving friend (God), giving up all ostentation and pride. The censure of people should be regarded as praise and their praise not heeded. One should entertain no longing for being respected and honoured, but should nourish in oneself a liking for devotion. This should be rendered firm in the mind and the name of God should not be neglected even for a moment."

In these songs Nāmdev describes the holy condition of him who is a devotee of Vāsudeva and sees him everywhere, and preaches self-surrender to him, regardless of the criticism of the world.

This is a short specimen of the teachings of Nāmdev. Purity of heart, humility, self-surrender, forgiveness, and the love of God

form the sum and substance of it. Nāmdev wrote songs in Hindī also and some of these are incorporated in the Grantha—Sāheb, or the Bible of the Sikhs. I will here translate two of these[1]:—

No. 2352. "He is one, [but] fills and encompassess many; wherever you look yon find him there. There is scarcely one who understands him, all being deluded by the variegated picture drawn by Māyā (delusive power). Everything is Govinda, everything is Govinda, there is nothing without Govinda. Just as there is one thread and on it are woven breadthwise and lengthwise hundreds of thousands of beads, so is everything woven in the lord. The waves, the foam, and the bubbles of water are not different from water. All this extent of the universe is the sport of Parabrahma, and when we think of it, is not different from it. Illusive phantoms and the objects seen in dreams are regarded as real. When by the instruction of my Guru my mind awoke, I accepted the truth. Reflecting in your mind, see this all to be the creation of Hari, says Nāmdev; in the inside of every individual thing there is one Murāri alone without any interstice."

No. 2353. "The pitcher is filled and the water brought to bathe the god. There were forty-two hundreds of thousands of animals in it; there was already Viṭṭhal in them. Whom shall I bathe? Wherever we go there is Viṭṭhal and he ever sports in joy. Flowers have been brought and wreaths woven of them for worshipping God. First of all the flowers were smelt by the bees, there was Viṭṭhal there; what shall I do? Milk has been brought and cooked for the offering of Khīr[2] to God. The milk was first tasted by the calf, in it was Viṭṭhal, what shall I do? Here is Viṭṭhal, there is Viṭṭhal, there is no world without Viṭṭhal. This place and that, thou hast filled. Thou hast filled the whole world, says Nāmā humbly"[3].

In these hymns God's omnipresence is described by Nāmdev.

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1 Tukaram Tatya's edition.

2 A preparation of milk and rice mixed with sugar.

3 These two hymns have been translated by Macauliffe in Vol. VI, pp. 41-42 of the Sikh Religion. The readings in the Bombay Ed. have been compared with those in the Grantha-Sāheb, pp. 427-28 of the Lucknow Ed. of 1893.

§ 73. The date assigned to the birth of Nāmdev is, as we have seen, Śaka 1192, that is 1270 A. D. This makes him a contemporary of Jñāndev, the author of the Jñāndevī, which was finished in 1290 A. D. But the Marāṭhī of the latter work is decidedly archaic, while that of Nāmdev's writings has a considerably more modern appearance. Nāmdev's Hindī too looks more modern than that of the thirteenth century, when the poet Canda flourished[1]. What this is due to, it is difficult to say. But it appears probable that the traditional date of Nāmdev's birth -Śaka 1192-has been pushed backwards and that he is represented as a contemporary of Jñāndev. We have seen in a former section[2] that Nābhājī in naming the successors of Viṣṇusvāmin places Jñāndev first and Nāmdev afterwards. If we are to judge from Nāmdev's Marāṭhī and Hindī, his date must be put later by about a century.

Some conception, however, of the time when Nāmdev flourished may be formed from the strong and definite sentiments as to the futility of idol-worship, which his instructor is represented (in one of the hymns translated) to have expressed. Khecar, or Visoba Khecar as he is usually called, appears to have been an uncompromising opponent of idol-worship from the accounts given of him in the existing biographies. All previous writers, including Rāmānuja, as well as a great many that followed, excused idol-worship in some way or other. If then Khecar's attitude towards it was definitely hostile, he and his pupil Nāmdev must have flourished when the Mahomedan influence had for the first time become very powerful. The Mahomedans established themselves in the Deccan in the beginning of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, and their hatred of idol-worship must have taken about a hundred years to make its way into the understanding of religious Hindus.

But a more direct evidence for the fact that Nāmdev flourished after the Mahomedans had established themselves in the Marāṭhā country is afforded by his mention in a song (No. 364) of the

1 See my Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS, 1887-1891, page LXXX, [= Volume II of this Edition, p. 343.—N. B. U.]

2 [Ante, p. 109.—N. B. U.]

destruction of idols by the Turaks, i. e., Turks. The Mahomedans were often called Turaks in early times by the Hindus. Nāmdev, therefore, probably lived about or after the end of the fourteenth century.

It will thus be seen that the date of Nāmdev's birth given with such details is quite wrong. Unfortunately the historical spirit has by no means been the distinguishing feature of the intellectual life of us Indians, and we often confuse different persons together, and attribute to one what belongs to another. Some such confusion must have taken place in the present case.

Tukārām

§ 74. Tukārām was born and lived at a village called Dehu, which is about fourteen miles to the north-east of Poona. The name of the family to which he belonged was More. It was a family of the Marāṭhā caste, which caste may have sprung from the old order of Kṣatriyas, but is considered to belong to the Śūdra order. Nothing specific is known about the date of his birth, but there is no reason for doubting the truth of the date traditionally assigned to his death, which is Śaka 1571, corresponding to 1649 A. D. His biographer, Mahīpati, represents him to have become a bankrupt at the end of the first half of his life, when he was twenty-one years of age. From that it is inferred that he lived for 42 years, and he is thus understood to have been born in 1607-8 A. D.

Seven of Tukārām's ancestors were devoted worshippers of the god Viṭhobā. Of these Viśambhara was the first who made regular pilgrimages to Paṇḍharpur, but after some years he constructed a temple in his own village, and placing the idols of Viṭhobā and Rukmāī in it, dedicated it to their worship. Tukārām's father's name was Bolhojī and he followed the occupation of a petty trader. When he became old, he proposed to entrust the affairs of his family and his business to Sāvjī, his eldest son. But Sāvjī was a man for whom a worldly life had no interest, and he declined to undertake the business. It was, therefore, made over to Tukārām, who was then thirteen years of age. Tukārām managed the affairs somehow, till he became seventeen years old, when his father died. He naturally felt desolate when this occurred, and being a man of simplicity and liable to be imposed upon by designing persons, his affairs got into disorder and he incurred loss in his trade.

Tukārām was at first married to a wife who was sickly, and some time later he married another of the name of Jijābāī or Āvalī, the daughter of a well-to-do trader in Poona. When his affairs got into confusion, Āvalī procured a loan for him and set him up again. A short time after, he made a profit in his new trade, and, while coming back from the place to which he had gone for the sale of his goods, he met a man who was being carried about by the agents of his creditor, and who was crying out for assistance to relieve him from his debt and the impending imprisonment. To this man Tukārām gave all that he possessed—the capital, and the profit that he had made. He returned to Dehu empty-handed, and soon after there was a famine, which made him a thorough bankrupt, and his first wife died of hunger.

Tukārām then made up his mind to renounce his business, but his younger brother Kānhyā protested against it. Then, sitting on the banks of the Indrāyaṇī, he told his brother to bring all the documents, deeds and bonds relating to their business, divided them into two parts, gave one to Kānhyā, and told him to live separately from him, and his own share he threw into the river.

Henceforward he devoted himself to the contemplation of God and singing his praises, spending the day on the top of a hill near Dehu and the night at the temple of Viṭhobā in the village.

He read the Marāṭhī works on religious subjects of the saints and sages who had flourished before him. The idea of giving expression to his thoughts and feelings by composing songs in Marāṭhī soon arose in his mind. The metre used by him was that which is known by the name of Abhaṅg, the measure of which is by no means strict or regular, but which is characterised by the use of rhyming words at specific intervals. A single-minded piety and the desire to be of service to all, even by executing their errands, became settled points in his character. Family matters had to be attended to by his wife, Āvalī, who often found herself in great straits.

Tukārām's chief occupation was the performance of Kīrtans, which consist of religious discourses interspersed with the singing of songs. These discourses gradually became very attractive and drew in crowds of people. The songs he sung at

these had been often prepared by himself, and some were composed by him extempore while engaged in the discourse.

Tukārām's fame spread about not only in his village, but in the surrounding country, and it evoked jealousy, especially in the minds of Brāhmaṇas, who had set themselves up as religious teachers; and he was subjected to persecution. He, however, maintained an evenness of temper throughout, though there were struggles in the mind. His fame reached the ears of the rising prince, Śivājī, the future king of the Marāṭhās. He was eager to hear Tukārām's Kīrtans, and on one occasion invited him into his presence, sending him messengers with torches, umbrella and horses, as emblems of high honour. Tukārām, however, declined to go and sent him a letter written in his usual metre. On another occasion Śivājī attended his Kīrtan at Lohagaon, about six miles from Poona, and placed before him a plate full of golden coins. Tukārām, of course, declined to receive them, and they were distributed among the Brāhmaṇas there. When his end approached, he is reported to have gathered together a large body of his followers and to have proceeded to the banks of the Indrāyaṇī, all singing loudly and enthusiastically the praises of God and fully absorbed in it. When they approached the river, Tukārām suddenly disappeared. No further account of his death has been handed down.

§ 75. It has been already stated that Tukārām had acquired a great facility in composing Abhaṅgs. He spoke in Abhaṅgs and wrote in Abhaṅgs. Some of these only could be written and were written, and others were neglected by him or his immediate followers, but retained in the memory of others. The collections, therefore, of his pieces cannot be expected to be of the same size. There are two such printed in Bombay, one containing 4621 pieces and the other 8441. This latter collection is uncritically made and oftentimes one same piece is given a second time with the opening lines omitted. Still, this is a larger collection and contains Abhaṅgs which are not to be found in the first collection, but are quite in the style of Tukārām with the usual fervent devotion and purity of thought.

We will now give a few specimens:—

First collection, No. 2869. "When the auspicious juncture of Simhastha[1] comes, it brings fortune only to barbers and priests. There are crores of sins in the heart, but externally a man shaves the hair on the head and the beard. What has been shaved off, has disappeared. Tell me what else has changed. The vicious habits are not changed, which might be regarded as a mark of the destruction of sins; says Tukā, without devotion and faith everything else is useless trouble."

Second collection, No. 4733. "What hast thou done by going to a holy river? Thou hast only outwardly washed thy skin. In what way has the interior been purified? By this thou hast only added a feather to thy cap (lit. prepared a decoration for thyself). Even if the bitter Vṛndāvana fruit is coated with sugar, the settled quality of the interior (bitterness) is in no way lessened. If peace, forgiveness, and sympathy do not come in, why should you take any trouble?"

First coll., No. 90 (1-2). "Sesamum seeds and grains of rice thou hast burnt by throwing into fire, but desire and anger are as mischievous as before. Why hast thou taken trouble in vain, giving up the adoration of Pāṇḍurang?"

Here Tukārām condemns religious practices which concern the body only, and mechanical rites, such as giving oblations, and enforces the necessity of striving for the attainment of spiritual virtue and of the adoration of God.

In No. 2383 (first coll.,) Tukārām condemns the worship of goddesses, Jākhāī Jokhāī, of gods like Bhairava and even Ganapati, and of ghosts and goblins, and earnestly recommends the adoration of him whose consort is Rakhamāī. Tukārām was thus a devotee only of Viṭhobā of Paṇḍharpur and a monotheist in this sense. Though he worshipped the idol at the place, still he had always before his mind's eye the great Lord of the universe, as the following will show :—

First coll., No. 4361. "Thy greatness is unsearchable. Even the Vedas became silent and the power of the mind becomes stunted.

1 When Jupiter is in the sign of Leo, the period is considered favourable for the washing away of sins, and Hindus go to holy places, such as Nasik, shave their heads and mustaches and bathe in the river.

What possibility is there of my mental power reaching Him, whose light it is that the sun and the moon display? Even the thousand-tongued (the great serpent) is unable to expound thy greatness. How then shall I be able to do so? Says Tukā, we are thy children, thou art our mother; place us under the shadow (protection) of thy grace.''

Fist coll., No. 4419. "All the world says that there is not a space so minute as a sesamum seed without thee. The old Ṛṣis, sages, poious and holy men said that thou art in the heart of all these things . . . . . Thou hast filled up numberless universes and also a residue still remained. But to me thou hast become inaccessible. ''

First Coll., No. 1870. ' God is ours, certainly ours, and is the soul of all souls. God is near to us, certainly near, outside and inside. God is benignant, certainly benignant, and fulfils every longing even of a longing nature. God protects us, certainly protects us, and subdues strife and death. God is merciful, certainly merciful, and protects Tukā."

This great God is to be attained only by devoted love and by no other means:—

First coll., No. 810. "This thy nature is beyond the grasp of the mind or of words; and therefore I have made devoted love a measure. I measure the Endless by the measure of love; he is not to be truly measured by any other means. Thou art not to be found by processes of concentration (Yoga), sacrificial rites, practice of austerities, and any bodily exertions, nor by knowledge. Oh Keśava, accept the service which we render to thee in the simplicity of our hearts."

There is peace and pure indescribable bliss in seeing God:—

Second coll., No. 1411. "Oh Nārāyāṇa, the peace arising from rest is truly not to be attained without thy feet; even if modes and methods are followed for crores of Kalpas,[1] bliss will not ensue. The bliss of bliss, which is interminable and boundless, which is enjoyed by Hari and Hara, manifest to me, oh thou! the

1. A long fabulous period.

sustainer of my soul, oh omniscient, those feet of thine [which produce it]."

But this God is not to be seen by those whose passions are unrestrained :—

First coll., No. 4420. "The Endless is beyond, and between him and me there are the lofty mountains of desire and anger. I am not able to ascend them, nor do I find any pass. Insurmountable is the ascent of my (mountain-like) enemies. What possibility is there of my attaining Nārāyaṇa, my friend? Pāṇdurang is lost to me; says Tukā, it is now plain that this valuable life of mine has gone for nothing."

To curb these passions becomes now his great and earnest aim. He examines his heart carefully and on all occasions in life finds them present there in one shape or another; with all his efforts he fails to restrain them; and addresses fervent prayers again and again to God to help him. The number of these is very large :—

Second Coll., No. 1430. "With whose support shall I gird up my loins? Oh Pāṇdurang, I feel depressed. All wicked persons abide in my frame and my mind is subdued by them. All my efforts have proved fruitless. What shall I do? Thou art the only mother of the helpless; says Tukā, those wicked persons will not leave my frame without thy might.'

The wicked persons are passions.

When in the course of years, Tukārām became famous and was praised everywhere, he found a glow of satisfaction gathering strength in his heart. This he recognised as pride or conceit, and he was greatly afraid of it, and again and again prayed to God to free him from this pride and bestow humility of spirit :—

First coll., No. 1779. "I have become an expert in the unrestricted use of words. The root of the whole matter I have not attained. Therefore, oh king of Pandharī ! my mind is afflicted. Who knows what is in my heart? I am respected or worshipped, and this has given rise to conceit; and my further progress (towards perfection) has been arrested; says Tukā, I do not know the true way and find myself in the hands of egotism." Again :—

First coll., No. 1133. "What shall I do with fame and worldly

honour and greatness? Do show me thy feet. Do not bring about this (result), that thy servant should go for nothing. If I become great and bear the burden of ostentatious knowledge, I shall go away from thy feet farther and farther. What possibility is there of people knowing the internal condition? A man is judged by his external appearances. Even adversity will be sweet to me, if it leads me to thy feet."

He thus goes on cultivating the virtue of humility, until at last he comes to speak of the death of the self in him as in the following :—

First coll., No. 3474. "I have surrendered my soul to thee and then I have abandoned my individuality (dwelling). Now thy might alone prevails here. I being dead, thou hast established thy station here. Now nothing like m e and m i n e remains here."

Here he speaks of his ha ing abandoned the self and God's having come to dwell in his heart instead of the self. And more distinctly :—

First Coll., No. 2668. "I have seen my own death with my eyes. The result is incomparable rapture. The three worlds are filled with joy. And I have enjoyed as the soul of all. By my sense of individuality I was confined to one place and by its abandonment I have become all-reaching. The pollution arising from birth and death is at an end and I am free from the littleness resulting from the feeling of m e and m i n e. Nārāyaṇa has now given me a place to dwell in : putting my faith in him I have remained at his feet; Tukā says, the fulfilment of what I undertook I have manifested to the world."

Here he speaks of the dying of the lower man in himself and the coming to life of the higher man.

There is a large number of pieces conveying instruction to men seeking spiritual advance. A few specimens will now be given :—

First coll., No. 3800. "Therefore one should surrender oneself to God with all one's heart. He will carry one to the opposite bank of the river of life, which is difficult to be crossed. He

whose name is Ananta, or Endless, is very merciful; Tukā says, I have experienced this and therefore announce it to all."

Second Coll., No. 5383. "Fortunate, indeed, are those persons, in whose heart dwells forgiveness and to whom, when there is occasion, courage and strength do not fail; who do not criticise other people by calling them good or bad and who think nothing of worldly greatness or superiority; who internally and externally are alike pure like the Gangā and whose heart is tender; Tukā says, I will wave my body round them and place my head on their feet."

First coll., No. 2397. "For all beings entertain no hostile feeling. This one alone is the excellent way. Thus alone will Nārāyaṇa accept thee. All talk without this is useless trouble. Relatives as well as the evil-disposed should be regarded as alike and the mind devoted to the doing of good to others; Tukā says, when the mind is pure everything becomes efficacious."

First coll., No. 1368. "Do not give up food; do not betake yourself to a forest-dwelling; in all your sufferings and enjoyments think of Nārāyaṇa. A child sitting on the shoulders of its mother feels no trouble. Put an end to all thoughts different from this. Do not get entangled in worldly enjoyments nor abandon them; dedicate everything you do to God, and have done with it; Tukā says, do not ask me again and again; nothing else is to be taught but this."

Here Tukārām dissuades men from giving up the world and becoming recluses, and advises them instead to dedicate their lives to the service of God and do everything in a manner to propitiate him.

The question has often been discussed among Marāṭhas whether Tukārām followed the Vedāntic theory of Śaṁkarācārya and regarded everything as an illusion except one soul. There are some Abhangs which exhibit the closest possible approach to that theory such as the following :—

First coll., No. 300. "What means crossing a mirage to reach the yonder bank? Children play with golden coins which are but pot-sherds. Is there any profit or loss by those transactions?

Little girls perform marriage (of dolls). Is the relation thus established real? The happiness or misery experienced in a dream is seen not to be true when a man awakes. The expressions, one is born, one is dead, are all false; and the saying that persons are in bondage or are delivered is a mere waste of breath, so says Tukā."

Here the illusive nature of everything is set forth quite in the style of Śaṁkarācārya's world-illusion. Again :—

First coll., No. 1992. "A sugar crystal and sugar powder differ only in the name. There is no difference when sweetness is to be judged. Tell me, oh Pāṇdurang, how thou and I are distinct. Thou hast moved the world, and m e and m i n e are the results. Gold in the form of ornaments is worn on the foot, the hands, nose and the head. When all these are thrown into the crucible, where remains the distinction? Profit and loss are real in the dream when one goes to sleep; both vanish when one is awakened, so says Tukā."

Here there is a mixture of the two opposite theories, that of Pariṇāma, or development, as in the case of gold and ornaments made of it, and that of Vivarta, or illusion, as in the case of things seen in a dream. The latter alone is held by Śaṁkarācārya. Again :—

First coll., No. 2482. "When salt is dissolved in water, what is it that remains distinct? I have thus become one in joy with thee and have lost myself in thee. When fire and camphor are brought together, is there any black remnant? Tukā says, thou and I were one light."

Here the losing of self-consciousness in moments of ecstasy appears to be what is meant, and not quite a perfect identity of God and man. Nāmdev and Tukārām were not learned Pandits like Rāmānuja and Madhva and cannot be expected to formulate a consistent metaphysical theory of the relations between God, man, and the world. On the other hand, Tukārām was such a devout and sincere lover of God that the idea of such a distinctness between the three as would render such a love possible, was constantly present in his mind, and there are a great many

Abhangs in which he condemns the theory of spiritual monism as in the following :—

First coll., No. 1471. "His words should not be listened to, who expounds useless (unsubstantial) knowledge without Bhakti, or devotion. When monism is expounded without faith and love, the expounder as well as the hearer are troubled and afflicted. He who calls himself Brahma and goes on in his usual way, should not be spoken to and is a buffoon. The shameless one who speaks heresy in opposition to the Vedas is an object of scorn among holy men. Even an outcast is superior to him who cuts off the relation between God and his devotee (by asserting them to be identical); so says Tukā."

Here is an uncompromising denunciation of spiritual monism which leaves no scope for Bhakti, or devotion. It is considered as opposed to the Vedas and as a heresy. Again :—

First coll., No. 3753. "For me there is no satisfaction in the doctrine of monism. Sweet to me is the service of thy feet. Confer this gift upon me making it fit (to be given by thee). Thy name and the singing of it are dear to me. The relation between God and his devotee is a source of elevated joy. Make me feel this, keeping me distinct from thee. All this belongs to thee. Confer it upon me some day."

Here in his confutation of spiritual monism he takes his stand on the heartfelt charms of the love of God. He sets the innate feelings of his heart against the sophism of the advocates of the Advaita Vedānta.

First coll., No. 1589. "I will make the mouth of the knowers of Brahma to water (in longing) and make the delivered ones to abandon the pristine condition (attained in consequence of deliverance). In singing, the whole bodily frame becomes instinct with Brahma and the good fortune (resulting from it) consists in making God a debtor. I will bring indolence on him whose practice it is to repair to holy places, and make the enjoyment of a life in heaven bitter. I will make the man who practises austerities give up his pride and put to shame sacrificial rites and charities. I will accomplish the great object of life, viz., love and wealth of devotion, which constitutes the true treasure

of Brahma and its substance; and I will make people say that it was by good fortune that they saw Tukā and became blessed."

Here his enthusiasm for the love and devotion for God becomes so great, that he instinctively, as it were, out of the strength of his feelings declares all other ways of reaching God, including the monistic Vedānta, as worthless and inefficacious.

Lastly I will here translate the Abhaṅg in which Tukārām sets forth the mission of his life:—

First coll., No. 520. "We lived in the Vaikuṇṭha and have come for this very reason, viz., for bringing into practice truly what the Ṛṣis taught. The world is overgrown with weeds; we will sweep clean the paths trodden by the righteous and accept what has remained. The old truths have disappeared. Mere verbal knowledge has brought about destruction. The mind (of man) is eager for worldly enjoyments and the way to God has been wholly obliterated. We will beat the drum of Bhakti which carries terror to this sinful age; Tukā says, proclaim victory with joy[1]."

The above extracts from a voluminous collection will give some indication of the manner in which Tukārām endeavoured to execute his mission. He denounced the merely mechanical rites and practices, enforced humility and the purification of the heart and a single-minded devotion to God.

XXVI. Résumé of Vaiṣṇavism.

§ 76. We have thus completed our survey of Vaiṣṇavism from about the fifth century before Christ to the middle of the seventeenth. It first appeared as a religious reform, like Buddhism and Jainism, but based on theistic principles. Its early name was Ekāntika Dharma, or the religion of a single-minded love and devotion to One. In its back-ground stood the Bhagavadgītā, a discourse professing to be preached by Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. It soon assumed a sectarian form and was called the Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata religion. It was professed by a tribe of Kṣatriyas of the name of Sātvata and was noticed by Megasthenes, about the end of the fourth century before Christ, as the religion of such a specific people. This faith mingled itself with the existing one in Nārāyaṇa, the fountain from which all men have sprung, and

1 The readings of this piece have been compared with those handed down orally and corrected.

with that in Viṣṇu, whose traces were visible in this world, and who at the same time had a mysterious nature. In the Bhagavadgītā itself were embodied some of the teachings of the Upaniṣads and a few general doctrines of two kinds of philosophy, the Sāṁkhya and the Yoga, which, however, had not yet assumed the character of definite systems.

Soon after the beginning of the Christian era another element was contributed to this system of religion by the Ābhīras, or cowherds, who belonged to a foreign tribe, in the shape of the marvellous deeds of the boy-Kṛṣṇa, who came to be regarded as a god, and of his amorous dalliances with cowherdesses. So constituted, Vaiṣṇavism went on till about the end of the eighth century, when the doctrine of spiritual monism and world-illusion was promulgated and disseminated by Śaṁkarācārya and his followers. This was considered as destructive of the Bhakti, or love, which Vaiṣṇavism enjoined.

And the feeling of hostility to spiritual monism gathered to a head in the eleventh century, when Rāmānuja made strenuous endeavours to put it down and spread the religion of Bhakti in a re-invigorated form. He was followed in the North by Nimbārka, who, however, gave prominence to the fourth or cowherdess element of Vaiṣṇavism and enjoined the worship of Kṛṣṇa's mistress Rādhā also, Rāmānuja having passed them over in severe silence.

The attacks on spiritual monism and world-illusion were continued in a determined and definite manner in the thirteenth century by Madhva or Ānandatīrtha, who established the doctrine of pluralism, and brought into prominence the name of Viṣṇu as that of the supreme God. In the North, Rāmānanda gave a new turn to Vaiṣṇavism by bringing in the name of Rāma, while Rāmānuja, from whom his metaphysical doctrines are derived, laid particular stress on the name Nārāyaṇa. The preachings of Rāmānanda and his disciples were carried on in the Vernacular. Rāmānanda's religious activity is to be referred to the fourteenth century. He was followed by Kabīr in the fifteenth century, who preached strict monotheism, the name of his God being Rāma, and condemned idolatry.

Vallabha in the sixteenth century preached the worship of the boy-Kṛṣṇa and his mistress Rādhā. Caitanya about the same

time promulgated the worship of the grown-up Kṛṣṇa, for ever associated with Rādhā, who was idealised into an image of pure love. The increasing ardency in the love and devotion of God sought for realistic expression, and the conception of Rādhā deepened and acquired an exclusive prominence and importance. The devotion of Caitanya and his followers was sincere and fervent, and even bordered on the frantic; but that of Vallabha and his school was more dramatic than real. Ultimately this conception led to the degradation of Vaiṣṇavism.

In the Marāṭha Country, Nāmdev, whose date is uncertain, but who probably lived about the end of the fourteenth century, and Tukārām, in the first half of the seventeenth century, preached the worship of Viṭhobā of Paṇḍharpur as the supreme God, and, discarding Rādhā-Kṛṣṇaism, cultivated a more sober line of devotion. They also resorted to the Vernacular for the dissemination of their ideas. They, as well as Kabīr, and to a certain extent, Caitanya also, condemned the formalism, which prevailed in the religion of their day, and preached pure love of God. The two Marāṭhā saints and Kabīr also laid particular stress on the purification of the individual's heart and moral elevation as means to a single-minded and devoted love of God, and as necessary for the attainment of eternal bliss.

The points of contact between these various Vaiṣṇava systems are that their spiritual elements are essentially derived from the Bhagavadgītā, that Vāsudeva as the name of the Supreme Being stands in the back-ground of all, and that spiritual monism and world-illusion are denounced by them equally. The differences arise from the varied importance that they attach to the different spiritual doctrines; the prominence that they give to one or other of the three elements that were mingled with Vāsudevism; the metaphysical theory that they set up; and the ceremonial which they impose upon their followers.

The Bhagavadgītā was supplemented in later times by the Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās and the Purāṇas such as the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata, and other later works of that description. These occasionally elucidated some of the essential doctrines, laid down the ceremonial, and brought together a vast mass of legendary matter to magnify the importance of their special teachings, and render them attractive.

Part II.

ŚAIVISM AND MINOR RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS.

I. Introductory.

Formation of the Conception of Rudra-Śiva.

§ 77. Some of the phenomena of external nature are pleasing, vivifying and benignant; others are terrible, dispiriting and destructive. In the dawn, the Āryas found the lovely goddess Uṣas, pursued by her lover Sūrya, or the Sun (ṚV. I. 115. 2). In the rising sun, they found Mitra, a friendly god, who roused them from sleep and set them to do the work of the day (ṚV. III. 59. 1; VII. 36. 2). And in the sun, who visibly at rising stretched forth his rays as if they were his arms, filling the heaven and the earth, vivifying the world at the end of the night and placing it in the course assigned to it by him, they found Savitṛ (ṚV. IV. 53. 3). The dreadful and destructive phenomena are usually the storms that uproot trees and even demolish houses, accompanied by the thunderbolt which strikes down men and beasts dead in a moment; and the epidemics that rage and carry off numbers of men. In these the old Āryas saw Rudra, who went about howling with the stormy winds (Maruts), who were his sons (Rudriyas).

But human beings do not believe in a purely malignant power reigning in the universe. The dreadful phenomena are attributed to the wrath of a god, which, however, can be appeased by prayer, praise and offerings. Then the god becomes Śiva, or the benignant. This appears to be the natural process by which a belief in such a god as Rudra-Śiva became established in India in ancient times. We will now trace the development of the idea of this god until he became the supreme creator, ruler, and pervader of the universe, a knowledge of whom contributed to eternal bliss.

II. The Development of the Idea of Rudra-Śiva.

§ 78. Rudra is represented as discharging brilliant shafts which run about the heaven and the earth (ṚV. VII. 46. 3) and

as possessing weapons which slay cows and men (ṚV. I. 114. 10). Here the destructive agency of lightning seems to have been clearly in view. He is prayed to by the singers to keep these away from them and to protect the two-footed and four-footed beings belonging to them (ṚV. I. 114. 1). When, in consequence of the prayers or in the natural course of things, the cattle go unharmed, Rudra is represented to be Paśupa, or protector of the cattle (ṚV. I. 114. 9).

Rudra is prayed to not to afflict children with disease (ṚV. VII. 46. 2) and to keep all in the village free from illness (ṚV. I. 114. 1). Rudra was thus believed to cause diseases, and when men recovered from them or were altogether free from them, that also was attributed to the agency of Rudra; and he is consequently spoken of as possessing healing remedies (ṚV. I. 43. 4) and as the best physician of physicians (ṚV. II. 33. 4) and as possessed of a thousand medicines (ṚV. VII. 46. 3). The singers also pray for the acquisition of those pure and salutary remedies belonging to the Maruts and Rudra, which father Manu desired (ṚV. II. 33. 13).

The general character of the prayers addressed to Rudra is well brought out in the following: "Oh Rudra, do not, out of thy anger, injure our children and descendants, our people, our cattle, our houses, and do not kill our men. We invoke thee always with offerings" (ṚV. I. 114. 8.). By his power he perceives all earthly beings and by his universal sovereignty he perceives divine beings (ṚV. VII. 46. 2). Here even in the Ṛgveda, Rudra is raised to supreme power.

§ 79. The character of Rudra appears in a much more developed form in the Śatarudriya (TS. IV. 5. 1; VS. chapter 16). His benignant form (Śivā tanuḥ) is distinguished from its opposite, the malignant. He is called Giriśa or Giritra, "lying on a mountain", probably because the thunderbolt that he hurls, springs from a cloud, which is often compared to a mountain and in which he was believed to dwell. The cowherds and the female bearers of waters see him as he creeps along with his blue neck and red complexion, that is, these simple folk working in the open field see a

black cloud tinged red by the soft glow of the lightning. Representing, as Rudra does, the darker powers of nature, he may be expected to dwell away from the habitations of men, and therefore he is called the lord of the paths, of the forests, and of those who roam in them, of thieves and highway robbers, who frequent and move about in lonely places to prevent being detected, and also of outcasts who live away from the usual dwellings of men.

In his character as a healer, he appears here as the lord of medicinal herbs and is called a heavenly physician. Being the lord of the open fields or plains, he is the lord of cattle (Paśūnāṁ patiḥ) which roam in them. Then Paśupati became in later times a special appellation of this God. In this manner the range of Rudra became so wide that he came to be called the "lord of the quarters". He is called Kapardin, or the wearer of matted hair, which epithet is probably due to his being regarded as identical with Agni, or fire, the fumes of which look like matted hair. The names Śarva (arrow-wielder), and Bhava also, occur, and when his wrathful nature is thoroughly appeased, he becomes Śaṁbhu or beneficent, and Śiva or auspicious, which names occur at the end of the Śatarudriya. He is also represented as wearing a hide (Kṛttiṁ vasānaḥ). How the epithet arose it is difficult to say. But, being represented as roaming in forests and other lonely places, the idea of investing him with the skin-clothing of the savage tribes may have suggested itself to a poet. The Niṣādas, a forest tribe, are compared to Rudras, which fact lends support to this view.

The name Rudra has been generalised and many Rudras are spoken of, and a wish is expressed that they may be far away from the singer. Here the signification of the common name appears to be an evil spirit. In another place also the name is generalised, but the signification is much better. The Rudras are called Gaṇas or tribes, and Gaṇapatis or leaders of tribes, workmen, potters, cart-makers, carpenters, and Niṣādas or men of the forest-tribes. Thus these followers of handicraft and also the forest-tribe of Niṣādas are brought into close connection with Rudra; probably they were his worshippers or their own peculiar gods were identified with the Āryan Rudra. This last supposition appears very probable, since the groups of beings, whose

Patí, or lord, he is represented to have been, dwelt in or frequented open fields, forests and waste lands, remote from the habitations of civilised men.

§ 80. In AV. the conception of Rudra is further developed, and he is elevated to a higher platform. Several other names, by which he was known in later times, are also given, but the bearers of these are spoken of and addressed as separate gods. Bhava and Śarva are treated as two distinct deities and spoken of as ruling (Īśāthe) over two-footed and four-footed beings (IV. 28.1). They are styled the swiftest of all archers, and to them belongs what is near as well as remote. They are called thousand-eyed. Their range is far and wide (3). Their stroke can not be avoided by any man or god (5). They are invoked to launch their thunderbolt against the Yātudhāna, or evil spirit (6). They are implored to deliver the singers from calamity (7). Śarva is called the archer, and Bhava the king (Rājan), and obeisance is made to them, and they are desired to remove their deadly poisons to other places (VI. 93. 2). Obeisance is made to Rudra who is in Agni, who is in the waters, who has entered into the herbs and who has formed all these beings (VII. 87. 1). This verse occurs in AU. (VI) and also in ŚU. (II. 17), where, however, it appears in a somewhat altered form, the word Deva being used instead of Rudra.

In describing a particular ox Mahādeva is spoken of as his two arms (IX. 7. 7). Bhava and Śarva are invoked to launch the lightning against the doer of wickedness (X. I. 23). They are called Bhūtapati (the lord of spirits) and Paśupati (the lord of beasts), (XI. 2. 1). They are reverenced as being in their domains in the sky and in the middle regions (XI. 2. 4). Five distinct species of animals, kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep, are marked off as belonging to Paśupati (XI. 2. 9). To Ugra, the fierce, belong the four intermediate quarters, the sky, the earth, and the wide atmosphere, and that which has spirit and breathes on the earth (XI. 2. 10). Bhava sees everything on earth. Nothing is far or near to him. He destroys things in the farther ocean, being himself in the preceding ocean (XI. 2. 25). Rudra is implored not to bring on consumption, poison, and celestial fire (XI. 2. 26). Bhava is the lord (Īśa) of the heavens, the

earth, and fills the whole atmosphere (XI. 2. 27). Bhava is addressed as king (Rājan) (XI. 2. 28). A wish is expressed that the arrows of Bhava, Śarva, and Rudra, who is Paśupati (the lord of beasts) may be always propitious (Sadāśiva), (XI. 6. 9). Savitṛ is called Aryaman, Varuṇa, Rudra, and Mahādeva (XIII. 4. 4). All the stars and the moon are under Rudra's control (XIII. 4. 28). The gods made Bhava the archer, the protector of the Vrātyas, or outcasts, in the intermediate space of the eastern region, Śarva of the southern region, Paśupati of the western region, Ugra of the northern region, Rudra of the lower region, Mahādeva of the upper region, and Īśāna of all the intermediate regions (XV. 5.1-7).

§ 81. In ŚB. (VI.1.3.7) and KB. (6.1.9), Rudra is mentioned as the son of Uṣas; and, after he was born, Prajāpati gave him, as he grew up, eight names, seven of which are the same as those given above from the AV. and the eighth is Aśani, or the thunderbolt. It would be seen that the AV. regards the seven as different though allied gods, though once Rudra is identified with Paśupati. As in the case of the sun-god, the several ways of looking at him gave rise to the conception of several sun-deities such as Savitṛ, Sūrya, Mitra, Pūṣan, etc., so the same terrible and destructive agency in nature, with its benignant and gracious counterpart, looked at from different points of view, gave rise to the belief in the seven different gods mentioned in the AV. They are all regarded as the names of one god in the ŚB. and KB., and an eighth name is introduced. Of these eight names, four-Rudra, Śarva, Ugra and Aśani, are indicative of the destructive energy, and the other four, viz., Bhava, Paśupati, Mahādeva or Mahān devaḥ, and Īśāna, of its beginant counterpart.

It will have been observed that the AV. brings in a new element, that of poisons, which the terrific god was believed to send forth and of his shafts being unfailing and unavoidable by gods and men. On the other, or the benignant side, Bhava is represented to be a shining king (Rājan). Rudra is the lord of all creatures. His range is far and wide. He controls the stars and the moon. He reigns in the sky and the middle regions. He is in fire and water, in plants and herbs, and in all beings; and he is the protector of Vrātyas in all quarters; and he is pre-eminently the ruler (Īśāna).

Thus the terrible and the destructive God became, when he was propitiated by men in a variety of ways, a benignant God and attained to the whole majesty of the godhead by the time of the YV. and AV., and it is on this majestic form of the god that the theosophic speculations of ŚU., which we will notice further on, are based.

§ 82. But the darker side of the nature of this god was never forgotten. A sacrifice called Śūlagava is mentioned in most of the Gṛhyasūtras. A bull is sacrificed to Rudra to appease him (AG. IV. 9.). The rite should be performed beyond the limits of a village, and its remains should not be brought into it, which rule sufficiently indicates the inauspicious character of the rite. The Vapā, or omentum, should be sacrificed to Rudra by uttering twelve names, seven of which are the same as the first three in the first group given above, and the four in the second group. Aśani is omitted, and we have the following five additional names, Hara, Mṛḍa, Śiva, Bhīma, and Śaṁkara. Or the Vapā may be thrown into the fire by uttering six specific names only or the single name Rudra. This Śūlagava sacrifice should be performed in a cow-shed when a cattle disease has to be averted. In PG. (III. 8) the names uttered in throwing the oblations are the wives, Indrāṇī, Rudrāṇī, Śarvāṇī, and Bhavānī. HG. (II. 3. 8) has the same deities as the eight above-mentioned, Bhīma being substituted for Aśani; and oblations are given to the wife of each by repeating the formula "Bhavasya devasya patnyai svāhā" (to the wife of God Bhava) etc., and not by uttering their proper names.

Directions are given in PG. (III. 15) to render obeisance to Rudra and pray for safe conduct when traversing a path, coming to a place where four roads meet, crossing a river, getting into a ferry-boat, entering a forest, ascending a mountain, passing by a cemetery or by a cow-shed and such other places. Similarly HG. (I. 5. 16) directs that a traveller should adore Rudra by repeating the specific formula given by him, when he comes to the crossing of four roads or to a heap of cattle-dung, when serpents creep, and when he is overtaken by tornado, or is entering a river, or comes to a variegated scene, sacrificial site or an old large tree.

It will thus be seen that, in the time of the Gṛhyasūtras, Rudra was still a terrible god, who had to be appeased. He was the god that held sway over regions away from home, over fields, wildernesses, cemeteries, mountains, old trees and rivers. Whenever a man came to anything which inspired awe and terror, Rudra was the god thought of and prayed to protect. Herein lies the reason which rendered him in later times the omnipresent supreme lord of the universe to the exclusion of all other Vedic gods except Viṣṇu. Many are the occasions in the life of man, which excite fear; there are epidemic and other diseases, poisons, serpents, storms, thunderbolts and wild and awful scenes, and consequently, the god who brings on these occasions, and protects when appeased, will be thought of oftener than other gods. The lovableness of the works of God, his greatness and majesty and his mysterious nature, are also matters which strike the mind of man; and these appear to have operated in bringing Viṣṇu into prominence.

What contributed to the formation of Vaiṣṇavism were the appearances and occurrences which excited love, admiration and a spirit of worship; while in Rudra-Śaivism the sentiment of fear is at the bottom, howsoever concealed it may have become in certain developments of it, and this sentiment it is that has worked itself out in the formation of various Rudra-Śaiva systems of later times. In the monotheistic religions of other countries the same god is feared and loved; in India the god that is loved in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, while the god that is feared is Rudra-Śiva.

III. Śvetāśvatara and Atharvaśiras Upaniṣads.

§ 83. Before we proceed to the consideration of the Rudra-Śiva sects, we must devote some time to the consideration of a religio-philosophic treatise which represents the farthest point in the development of the idea of Rudra-Śiva as a god worshipped by the Indian Āryas generally. This is the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad. It does not appear to be composed in a sectarian spirit. The elevated notions about the nature of God and his relations to man and the world, which had been reached in the time of the early Upaniṣads, have been disentangled from

their connection with the impersonal Brahman and transferred to the God who had at the time when the Upaniṣads were written, acquired a living and active personality in the minds of the people. This god was Rudra-Śiva, who, as we have seen, had by the time of AV. attained to the dignity of the supreme god.

After the preliminaries, the doctrinal points that occur in the first chapter are these: that there are three unborn elements in the world; of these the all-knowing and the ignorant, the ruler and the ruled, are two, and there is a third which has in itself materials of enjoyment and suffering (9). Brahman is of three kinds, viz., the sufferer or enjoyer, what is enjoyed or suffered, and the dispenser or mover. There is nothing further to be known (12). Pradhāna is changeable, the immortal is unchangeable; Hara, the one lord, rules over the changeable and the soul. By meditating on him, by devoting oneself to him, by realising him, the whole ignorance is dispelled (10). By making one's body the lower block of wood, the syllable "Om" the upper, and by the act of meditation, which is (like) the rubbing of the two blocks against each other, one should perceive the hidden god (14). One finds that soul in oneself who seeks him by means of truth and exertion, as oil in seeds, butter in curds, or water in a spring (15).

The three elements mentioned in 9 and 12 are adopted by Rāmānuja in his system, and these texts are quoted by writers of that school. What is set forth in the tenth is similar to that which occurs in the sixteenth and seventeeth verses of chap. 15 of the BhG.

In the second chapter there is first of all a short mention of the Yoga processes, which lead to the perception of the supreme soul and the purity of the self. When by the purified nature of the individual self, as by a lamp, is known the nature of Brahman, or the god who is unborn, unchangeable, pure in every way, one is free from all bondage (15). The chapter closes with the verse which we have noticed as occurring in the AV.

In the third chapter, we have in the beginning a stanza which sets forth that those become immortal who know him who possessing a net, rules by his ruling powers, rules over all the worlds by

his ruling powers, who alone is the cause of production and growth (1). There is only one Rudra—and they do not recognise another—who rules these worlds by his ruling powers, who is the inmost soul of all men, who contracts everything on the final day, and, creating all beings, protects them (2). He has his eyes everywhere, his face everywhere, as in RV. X. 81. 3 (3). May Rudra, the cause of the production and growth of the gods, the lord of the universe, the great prophet, and who formerly created Hiraṇyagarbha, endow us with a holy will (4). Then follow two verses from the Śatarudriya, praying Rudra to look at the singer with his gracious countenance and not to do harm to men, etc. (5, 6). Knowing the lord (Īśa), who is the highest Brahman and the greatest of all, who dwells in the inside of all beings whatever their form, and who encompasses the whole universe, men become immortal (7). Then follow similar verses expressive of the attributes of the supreme God and prescribing a knowledge of him as the door to immortality.

As formerly remarked,[1] a verse and a half in this chapter occurs word for word in the thirteenth chap. of the BhG. It also deserves remark that the proper names of the supreme being that occur are Īśāna, Īśa, and Śiva; and the epithet Bhagavat, that is used also, deserves notice (11, 12, 15, 17, 20). In verse 20, which occurs also in the MU., there is Īśam for Ātmanaḥ which is indicative of the peculiarity of this Upaniṣad which we have noticed. There are two verses from the Puruṣasūkta (RV. X. 90).

The fourth chapter opens with the expression of the desire that he who, himself being without form, creates many forms with a certain purpose, in whom in the end as well as in the beginning the universe exists, may endow the adorers with a holy will. Then follows the identification of this supreme soul with fire, sun, wind, moon and a variety of other objects (2-4). We have then the metaphor of one male goat lying down with the female goat and another male goat abandoning her after enjoyment, which represents the soul in the worldly and the delivered conditions (5).

1 Ante, p. 31. [N. B. U.]

We have next the verse about two birds, the friends and companions of each other, resting on the same tree, one eating the fruit of that tree, and the other simply looking on without eating, which occurs in the RV. (I. 164. 20) and in the MU. (III. 1. 1). The next verse about the weak soul being deluded and in grief and being delivered from his sorrows when he sees the other soul, who is the ruler (Īśa), occurs in the MU. also (III. 1. 2) but not in the RV.

After two verses there is another, in which Māyā is called Prakṛti and he who uses this Māyā is called Maheśvara (10). Maheśvara is a name of Śiva. Having known the boon-giver, Īśāna, who presides over every productive organ and in whom and from whom are all things, one attains eternal peace or serenity (11). Then there is a repetition here of a verse in the previous chapter (III. 4), with an unimportant difference of reading (12). Then occurs the second part of the verse in RV., which represents Hiraṇyagarbha to be the lord of two-footed and four-footed animals (X. 121. 3), the first part of the latter being paraphrased here (13). This verse was probably suggested by the occurrence of the name of Hiraṇyagarbha in the previous verse.

Having known Śiva (the auspicious), who is minuter than the minute, the creator of the universe, of many forms, and who alone encompasses the universe in this medley of the world, one attains eternal peace (14). That same lord of the universe concealed in all objects is the protector of the world in time. Devoting themselves to him and knowing him thus, the Brahmarṣis and the deities cut away the nooses of death (15). Knowing Śiva, concealed in all beings, who is as subtle as the essence of milk, other than the butter, knowing the god who alone encompasses the universe, one is free from all nooses (16). This god—this great soul—whose work is the universe always dwells in the hearts of men. He is determined by the heart, the intelligence, and internal consciousness; those who know this become immortal (17).

When there was simple darkness and no day or light, no entity or non-entity, Śiva alone existed. He was the one unchangeable thing, and he was the bright light of the sun,

and from him sprang all intelligence (18). Here appears an idea similar to that expressed in RV. X. 129. No one can seize him above, transversely or in the middle. There is not another like him. Great is his glory (19). His form is invisible. Nobody sees him with the eye. Those who see him, dwelling in the heart, by the heart and the internal consciousness, become immortal (20). This verse is the same as in KU. (VI. 9), excepting in the third line, which there is the same as the third line of v. 17 above. The chapter ends with two verses containing a prayer to Rudra to protect, the latter of which is the same as RV. I. 114. 8.

In the first verse of the fifth chapter are mentioned two indestructible beings, Brahman and the other, who are endless, in whom there lie, unobserved, knowledge and ignorance. Ignorance is destructible, knowledge is indestructible; and there is another who rules over knowledge and ignorance (1). In the next verse is mentioned the birth of Kapila and his being fed with knowledge by him who presides over every productive energy (2). Giving various forms to each group (lit. net), the god resolves everything into the original principle. Creating again the lords of beings, he, the great soul, the ruler, wields sovereignty over all (3). As the sun illuminates all quarters, upper and lower and transversal, so also the god, the Bhagavat, presides over the natures of all productive energies (4). The original cause of the world makes natural powers develop, and brings to a mature condition those who are capable of development. He presides over this universe and puts into operation all the qualities (5). That is concealed in Upaniṣads, which contain the secret of the Vedas. That origin of Brahman, Brahmadeva knows. All the ancient gods and Ṛṣis, who knew that, being absorbed in it, became immortal (6).

The Upaniṣad then proceeds to mention the individual soul, the lord of the vital airs, who performs actions and enjoys or suffers their fruit, possesses three qualities and follows three ways, and goes through a succession of births in consequence of his actions (7). He is as big as the thumb, bright like the sun, is conscious of himself, and wills, is as minute as the hundredth part of the hundredth part of the point of a hair, and is endless. In himself he is not a female nor a male nor sexless. This depends on the body assumed by him (8, 9, 10). He assumes many gross and

subtle forms in accordance with his qualities and the qualities of his actions and of the self. But he who effects their union, is another (12). Then follows a verse similar to IV. 14 and the latter part of 16 (13). In the last verse Śiva, the God, the creator and destroyer, is said to be knowable by Bhāva faith, love, or the pure heart (14).

The sixth chapter appears to be a sort of resumé of what precedes. Among other things it is stated that he who promotes virtue and dispels sin, should be known as existing in oneself (6); that the one God is concealed in all beings, is all-pervading, the internal soul of all beings, presiding over all actions, the support of all beings, the witness of all, the life-giver, absolute and without qualities (11); and that, knowing the cause which is to be understood by means of the Sāṁkhya and the Yoga, a man is free from all nooses (13).

After this follows a verse to the effect: "nor the sun nor the moon nor the stars nor lightning illuminate him (i. e., make him known); when he shines, everything shines after him, and by his light all this is rendered visible, or is illuminated" (14). This verse occurs in KU. (V. 15) and in MU. (II. 2. 10). The work ends with an expression of the author's self-surrender to the god, who shines forth in one's own intelligence, who first created Brahmadeva, and who sent forth the Vedas—the god who has no parts, who does not suffer change, who is all peace, has no defects and is unpolluted, the bridge for crossing over to immortality, and who is like fire that has burnt fuel (18. 19).

§ 84. From this short summary, it will be seen that this Upaniṣad contains verses from the Saṁhitās of the ṚV. and YV. and others, which must have been in a floating condition, and were appropriated by the Muṇḍaka and Kaṭha Upaniṣads as well as by this; and a great many others, which have not been traced elsewhere, are original. All these contain truths about the nature of God, the individual soul and the inanimate world and the relations between them. The way to redemption is meditation on the Supreme Soul, which way is characteristic of the Upaniṣad doctrine in general. Certain Yoga processes are prescribed to render this meditation effective, and the final result is a percep-

tion of the Supreme Soul as existing everywhere, and this perception constitutes eternal bliss.

This treatise contains the theism of the Upaniṣad period in its most mature form with a God distinctly personal at the centre. The attributes of the Supreme Soul are often given in very general terms, and he is referred to by the non-sectarian general name Deva, but as often that Deva is identified with Rudra, Śiva, Īśāna and Maheśvara, and his powers are spoken of as Īśānīs; but there is no indication whatever that these names have been given for the purpose of raising Rudra-Śiva to the supreme godhead to the exclusion of another god. Names indicative of Rudra-Śiva appear to have been used, since he was invested with a personality perceived and acknowledged by all. This Upaniṣad, therefore, is not a sectarian treatise like others promulgated in later times, and is often quoted by Śaṁkarācārya, Rāmānuja and other writers of the different schools, and not by those of one school only.

It must have been composed before the BhG., since the latter contains, as already stated,[1] a verse and a half from it, and the nature of the religio-philosophic speculations contained in it, though essentially Upaniṣadic, make a nearer approach to the later Bhakti School than those of any of the older treatises of the class. The description of the godhead and of the final pure serenity are instinct with the glow of love and admiration, and the treatise ends with an expression of self-surrender to the god, who makes himself manifest in one's own intelligence. The Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad, therefore, stands at the door of the Bhakti School, and pours its loving adoration on Rudra-Śiva instead of on Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, as the BhG. did in later times when the Bhakti doctrine was in full swing. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa had a historic basis; and the circumstances which led to his being invested with the supreme godhead, occurred in later times, while in the age, in which the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad was composed, Rudra-Śiva was alone in the field as the supreme god, and the germs of Bhakti, or love, which manifested themselves at the time, were directed towards him; but when Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa also came into the field, he appealed more to the hearts of men as the

1 Ante, p. 31, and p. 153. [N. B. U.]

god who had come to dwell amongst them; consequently the germs of Bhakti speedily developed, and he became the object of the heightened feelings in preference to the other.

Umā-Haimavatī.

§ 85. Up to the time at which we have arrived, we meet with no mention of the wife of Rudra or Śiva, but in the Kena-Upaniṣad, which is certainly one of the earlier Upaniṣads, the name of Umā occurs. She is called Haimavatī, or the daughter of Himavat, but she is not mentioned in the KnU. as the wife of Rudra or Śiva, though in later times she was known to be so. The story is:—Brahman conquered the enemies of the gods for them, but the gods took credit to themselves for the victory and were proud of their achievements. Agni, Vāyu and Indra were sitting together, engaged in joyous conversation, when there appeared at some distance a spirit. Agni first went out to see what it was. The spirit asked him the nature and extent of his power and laid down a blade of grass, which it asked him to burn away. Agni was not able to do this and returned baffled. Then went Vāyu, who also was not able to blow away the blade of grass; afterwards went Indra, and at his approach the spirit disappeared. Indra was disappointed, but he saw a beautiful woman of the name of Umā-Haimavatī and asked her who the spirit was. She said it was Brahman. The story represents that condition of things, in which the old Vedic gods had lost their power or hold over men, and Brahman had come into prominence as the supreme spirit. Since it was Umā that disclosed the nature of the spirit, it may be understood that the Brahman mentioned was Rudra-Śiva and Umā was his wife. It would thus appear that she had come to be so regarded some time before the Upaniṣad was composed.

§ 86. The Atharvaśiras is another Upaniṣad appertaining to Rudra. It is a much later work as is shown even by the very variant texts before me, commented on by Nārāyaṇa and Śaṁkarānanda. The gods, it is said, went to heaven and asked Rudra who he was. He said that he alone was, is, or will be, and nothing else. He is in all the quarters, he is Gāyatrī, man, woman, etc., and thus a number of things are mentioned with which he is identical. Then Rudra was invisible to them, and they raised their arms and praised him saying: "He who is Rudra, is

Bhagavat, and who also is Brahmadēva, a bow to him". In the similar sentences that follow, instead of Brahmadeva we have Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, Umā, Skanda, Vināyaka, etc. The sun and the constellation are also included. Then Oṁkāra is mentioned, to which many epithets and epithets of epithets expressive of divine attributes are given, and lastly it is called the one Rudra who is Īśāna, Bhagavat, Maheśvara and Mahādeva. Then follow the etymologies of the epithets or names. The only Rudra he is called, because he alone creates and absorbs everything. He is called Īśāna, because he rules by the powers called the Īśānīs. Then follow four or five verses from ŚU. with different readings in some cases.

The substance of what follows is thus given by Śaṁkarānanda. For the knowledge of Rudra one should use moderate food, devote himself to reading (Śravaṇa), thinking (Manana), etc., become a Paramahaṁsa, or a single-minded devotee, and spend his time thus. One should undertake the Pāśupata vow (Vrata), which is of the following nature. Greed and anger should be given up. Forgiveness should be realised. The muttering of Om should be practised, and meditation resulting in Avagati, or perception, should be resorted to. The text, of which this is the explanation, may be generally rendered thus :— "In the inside of the heart exists the subtle body, in which there are anger, greed and forgiveness. Destroying greed, which is at the bottom of human motives, and concentrating the mind on Rudra, who is one and eternal, one should be moderate in eating and drinking". Then follows a precept to besmear the body with ashes by repeating the words : "The ash is fire, the ash is water, the ash is earth, everything is ash, the ether is ash, the mind, the eyes and other senses are ash." This is the Pāśupata vow (Vrata), enjoined for the removal of the noose with which the Paśu, or the individual soul, is tied."

Here the besmearing of the body with ashes after repeating a formula, or Mantra, is prescribed as a vow for the devotees of Paśupati, or Rudra-Śiva, calculated to effect a deliverance from the trammels of life. The expression "Paśupāśavimokṣaṇa", which means the loosening of the noose tied round the necks of beings, is a characteristic of the Pāśupata sect. This Upaniṣad

therefore belongs to that sect. Before, however, we pass on to the consideration of this sect, we must cast a glance at the position which Rudra-Śiva holds in the Mahābhārata.

IV. Rudra-Śiva in the Mahābhārata and Linga Worship.

§ 87. At the beginning of the Bhīṣmaparvan Kṛṣṇa advises Arjuna to make an obeisance to Durgā before the commencement of the battle and pray for success. Arjuna does so after repeating a hymn in honour of Durgā, containing the names of Umā, mother of Skanda, Kātyāyanī, Karālī and a number of others. In the Vanaparvan Arjuna is represented to have gone to the Himālaya and practised austerities there. Some time after, Śiva appears dressed like a Kirāta, and a severe fight ensues between them. Arjuna is overpowered in the end and lies on the ground exhausted. He then praises Śiva, and, having made an altar of earth, puts flowers on it in the name of Śaṁkara. These, however, appear as placed on the head of the Kirāta, whereupon Arjuna makes him out as Śiva the object of his adoration, and surrenders himself to him. Śiva becomes pleased and offers him whatever he wishes. Arjuna asks for the weapon presided over by Paśupati (Pāśupatāstra), which possesses the power of destroying all formidable enemies (chaps. 38–40).

In the Droṇaparvan again, (chaps. 80–81) the attainment of the Pāśupatāstra, which appears to be of another kind, consisting of a bow and arrow, by Arjuna, is mentioned. Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa are spoken of as having gone to the Himālaya in a vision and seen Śaṁkara at his dwelling. They bow their heads before him, sing a hymn in his praise, in which they call him the unborn, the creator of the universe, the unchangeable and utter the names which we have given as occurring in earlier works, and thus propitiating him ask for the Pāśupata weapon. They are directed to a lake where the Astra had been thrown. There they saw two venomous serpents, which, however, assumed at the time the forms of a bow and an arrow, and these Arjuna took away.

In the Sauptikaparvan (chap. 7) Aśvatthāman is mentioned to have propitiated Śaṁkara and obtained a sword from him. Śiva himself enters into his body, and Aśvatthāman

carries havoc and destruction with the terrible sword in the camp of the Pāṇḍus, killing all their progeny, and even Dhṛṣṭadyumna, who had cut off the head of his father Droṇa. Yudhiṣṭhira asks Kṛṣṇa how he was able to effect all this. Kṛṣṇa says that he did it through the power of Śaṁkara and relates another story about him. Brahmadeva once told Śaṁkara not to create. Whereupon Śaṁkara concealed himself under water for a long time. When, therefore, there was no creation for such a long period, Brahmadeva created another Prajāpati, who brought into existence a large number of beings. These beings, being afflicted with hunger, went to Prajāpati to devour him. He, being afraid, went to Hiraṇyagarbha, who created two kinds of food for those beings and then they were quieted. After some time Mahādeva rose out of the water, and seeing that new beings had been created and were in a flourishing condition, he cut off his organ of generation as no more necessary, and it stuck into the ground. He then went away to perform austerities at the foot of the Muñjavat mountain.

There is a similar story about Mahādeva's having ceased to create and become a Yogin in the Vāyu-Purāṇa (chap. 10). Brahmadeva told Nīlalohita (Mahādeva) to create, and bringing to mind his wife Satī, he created thousands of beings exactly like himself, who were immortal. Thereupon he stopped and rendered himself incapable of procreation. He then resorted to all those processes of the Yoga, which in the Purāṇa is called the Pāśupata-Yoga.

In the Sauptikaparvan, Kṛṣṇa continues the story of Mahādeva and tells Yudhiṣṭhira that when the gods created the rite of sacrifice and assigned no oblation to Rudra, he was full of wrath and destroyed the sacrifice; whereupon they assigned him a portion and the god was pleased.

In the Anuśāsanaparvan (chap. 14), Kṛṣṇa is introduced as recounting the glories of Mahādeva. He says, Jāmbavatī, one of his wives, expressed a desire for as good a son as Rukmiṇī, his chief consort, had. To procure such a son he had recourse to Mahādeva, through whose favour only his wishes could be fulfilled. He then went to the Himālaya, on which Śiva lived. On the way he saw the hermitage of Upamanyu. Upamanyu

enters into a long discourse on the beneficent deeds of Mahādeva. A list is given of persons, including many Daityas, who obtained their desired objects, such as sons, weapons, powers, etc., through the favour of Mahādeva, whom they had propitiated by rigid austere practices and other ways. One of these was Śākalya, to whom was granted the boon that he would be an author and would obtain immortal glory, and his son would be the composer of Sūtras. The persons alluded to here must be the compiler of the RVS.. and the author of the Pada text. Upamanyu began to practise austerities to propitiate Śiva at the instance of his mother, who, in describing the god's power and beneficence, spoke of him as dancing nakedly and of his having the quarters for his clothing (Digvāsas). In the course of his austerities, Mahādeva, to test Upamanyu's devotion, appears before him in the form of Indra, and offers him many magnificent boons, which Upamanyu refuses, and declares that he would have boons from Śaṁkara alone, and that he would become a worm or a butterfly at the command of Śaṁkara, but did not desire even the sovereignty of the three worlds given by Indra. In the course of his narrative, Upamanyu says that Mahādeva was the only god, whose organ of generation (Liṅga) is worshipped by men. He and Umā were the real creators of animals, as these bear the marks of the two, and not the discus or the conch-shell or marks of any other god. Eventually Śiva and Umā appeared before Upamanyu, seated on a strong towering ox, attended on the one side by Brahmadeva seated on the swan, his vehicle, and on the other, by Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa with the conch-shell, lotus, etc., and conferred on him all the blessings he desired. At his instance Kṛṣṇa also entered on a long course of austerities, at the end of which Mahādeva with Umā appeared before him in the same manner as they did to Upamanyu. The god conferred eight boons upon him, and his consort eight more; besides she promised him sixteen thousand wives, and altogether the number of boons he obtained was twenty-four inclusive of the birth of such a son as he wanted.

§ 88. The characteristics of Śiva, or Mahādeva, as brought out by these accounts appear to be these. He was a powerful, wrathful and impetuous god, but generous and bountiful, and

spared nothing when he was propitiated. Whenever a man conceived a desire for anything, he was the god to be appealed to for its fulfilment. He lived on the Himālaya with his wife Umā, Pārvatī, or Durgā, who had a number of other names such as Kālī, Karālī, etc., and was attended by a number of beings called his Gaṇas or hosts. His vehicle was an ox. He had, of course, all the attributes of the supreme godhead. He is represented as having betaken himself to the process of Yoga or contemplation, when he had ceased to be creative.

It will be seen that the object of worship in Śaivism is the Liṅga, or phallus. We have found no trace of this characteristic in the earlier literature, so far as we have examined it[1], and the first time we meet with it is in this passage from the Anuśāsana-parvan. We have had occasion in a previous section[2] to remark that Rudra-Śiva had a close connection with stragglers in the forest, with Vrātyas, or those who were not included in the Aryan community, and with the wild tribe of the Niṣādas, and also that the gods of these last were amalgamated with Rudra. Rudra's partiality for serpents and his being the lord of spirits or Bhūtas, were probably due to the influence of the serpent-worship and the devilry of the savage tribes.

There are two places in the RV., in one of which Indra is prayed to not to allow those whose god is Śiśna, to disturb the rites of the singers (VII. 24. 5); and in another he is represented to have conquered the riches of a city after killing those whose god is Śiśna. Here evidently those whose god was Śiśna, or phallus, are meant as the enemies of the Vedic Aryas, who disturbed their holy rites. Notwithstanding all that is said about the matter, my own belief is that the persons here referred to were really some tribe of the aborigines of the country, who worshipped the phallus. Just then, as the Rudra-Śiva cult borrowed several elements from the dwellers in forests and stragglers in places out

1 I do not, however, deny the possibility that when the ŚU. in IV. 11 speaks of the god Īśāna as presiding over every Yoni, and in V. 2, of the lord as presiding over all forms and Yonis, an allusion to the physical fact of the Liṅga and Yoni connected together, may have been meant as typifying the philosophical doctrine of gods presiding over every creative cause.

2 [Ante, p. 149 N, B. U.]

of the way, so it may have borrowed this element of phallic worship from the barbarian tribes with whom the Āryas came in contact. This element, however, does not appear to have come in all at once, especially among the learned classes, whose beliefs are represented in the literature which we have examined.

The Liṅga worship had, it appears, not come into use at the time of Patañjali; for, the instance he gives under P.V. 3.99, is that of an image or likeness (Pratikṛti) of Śiva as an object of worship, and not of any emblem of that god. It seems to have been unknown even in the time of Wema-Kadphises, for, on the reverse of his coins, there is a human figure of Śiva with a trident in the hand; and there is also an emblem, but it is Nandin or the bull, and not a Liṅga or phallus. But this element must have crept in early enough among ordinary people, who were in closer communication with the uncivilised tribes, and gradually made its way to the higher classes, of whose creed it subsequently became an article. And it is this final stage of its adoption by the higher classes that is represented in Upamanyu's discourse in the Mahābhārata.

From all that we have brought forward from the post-Saṁhitā literature, it will appear that Rudra-Śiva was a deity whose worship was common to all Āryas, and who was not at first a sectarian god. As above remarked,[1] he was in charge of the field before the Vaiṣṇava or Vāsudevic deities came in to contest his supremacy. The Gṛhyasūtras, which, as we have seen, give directions as to the adoration of Rudra under various circumstances, cannot be considered as belonging to any Śaiva sect. In the time of Patañjali, images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, made sometimes of precious metals, were kept for common worship by certain religious persons who derived an income from them[2]. The images of Śiva here alluded to cannot have been meant for the use of a particular sect.

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1 Ante, p. 157f. [N. B. U.]

2 See his comment on P. V, 3. 99.

V. Origin and Diffusion of the Śaiva Sects and the Several Classes of Śiva Worshippers.

§ 89. A Śaiva sect is, however, mentioned even by Patañjali. The members of it were known as Śivabhāgavatas, or devotees of Śiva, the Bhagavat. —Śiva, we have seen, is called Bhagavat in AU.—A Śivabhāgavata carried in his hand an iron lance as an emblem of the deity he worshipped (under P. V. 2. 76).

In the Nārāyaṇīya section of MBh., the Pāśupata is mentioned as one of five schools of religious doctrines (Śāntiparvan, chap. 349, v. 64). Śiva-Śrīkaṇṭha, the consort of Umā, the lord of spirits and the son of Brahmadeva, is represented to have revealed the tenets of that school (verse 67). Whether this statement is to be understood in the sense that its founder was a human being, afterwards recognised as an incarnation of Śiva, or whether it is a mere general statement like that contained in the BU. (II. 4. 10) that the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, etc., are the breath of this great being, meaning nothing more historically than that the system gradually came into existence, without any special individual being concerned with it, is a question somewhat difficult to answer definitely; but there is evidence in the Purāṇas and Inscriptions, of the existence of a belief in favour of the first supposition.

The Vāyu-Purāṇa (chap. 23) and the Liṅga-Purāṇa (chap. 24) represent Maheśvara to have told Brahmadeva that when, at the time of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana during the twenty-eighth repetition of the Yugas, Vāsudeva, the best of Yadus, would be born of Vasudeva, he would incarnate himself as a Brahmacārin by the name of Lakulin after entering a dead body thrown into a cemetery; the place where this would occur, would be called Kāyāvatāra or Kāyāvarohaṇa, and he would have four pupils of the names of Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kauruṣya. These Pāśupatas, with their bodies sprinkled with ashes, resorting to the Yoga of Maheśvara, would in the end go to the world of Rudra.

Now, in an Inscription in the temple of Nātha near that of Ekalingji, 14 miles to the north of Udaipur, Rajputana, it is stated that Śiva became incarnate as a man with a club (Lakuḷa) in his hand, in the country of Bhṛgukaccha, being pro-

pitiated by Bhṛgu. Sages, Kuśika and others, conversant with the Pāśupata Yoga, and using ashes and wearing bark-dress and matted hair, are mentioned.

There is another Inscription, usually called the Cintra Praśasti, which states that Śiva became incarnate in the form of Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī-Lakulīśa, and dwelt at Kārohaṇa in the Lāṭa country. There appeared in bodily form four pupils of his of the names of Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruṣa and Maitreya for the strict performance of the Pāśupata vows, and they became originators of four branches. The date of the first Inscription is Vikrama 1028, or 971 A. D., and the second was composed between A. D. 1274 and 1296. In another Inscription dated 943 A. D., found at Hemāvatī in the Sira Taluka, Mysore, Lakulīśa is represented to have been born again as Muninātha Chilluka to preserve the memory of his name and doctrines[1].

Mādhava calls the Pāśupata system that he explains in his Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha, Nakulīśa-Pāśupata, and quotes a few words from what appears to be a work attributed to him. From all this it appears that there lived a certain person, of the name of Lakulin (the holder of a Lakuṭa, or Laguḍa, or Lakula, i. e., a club) who founded a Pāśupata system. Four schools sprang out of it, and their reputed founders, whether historical or legendary, were considered his pupils. Lakulin is the same as Nakulin, and the fact that his rise has been represented by the Purāṇas to be contemporaneous with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, points to the inference that traditionally the system was intended to take the same place in the Rudra-Śiva cult that the Pāñcarātra did in the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa cult. We may, therefore, place the rise of the Pāśupata school mentioned in the Nārāyaṇīya about a century after that of the Pāñcarātra system, i. e., about the second century B. C.

§ 90. Before we proceed further, we will notice the extent of the diffusion of the creed. At the end of the commentary on the Vaiśeṣikasūtras, the author Praśastapāda makes his obeisance to Kaṇāda, the author of the Sūtras, and characterises him as having composed the Vaiśeṣikaśāstra after propitiating Maheśvara by the

1 See JBBRAS, Vol. XXII, pp. 151–153.

greatness of his Yoga (meditation or concentration), and Ācāra (practice). These two ways are common to both the Pāśupata and Śaiva systems, as will be seen hereafter, and Kaṇāda, therefore, may have been a follower of the Pāśupata or Śaiva system. Bhāradvāja, the author of the Uddyota, or a gloss on Vātsyāyana's Nyāyabhāṣya, is called Pāśupatācārya, or a teacher belonging to the Pāśupata school, at the end of his work.

Wema Kadphises, a powerful prince of the Kuṣana race, who ruled over a large part of Northwestern India about the middle of the third century A. D., styles himself on the reverse of his coins a devotee of Maheśvara or a member of the Māheśvara sect, and an image of Nandin and another of Śiva with a trident in his hand occur on the obverse. Varāhamihira in the latter part of the sixth century, lays down the rule that the priests to be employed for the installation of an image of Śaṁbhu, should be Brāhmaṇas besmearing their bodies with ashes. By these he means members of a Śaiva sect, since, in the case of other gods, the names mentioned are those of the sects founded in the names of those gods.

Haribhadra, an old Jaina author, speaks in his Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya, of the schools of Gotama and Kaṇāda as professing the Śaiva faith. But his commentator Guṇaratna, (who flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century)[1], calls the Vaiśeṣikas Pāśupatas and the other school Śaivas. This last must be a mistake, since Bhāradvāja of the Nyāya school is specifically spoken of as a Pāśupatācārya, as we have seen.

The Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsiang in the middle of the seventh century mentions the Pāśupatas twelve times in his book. In some places he says that there were temples of Maheśvara at which the Pāśupatas worshipped; in one or two temples, he says that they resided. And at Benares he found about ten thousand sectaries who honoured Maheśvara, besmeared their bodies with ashes, went naked and tied their hair in knots. These and those who lived in temples must have been like the Bairāgis, or ascetics, of modern times, who had given up the world.; but probably the others mentioned by him were the

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. XI, pp. 255-256.

followers of the Pāśupata faith who lived the ordinary life of householders.

In the copper-plate charter of Nāgavardhana, nephew of Pulakeśin II of Mahārāṣṭra, who ascended the throne in 610 A. D., and was living in 639 A. D., a grant is recorded of a village near Igatpuri in the Nasik District for the worship of the god Kāpāleśvara i. e., the lord of the wearers of garlands of skulls, and for the maintenance of the Mahāvratins residing in the temple. It will hereafter be shown that the name Mahāvratin, or observer of the great vow designated the Kāpālikas or Kālāmukhas. Thus there is evidence of the existence in the middle of the seventh century of the sect of Kāpālikas in Mahārāṣṭra.[1]

In the Karhad grant of Kṛṣṇa III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, the king mentions his having granted in Śaka 880 (=958 A. D.), a village to Gaganaśiva, the practiser of great austerities, who was fully versed in all the Śivasiddhāntas and was the pupil of Īśānaśiva, who was an Ācārya, or preceptor, and the head of the establishment at Valkaleśvara in Karahāṭa. These holy men and their establishment seem to have belonged to the Śaiva sect and not to the Pāśupata. The evidence for the existence of Kālāmukha and Śaiva sects in Mysore, in the latter part of the twelfth century, will be given in the next section.

Here it seems necessary to make another distinction. Bāṇa in the Kādambarī represents Pāśupatas with red clothing to have been among those who waited to see Tārāpīḍa's minister Śukanāsa at the door of his house for some private purposes of their own; but in another place he represents Vilāsavatī, the queen of Tārāpīḍa, to have gone to the temple of Mahākāla on the fourteenth (of the dark half of the month) to worship the god. Bhavabhūti in the Mālatīmādhava (Act III) represents Mālatī to have gone with her mother to the temple of Śaṁkara on the fourteenth of the dark half of the month. This fourteenth day still continues to be sacred to Śiva when special worship is performed. Now Vilāsavatī and Mālatī and her mother can hardly have been meant to be members of that sect, some followers of which with a red clothing were waiting at Śukanāsa's door. It, therefore, appears to be clear that all worshippers of Śiva were not members of any of those

1 JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, p. 26.

sects the names of which have come down to us, as observed in a previous section.

Rudra-Śiva had gradually from the earliest times grown to be a god commonly worshipped by the Indians, and he has continued to be their ordinary god to this day. The sects that subsequently arose were based upon specific methods of redemption, when religious and philosophic thought was advancing or perhaps declining, but the old god was resorted to by ordinary people without reference to them. And it must be remarked that those sects must have had a clerical or ascetic class as well as a class of lay followers or householders—and probably in some cases at least Hiuen Tsiang means these last by his Pāśupatas—and a class of Śaiva religious men, as distinct from lay followers, existed in Karahāṭa as we have noticed.

There were thus three classes of Śiva worshippers:—(1) clericals or ascetics, (2) their lay followers, and (3) ordinary people who had no particular connection with any sect. The poets Kālidāsa, Subandhu, Bāṇa, Śrī-Harsa, Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, Bhavabhūti and several others adore Śiva at the beginning of their works. They may have been the lay followers of any of the sects, but, in all likelihood, they belong to the third class. For of these Subandhu, Bāṇa and Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa invoke Hari or another form of Viṣṇu at the same time, thus showing that they were not exclusive adherents of one of the two gods. The many temples of Śiva constructed by the early Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the Kailāsa and other cave temples at Ellora excavated by the latter, contain no indication of their being intended for a specific Śaiva sect, and therefore they may be regarded as pointing to the diffusion of the general worship of Śiva in Mahārāṣṭra from the seventh to the tenth century.

VI. Names and Doctrines of the Śaiva Sects.

§ 91. The older Śaiva sects had and have a literature of their own, the so-called Āgamas attributed to Śiva himself, and a number of works by human authors. But the literature has not yet been published nor even discovered. I have, therefore, necessarily to resort to the stray notices about the sects and their

doctrines, contained in works not written by the followers of the systems except in one case. With the more modern sects the case is different, their literature having recently become available.

Śaṁkara says that the Māheśvaras maintain that Paśupati has revealed five topics (Br. S. II. 2. 37). Thus the sects were known by the general name of Māheśvara, and Paśupati, or the god Śiva, was believed to be their founder. Rāmānuja under the same Sūtra, which, however, is numbered 35, speaks of the systems as the tenets of Paśupati. Keśava Kāśmīrin calls the sects the followers of the "tenets of Paśupati." Śrīkaṇṭha-Śivācārya calls them the "believers in the Āgamas revealed by Parameśvara, or the great god". The name Māheśvara is the old name as is evident from the fact that Wema-Kadphises, as noticed above; and several later princes, especially of the Valabhī dynasty, called themselves Māheśvaras. Hiuen Tsiang, too, as we have seen, mentions temples of Maheśvara, at which the Pāśupatas worshipped. It also follows that all these sects were at the same time known by the name of Pāśupata sects; and the founder of them all was believed to be the god Paśupati.

The same conclusion is to be deduced from the Mysore Inscriptions that have been published, the only difference being that the original teacher is called Lakulin or Lakulīśa. In one Inscription dated 943 A. D., referred to above, it is stated that Lakulīśa, being afraid that his name and doctrines would be forgotten, became incarnate as Muninātha Cilluka.[1] This appears to be a general name applicable to all systems. In another dated 1078 A. D. one ascetic is called an ornament to the Lākula school and another is spoken of as "a hand to Lākula"[2]. This appears to be the general name and does not point to a specific sect. In a third dated 1103 A. D. Someśvara-Sūri is spoken of as having caused the Lākula doctrine (Siddhānta) to bloom. He is called a Naiyāyika and Vaiśeṣika[1]. This shows

1 Ep. Carn. Vol. XII, p. 92 (Translation).

2 Ep. Carn. Vol. VII, Sikarpur Taluq No. 107.

that he belonged to the specific Pāśupata sect. In a fourth dated 1177 A. D. certain ascetics are called upholders of the Lākulāgamasamaya, i. e., the system based upon a work of Lakulin, and adherents of Kālāmukhas.[2] Here evidently the Kālāmukhas are called Lākulas, which is the same as Pāśupatas. The names of the ascetics mentioned in this Inscription end in the word śakti and jīya, which appear to be characteristic of the Kālāmukha sect. In a fifth dated 1183 A. D. is noticed a grant to Nāgaśiva-Paṇḍita, who is called an upholder of the Lākula system, and the names of his preceptors in the two preceding generations end in the suffix śiva. Nāgaśiva is praised for eminence in Āgama and in Śivatattva[3]. From the ending suffix śiva in these names and the mention of a proficiency in Āgama and in Śivatattva, it appears that Nāgaśiva was a follower of the Śaiva school and at the same time he was a Lākula, or Pāśupata. A sixth dated 1199 A. D. notices a grant of land to Bammadeva, son of Nāgarāśi, the promoter of the system based upon the work of Lakulin[4]. The suffix rāśi is found in a great many names of the devotees of Śiva. Whether it is a characteristic of a specific sect is not clear, but it appears that the bearers of it belong to the Pāśupata, or the Kālāmukha school. In a seventh dated 1213 A. D. a certain religious man is represented as the upholder of the system known by the name of Vāgi-Lākula, i. e. the system

1 Ep. Carn. Vol. VII, Pt. I, p. 64 (Translation).

2 Ep. Carn. Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 135 (Translation).

3 Ep. Carn. Vol. V, Arsikere Taluq No. 89. Another holy person of the name of Nāga with the suffix rāśi instead of śiva is mentioned in Inscr. No. 69 Arsikere Taluq (Ep. Carn. Vol. V, p. 137). A grant is therein recorded to Mādhajīya, a disciple of Nāgarāśi, who belonged to the Kālāmukhas and was himself the disciple of Padmaśiva-Paṇḍita. Another Nāgarāśi is mentioned in Inscr. No. 48 (Ibid.). The grantee in this case is Kalyāṇaśakti, disciple of Śivaśaktideva, who was himself the disciple of Nāgarāśi, "bound to the Kālāmukhas". This Nāgarāśi, or these two Nāgarāśis, appear to me to be different from the Nāgaśiva mentioned in the text. And the use of the termination rāśi in his case, he being a Kālāmukha, and of the word śakti in the case of two of the pupils, strengthens my supposition that these were characteristic of the Kālāmukha sect, the former being applicable to the Pāśupata also.

4 Ep. Carn. Vol. V, Arsikere Taluq No. 103.

of the learned Lākulin[1]. In an eighth dated 1285 A. D. the grantor is called a supporter of the new system of Lakulin[2]. This perhaps refers to the later school of Liṅgāyatas.

Thus it will be seen that Lākula was the general name by which the Śaiva sects were called, and the specific name Kālāmukha is associated with the general name in one case. This general name has for its basis the historical fact, noticed above, that a person of the name of Lakulin or Lakulīśa founded a Śaiva system corresponding to the Pāñcarātra system, which the Vāyu- and Liṅga-Purāṇas consider to be contemporaneous with it. The other general name Pāśupata arose by dropping the name of the human individual Lakulin and substituting that of the god Paśupati, whose incarnation he was believed to be, as is done in the texts of the MBh. quoted above. But that the Śaiva system had a human founder is confirmed by the fact that the name of his work, the Pañcādhyāyī, or Pañcārthavidyā, has been handed down, as will be shown immediately below, and probably the work is extant, even if it has not yet been discovered, as Mādhava mentions a gloss on the perpetual commentary (Bhāṣya) on it, which also will be noticed below. The conclusion therefore appears to be that a certain historical person was the founder of the main Śaiva system which was the same as that explained by Mādhava as Nakulīśa-Pāśupata, and that three other systems arose out of it in later times.

Tho commentators of Śaṁkara state that there were four of these schools bearing the names of Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kārukasiddhāntin and Kāpālika. Vācaspati, however, calls the third Kāruṇikasiddhāntin. Rāmānuja and Keśava Kāśmīrin mention the same four schools, but call Kārukasiddhāntin by the name of Kālāmukha. The word Kāruka is probably a corruption of Kaurusya, the name of the third of the four (according to the Purāṇas) pupils of Lakulīśa, or this last name may be the Sanskritised form of the original Kāruka[3]. A work of the name of

1 Ep. Carn. Vol. V, Arsikere Taluq No. 46.

2 Ep. Carn. Vol. XII, p. 45 (Translation).

3 These four schools are mentioned in the Vāyavīyasaṁhitā of the Śiva-Purāṇa (II. 24, 177). The Śaiva school, however, is called Siddhāntamārga and the Kālāmukhas are called Mahāvratadharas.

Pañcādhyāyī, dealing with the five topics alluded to above and attributed to Paśupati, is mentioned by Keśava Kāśmīrin and is quoted by Rāmānanda on Kāśīkhaṇḍa[1]. This must be the same work as that which is quoted from by Mādhava in the section on Nakulīśa-Pāśupata and attributed by him to Nakulīśa or Lakulīśa.

VII. The Pāśupata System.

§ 92. The five topics mentioned by Śaṁkara and explained by his commentators are these (1) Kārya, or effect, which is Mahat and the rest produced from Pradhāna; (2) Kāraṇa, or the cause which is Īśvara or Maheśvara and also Pradhāna; (3) Yoga, which is absorption in meditation or the muttering of the syllable Om, contemplation, concentration, etc.; (4) Vidhi, bathing (in ashes) at the three points of time, i. e., the beginning, the middle and the end of the day, and the rest up to Gūḍhacaryā, i. e. incognito movement; (5) Duḥkhānta, which is final deliverance. This is amplified by Mādhava in the section on the Pāśupata sect.

I. Effect (Kārya) is that which is not independent. It is of three kinds: (1) cognition (Vidyā), (2) organs (Kalā), and (3) individual soul (Paśu). Of these cognition is the property of the individual and is of two kinds: (1) external, and (2) internal. External cognition is of two kinds: (1) distinct, and (2) indistinct. Distinct external cognition, which is educed by the instruments of knowledge, is called conceptual operation (Citta). For by the conceptual operation every man reduces to definiteness the thing

1 See Aufrecht's Cat. Cat. The Vāyavīya Saṁhita (II, 24, 169) also mentions this work, which it characterises as the highest theosophy (Vidyā) of Śiva and gives Pañcārtha as its name, i. e, Pañcārthavidyā. This Pañcārtha appears to be alluded to by Mādhava when he refers his reader to the Pañcārthabhāṣyadīpikā in his section on Nakulīśa-Pāśupata. In an Inscription in the temple of Harṣanāth, which exists in the Sīkar principality of the Jaipur state, a person of the name of Viśvarūpa is mentioned as the teacher of the Pañcārtha-Lākulāmnāya, i. e., the sacred book of Lakulin, called Pañcārtha. The Inscription is dated V, E. 1013=A. D. 957, so that there can be on question that the Pāśupata system was attributed to a human author named Lakulin, the work composed by him being called Pañcārtha Ep. Ind. II. p. 122).

The occurrence of the names of the schools and of this book in the Purāṇa shows that its composition was later than the foundation of the schools, which, therefore, must be considered as owing nothing to it.

that has been apprehended definitely or indefinitely by the aid of the light in the shape of the external object. The internal cognition is of the nature of virtue or vice, which forms the objective of the individual and determines for him the body of precepts he has to follow. Organs are dependent on the cognitive individual and are themselves insensate. They are of two kinds: (1) effects, and (2) causes. The effected organs are of ten kinds: the five elements, earth and others, and the five qualities, colour and others. The organs, which are causes, are of thirteen kinds: the five senses, and the five organs of action, and the three internal organs, viz. intelligence, egoism and mind, the functions of which are the determination of the will, the consciousness of the self, and the formation of a plan respectively. The individual (Paśu) is that which has individualism (Paśutva). It is of two kinds: (1) impure, and (2) pure. The impure individual is that which is connected with the body and the organs, while the pure one is unconnected with them. The details should be seen in the Pañcārthabhāṣyadīpikā and other works.

II. The cause (Kāraṇa) is that which effects the destruction of the whole creation and its prosperity or promotion. Though it is one, still on account of its various properties and functions it has many forms, such as lord (Pati), naturally powerful (Sādya), etc. To be the lord means to have the unbounded power of knowing and acting. He is, therefore, the eternal ruler. To be a Sādya is to be possessed of supreme sovereignty, which is not incidental, but natural.

III. Yoga is the connecting of the individual soul with god through the conceptual faculty (Citta). It is of two kinds, consisting in (1) action, and (2) cessation from action. The first consists in muttering syllables and formulas, meditation, etc. The second, or cessation from action, consists in mere feeling (Saṃvid).

IV. Vidhi, or process, is an operation which effects or brings about righteousness. It is of two kinds: (1) primary, and (2) secondary. The first, or primary, is conduct (Caryā) which induces righteousness directly. That conduct is of two kinds: (1) vows, and (2) means or doors. The vows consist in besmearing

the body with ashes and lying down in ashes, definite practices (Upahāra), muttering and circumambulation. Thus has Nakulīśa said: " One should besprinkle one's body at the three points of the day and lie down in ashes. " The definite practices are six. These have been stated by the author of the Sūtras to be laughing, singing, dancing, Huḍukkāra, prostration, and inaudible repetition. With these he says one should worship. Laughing is the making of the sound ' hā ! hā ! hā ! ' by the forcible stretch of the throat and the lips. Singing is the contemplation of the attributes of Maheśvara in accordance with the rules of the science of music. Dancing should be resorted to by contracting and stretching forth hands, feet, etc. and all other principal and subsidiary limbs accompanied by the representation of feeling in accordance with the science of dancing and gesticulation. Huḍukkāra is a holy sound resembling that of an ox made by striking the tongue on the palate. Huḍuk is an imitative sound like the sacrificial Vasat. When there is a crowd of people, all this should be done so as not to be observed.

The means, or doors, are these : (1) Krāthana, i. e. affecting to be asleep when one is awake ; (2) Spandana, which is the moving or the shaking of the limbs as if they were paralysed ; (3) Maṇḍaṇa, or the walking as if one's legs and other limbs were disabled ; (4) Śṛṅgāraṇa, which is showing oneself to be in love by means of amorous gestures as if on seeing a beautiful young woman ; (5) Avitatkaraṇa, which is doing a thing condemned by all as if one were devoid of the sense of discrimination between what should be done and what should be avoided ; (6) Avitadbhāṣaṇa, which is speaking nonsensical and absurd things.

Secondary processes are those which are intended to help the conduct (Caryā), such as besmearing with ashes after worship, and to remove the sense of indecency or impropriety attaching itself to begging and eating the remnant of what others have eaten. For this purpose the author of the Sūtras has laid down that one should besmear his body after the worship and wear the faded flowers and leaves which had been removed from the god and a Liṅga (the image of the phallus).

V. Duḥkhānta, or final deliverance, is of two kinds : (1) total

destruction of misery, and (2) an elevated condition consisting in the possession of the power of knowing and acting. The power of knowing is of five kinds: (1) Darśana, or seeing all objects which are atomic, concealed or are at a distance, and touching them; (2) Śravaṇa, or the miraculous hearing of all sounds; (3) Manana, or the miraculous knowing of all objects of thought; (4) Vijñāna, or the miraculous knowledge of all the sciences with that of the treatises on them and the matter contained in these last; and (5) Sarvajñatva, or the miraculous knowledge of the principles (of a science), whether mentioned or unmentioned, succinct and detailed, with their divisions and peculiarities. The peculiarities of the present system are such as these: In other systems the destruction of misery is final deliverance; in this system the attainment of the highest powers is also to be added. With others, that which comes into existence from non-existence is an effect; here the effect is eternal such as Paśu, or the individual soul. In other systems the cause depends for its operation on a subordinate cause; here the great lord acts independently. With others, the fruit of the Yoga, or concentration, is the attainment of an absolute condition; here it is the attainment of the highest powers. With others Vidhi, or process, has for its fruit heaven and other places, from which there is a return to mortal life; in this system the fruit is proximity etc. (to god), from which there is no return.

The power of acting, though one, is regarded as threefold: (1) Manojavitva, or the power of doing anything instantly; (2) Kāmarūpitva, or the power of assuming variety of shapes and forms or bodies and senses without an effort; (3) Vikramaṇadharmitva, or the possession of great power, even when the operation of the senses is suspended. Thus then a man acquires these miraculous powers of knowledge and action at the end of a long course of conduct and discipline prescribed by the Pāśupata system.

It will be seen how fantastic and wild the processes prescribed in this system for the attainment of the highest condition are. Rudra-Śiva was the god of the open fields and wild and awful regions away from the habitations of men and worshipped by

aberrant or irregular people. This character did impress itself on the mode of worship for his propitiation, which was developed in later times. The ŚU. endeavoured to humanise Rudra-Śiva; but the wild and outlandish character of the god prevailed. We will now proceed to the consideration of the Śaiva system which seems to have been established in later times. Here also Mādhava will be our main guide, since the many works that he quotes from are not available.

VIII. The Śaiva System.

§ 93. There are three principles: (1) the lord (Pati), (2) the individual soul (Paśu), and (3) fetters (Pāśa); and the whole system has four Pādas, or parts, which are knowledge (Vidyā), action (Kriyā), meditation (Yoga), and conduct, or discipline (Caryā). The first part contains an explanation of the nature of the individual soul (Paśu), fetters (Pāśa), and god (Īśvara), and determines the importance of formulas (Mantra) and the lord presiding over the formulas (Mantreśvara). This leads to initiation (Dīkṣā), which is necessary for the acquisition of the highest object of life. The second part contains an explanation of the process of initiation (Dīkṣāvidhi), which is of many forms and has many parts. The third part explains meditation, or concentration, along with its subsidiary processes. The fourth teaches discipline, or conduct, consisting in doing what is prescribed and avoiding what is proscribed. Without this Yoga is not possible.

I. Now the lord (Pati) is Śiva. Śiva acts, being impelled thereto by the deeds (Karman) of souls, and produces things to be enjoyed or suffered and their means. The exercise of his creative power thus depends on the Karman of man. He does everything; therefore, he is omniscient. God has not a body like that of an individual soul which has the fetters of taint and Karman, etc.; but he has a body made up of powers, certain specific five formulas (Mantras)[1] being imagined to be the

1 These five formulas, or Mantras, are contained in the TA. (X, 43-47) and in the Mahānārāyaṇīya Up. 17. The commentator considers these to refer to the five faces of Śiva, respectively. They are Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Iśāna. They are also called forms of Śiva. One of the Dānas, or charitable gifts, mentioned by Hemādri (Dānakhaṇḍa

different parts of his body. These five are his powers and are also considered his different forms, and by these he does the five actions, which are creation, existence or protection, destruction, concealment, and benefaction. The following four partake of the nature of Śiva: (1) formulas (Mantras), (2) the deity presiding over the formulas (Mantreśvara), (3) the great god (Maheśvara), and (4) delivered souls (Mukta).

II. The Paśu is the individual soul, who is atomic and known by the name of Kṣetrajña (self-conscious) and others. It is eternal and all-pervading. It is not incapable of action nor is it one only, as is maintained by other schools of philosophy. When the fetters are removed, he becomes Śiva, possessing eternal and boundless knowledge and power of action. The Muktas, or delivered ones, are Śivas, who have so become by the favour of him who is eternally Mukta, and is a person with five formulas (Mantras) for his body, i. e. he is identified with the god Śiva himself. Though they become Śivas, they are not independent but depend upon the eternal god, Śiva. Paśu is of three kinds: (1) Vijñānākala, who has shaken off his connection with all the organs (Kalāḥ)[1] in consequence of the destruction of the impression of deeds done, by means of knowledge, meditation, asceticism, or by the enjoyment or suffering of the fruit (Bhoga), and has simple taint (Mala). The second is Pralayākala, whose organs are destroyed by the dissolution of the world. He has both impression of deeds (Karman) and taints (Mala). The third is Sakala, who has all the three fetters, taint (Mala), impression of deeds (Karman), and material cause (Māyā). Vijñānākala is of two kinds: (1) one whose taint (Kaluṣa) has ended, and (2) another whose taint (Kaluṣa) has not ended. The first are those, who, their taint (Kaluṣa) having ended, are elevated to the position of Vidyeśvaras. The Vidyeśvaras are eight and are as follows: (1) Ananta, or endless, (2) atomic, (3) the most excellent Śiva, (4)

Vol. I, pp. 789–792 Bibl. Ind.) consists of five images made of gold or other metal fashioned in a particular manner of these five forms of Śiva. In ing each a certain verse has to be repeated. These five forms are it fied in a Śaiva treatise with the earth, water, fire, wind an d ether, ectively, and they are considered as the creators of these elements in er, viz., Vīra-Śaiva-Cintāmaṇi, Sholapur 1908 A. D.

evious section.

the one-eyed, (5) the one Rudra, (6) he with the three forms, (7) Śrīkaṇṭha, and (8) Śikhaṇḍin. Another author says that Śiva invests the Samāptakaluṣa (one whose taint has ended) with Vidyeśatva, which is of eight kinds, and the Asamāptakaluṣa (one whose taint has not ended) he raises to the dignity of fomulas (Mantras) which are seven crores. Pralayākala is also of two kinds. The first is one whose two fetters have matured (and about to be shaken off), and the second is different from him. The first attains Mokṣa, and the second, entangled with Puryaṣṭaka, undergoes many births in accordance with his impressisn of deeds (Karman). The Puryaṣṭaka is a subtle body, wich is composed of elements which are variously enumerated. Of those who have the Puryaṣṭaka, some, who are virtuous, are raised to Bhuvanapatitva by Maheśvara Ananta. Sakala is also of two kinds : (1) one whose taint (Kaluṣa) is matured, and (2) one whose taint (Kaluṣa) is not matured. The first is raised to the dignity of Mantreśvara of 118 Mantras, i. e. of so many kinds. Parameśvara, assuming the form of his preceptor by the process of initiation and the use of power calculated to counteract the matured taint, confers Mokṣa. Those Aṇus or atomic souls, whose taint has not ripened (i. e. is not in a condition to be wiped away), are made to suffer or enjoy in accordance with their Karman.

III. Pāśa (fetter) is of four kinds: (1) Mala, or taint (2) Karman, or the impression of deeds, (3) Māyā, or material cause, and (4) Rodhaśakti, or obstructive power. Mala, or taint, is that which conceals the knowing and acting power of the soul and is like the husk enveloping a grain of rice. Karman is the impression of deeds done for the attainment of fruit. It is righteous or unrighteous. It is unbeginning, ever continuing in succesion in the manner of seed and its sprout. Māyā is that into which the whole creation resolves itself at the time of dissolution and from which it springs out at the time of recreation. The obstructive power is the power of Śiva which, because it regulates the three other fetters and conceals the true nature of the soul, is itself called a fetter. It performs its function, because it is the principle of speech by means of which names are given to things and thus their nature is determined.[1]

1. Śambhudeva's Śaivasiddhāntadīpikā, Sholapur 1909.

§ 94. This constitutes the first part of the system (Vidyāpāda), the nature of the other three parts has been succinctly given above. A few details are these [1]: The second part (Kriyāpāda) treats of the accomplishment of Mantra, the twilight adorations, worship, muttering of formulas (Japa), throwing oblations into the fire, occasional ceremonies for the attainment of eternal bliss, anointing of the preceptor and of the person entering on a course of action for final emancipation (Sādhaka), and one's own initiatory ceremonies necessary to fit one for a wordly and for an eternal life. In the third, or the Yoga part are mentioned the thirty-six principles; the deities presiding over them; the lords of the different worlds; the individual soul; the all-ruling soul; the power (Śakti); the direct perception of Māyā and Mahāmāyā, which are the causes of the world; the attainment of the miraculous powers, minuteness, lightness, etc. for those who concern themselves with the worldly element; the methods of the restraint of the breath, abstraction, meditation, concentration, and absorption in thought (Samādhi); and the positions of the circles in the body beginning with the root-circle (Mūlādhāra, or navel). The fourth part treats of penances, a purificatory ceremony (Pavitrāropaṇa), the foundation, and the natures of Śivaliṅga, of the visible Liṅga of Umā and Maheśvara, and of the lord of Gaṇas, or groups, such as Skanda and Nandin, of the rosary used for the muttering of formulas, and the funeral Śrāddhas. This last part appears to contain matters subsidiary to, and explanatory of, the actions enjoined in the second part. The proscribed actions mentioned above are: (1) the eating of the residue of what is offered to another deity; (2) the vilification of (a) Śiva, (b) of the devotees of Śiva, (c) of the system of Śiva and (d) of the practices enjoined in the Śaiva system; (3) the enjoyment of things belonging to God; (4) the killing of animals.

§ 95. The doctrines of the Śaiva school are more moderate and rational than those of the Pāśupata school. This last, as well as the two extreme schools to be mentioned next, are called Atimārgika, or schools that are away from the path or go astray, and are spoken of by Śambhudeva, quoted in the above paragraph, as revealed by Rudra. The Śaiva schools he calls the Siddhāntaśāstra, or the true

1. From the same work.

Śāstra based upon the Mantras, and says that it was revealed by Śiva. The Vāyavīyasaṁhitā also calls it the Siddhānta school.

It will have been seen that both this and the Pāśupata school are dualistic or pluralistic and maintain that the supreme and individual souls are distinct entities and the Pradhāna the constituent cause of the material world. In the delivered condition the individual soul shakes off its ignorance and weakness and attains boundless knowledge and power of action according to the Pāśupata doctrine, while the Śaivas hold that he becomes Śiva himself, i. e. attains perfect resemblance with the God Śiva without, however, the power of creation.

The Śaiva school, that developed itself in later times, and is represented by Śaṁbhudeva and Śrīkaṇṭhaśivācārya, to be noticed hereafter, and supported also by texts in the Vāyavīyasaṁhitā, holds that Śiva possesses or develops in himself a Śakti, or power, consisting of the rudiments of the individual soul and the material world, and from this power the whole world is developed. This doctrine may, therefore, be called qualified spiritual monism like that of Rāmānuja, in-as-much as Śiva characterised by the Śakti creates. This last is a tenet of the Liṅgāyat school also.

IX. Kāpāla and Kālāmukha Sects.

§ 96. Rāmānuja tells us under II. 2. 35 or 36 that the Kāpālikas maintain that a man who knows the essence of the six marks (Mudrikā) and who is skilful in their use, attains the highest bliss by concentrating his mind on the soul seated on the female organ. The six marks are (1) a necklace, (2) an ornament, (3) an ear-ornament, (4) a crest jewel, (5) ashes, and (6) the sacred thread (Yajñopavīta). He whose body bears these marks is free from transmigration. The Kālāmukhas hold that the following are the means for the attainment of desires concerning this world and the next :— (1) eating food in a skull; (2) besmearing the body with the ashes of a dead body; (3) eating the ashes; (4) holding a club; (5) keeping a pot of wine; and (6) worshipping the god as seated therein. A bracelet of Rudrākṣa, one string of matted hair on the head, a skull, besmearing the body with ashes, and such other things are mentioned in the Śaiva

sacred books. They also maintain that people of other castes become Brāhmaṇas and attain to the highest order by the performance of certain rites. For it is said "One becomes a Brāhmaṇa immediately after the process of simple initiation, and a man becomes a holy saint by undertaking the vow of a Kāpāla".

In the Śaṁkaradigvijaya (chap. XV, vv. 1-28) Mādhava brings Śaṁkara into contact with the Kāpālikas at a place which, according to the commentator, was Ujjayinī. The preceptor of the sect came forward to meet Śaṁkara. His body was besmeared with the ashes taken from a burning-ground.[1] He had a skull in his hand and also an iron lance. He said to Śaṁkara: "The ashes on your body are all right[1]. But why dost thou carry an unholy potsherd instead of the holy skull? Why dost thou not worship Kapālin who is Bhairava? How will Bhairava become pleased unless he is worshipped by the skulls red with the blood of men and with wine?" Then ensues a fight between Sudhanvan, the king, who accompanied Śaṁkara in his wanderings and the Kāpālikas. Śaṁkara also pronounced a curse on them, and they were all killed. Then Krakaca, the leader of the Kāpālikas, coming up to Śaṁkara, filled the skull in his hand with wine, drank half of it and left the other half and invoked Bhairava. Bhairava came up and Krakaca prayed to him to destroy his enemy; but as Śaṁkara was his own incarnation, he destroyed Krakaca himself and not Śaṁkara. In Ānandagiri's book the Kāpālikas, whom Śaṁkara meets at Ujjayinī, speak of Bhairava being the great god, who creates, destroys, etc. They profess to have their knowing power sharpened by drinking wine and eating a certain kind of food (probably a disgusting substance) and always being embraced by the power (Śakti) of Kapālin, i. e. Bhairava. Bhavabhūti in his Mālatīmādhava gives Śrīśaila as the principal seat of the Kāpālikas. Miraculous powers of speedy movement attained by the practice of Yoga are attributed to them. The woman Kapālakuṇḍalā wears a garland of human skulls. She carries away Mālatī, the heroine of the play, from the place where she was sleeping in her father's palace in the dead of night and places her before the image of Karālā-Cāmuṇḍā

1 Lines of ashes are borne on the body by ordinary Śaivas also, and Śaṁkara's body was marked with them.

near the cemetery to be killed and sacrificed to the goddess by her preceptor Aghoraghaṇṭa.

It will be seen how horrible and demoniacal this sect was. The fear which some of the phenomena of external nature inspire in the mind of man led to the Vedic conception of Rudra, and this has now culminated into the ideal image of the horrid god Bhairava with his wife Caṇḍikā wearing a garland of human skulls and requiring human sacrifices and offerings of wine for his propitiation. In the account just given there appears to be a confusion between the sects of Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. From Rāmānuja's account the Kālāmukhas appear to be the most extreme sect; and they are called Mahāvratadharas in the Śiva-Purāṇa as noticed above. Mahāvrata means the great vow, and the greatness of the vow consists in its extraordinary nature, such as eating food placed in a human skull, besmearing the body with the ashes of human carcasses and others which are attributed to the Kālāmukhas by Rāmānuja. Jagaddhara, the commentator on the Mālatīmādhava, however, explains Kāpālikavrata by Mahāvrata[1], and this explanation appears to be correct, since the ascetics dwelling in the temple of Kāpāleśvara in the Nāsik district are, as we have seen, called in the grant Mahāvratins, or the observers of the great vow. The account of Kāpālikas given above from other authorities looks like those of the most extreme sect. Ordinarily, therefore, people do not seem to have made a sharp distinction between the Kāpālikas and the Kālāmukhas.

X. Kashmir Śaivism.

§ 97. It is a relief now to turn away from this ghastly picture of the wild aberrations of the human intellect and spirit to a system of Śaivism more humane and rational. The Kashmir Śaivism has two branches, the Spandaśāstra and the Pratyabhijñāśāstra. The authorship of the first is attributed to Vasugupta and his pupil Kallaṭa. The two principal works of the system are the Śivasūtram or Śivasūtrāṇi and the Spandakārikās which are fifty-one verses only. The first are said to have been revealed

1 Act I, p. 33, on l. 127 of my second edition of the play.

to Vasugupta by Śiva himself or by a Siddha, or perfected human being. They were inscribed on a rock on the Mahādeva hill, and Vasugupta was directed to the rock by Śiva. Another account is that they were revealed by the god in a dream, and another account still further confers the credit of the revelation on the prefected human being. These two last occurrences are said to have taken place on the Mahādeva hill. As to the second work, there are also varying traditions, one ascribing the authorship of the verses to Vasugupta and another to Kallaṭa. A third tradition, however, that Kallaṭa obtained the knowledge of the system from Vasugupta and composed the Spandakārikās for the instruction of his pupils seems to contain the truth.[1] What the meaning of the roundabout tradition about the Śivasūtras which do not ascribe their authorship to Vasugupta directly is, it is difficult to say; perhaps the original work was the Spandakārikās and the prose Śivasūtras were composed in later times in the older or more orthodox form, and as Vasugupta was probably too near the time when they were composed and as what he did was known to all, a miraculous origin was given to the new Sūtras and Vasugupta was represented to have received them from others and not composed them himself.

§ 98. Kallaṭa lived in the reign of Avantivarman[2], 854 A. D., wherefore his Guru's literary activity must be referred to the beginning of the ninth century. The followers of this school boldly deny the necessity of God's having a prompting cause, such as Karman, or a material cause, like the Pradhāna, for the creation of the world. Neitherdo they admit that he is himself the material cause, as the Vedāntasūtras maintain, nor do they think that some principle of illusion, such as Māyā, generates appearances which are false. God is according to them independent and creates merely by the force of his will all that comes into existence. He makes the world appear in himself, as if it were distinct from himself, though not so really, as houses or even towns appear in a mirror, and is as unaffected by it as the mirror is by

1 For these various traditions see my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during 1883—84, p. 77f. [=Volume II of this Edition p. 199f. N. B. U.]

2 Bühler, Report of a Tour made in Kashmir, p 78

the images reflected in it. Neither does he exist only as realised in the world, which is the conclusion that follows from the doctrine that he is the material cause. In a verse attributed to Vasugupta an obeisance is made to Śūlin, or Śiva, who is represented as portraying a picture of the world without a canvass and a collection of materials.[1]

Another illustration that they give of creation without any material or prompting cause is that of a Yogin who creates objects by his mere will without any materials. God himself by his own wonder-working power appears in the form of the many individual souls, and by means of another power, brings into existence the state of things which goes to form what we call the wakeful and dreamy condition of our life.[2] Thus according to this system the individual soul is identical with the supreme soul. But the former does not perceive this identity on account of his impurity.

This impurity, or Mala, is of three kinds. When a soul forgets his own free and universal nature through ignorance, and believes himself to be imperfect, and regards things, such as the body, which are not himself, to be himself, and thus reduces himself to finiteness or subjects himself to limitations, the impurity is called Āṇava (littleness). Then his remaining in the body, which is prepared by the originator of things, called Māyā, is another species of impurity known as Māyīya, or effected by Māyā. And when under the influence of the internal organ, or the heart, the organs of action are set in motion, the impurity arising from it is called Kārma, or resulting from action, such as that consisting in a man's consciousness of having done a good or evil deed which is to lead to happiness or misery in the end.[3] These several kinds of impurity are brought into action by Nāda, which is the

1 See Mādhava's Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha, Pratyabhijñādarśana. This verse is quoted in the Kāvyaprakāśa, Chapter IV; and by other writers on Alaṁkāras.

2 See the first note on p. 80 of my Report for 1883-84 = [Volume II of this Edition, p. 203n2 N. B. U.]

3 Śivasūtravimarśinī by Kṣemarāja under Sūtra I, 2 and 3, published by the Kāśmīra Government.

female element constituting a primeval power (Śakti) of Śiva and from which rises speech.

Without speech the ideas which render a worldly life possible cannot stand, or assume a shape or form, and therefore the principle of speech is believed to be the origin of the Mala, or impurity, which leads to a worldly life. This power is associated with others which are personalised as Ambā, Jyeṣṭhā, Raudrī, Vāmā.[1]

The impurity vanishes when by means of intense contemplation the vision of the highest being breaks in upon the mind of the devotee and absorbs all finite thought. When this condition becomes stable, the individual soul is free and becomes the supreme soul. The breaking in of the vision is called Bhairava, because it is his and is caused by him.[2]

§ 99. The founder of the Pratyabhijñā school of Kāśmīra Śaivism was Somānanda, the work written by whom is called Śivadṛṣṭi. But the principal treatise of the school was composed by his pupil Udayākara, and contains verses which are called Sūtras. On these Sūtras there are glosses and detailed explanations by Abhinavagupta, the pupil of the pupil of Somānanda.[3] Abhinavagupta wrote between 993 and 1015 A. D.,[4] wherefore Somānanda must be taken to have lived in the first quarter of the tenth century.

The doctrines of the creation of the world and of the relations between the individual and supreme souls set forth by this school are the same as those maintained by the preceding one. But the way of the perception of the identity is recognition according to this system. There is an Upaniṣad text[5], from which it follows that every thing shines when He shines and

1 Ibid. Sūtra 4, and Spandapradīpikā, V. 42. These several kinds of Mala and Nāda correspond to Pāśas, or fetters, viz., Mala, Karman, Māyā and Rodhaśakti given by Mādhava in the Śaivadarśana. The word Mala stands here for the Pāśa of that system and Āṇava for its Mala. It is also called Āṇava by Śaṁbhudeva.

2 Śivasūtravimarśinī, I. 5.

3 Bühler, Report of a Tour made in Kaśmīr; extract from Nos. 465-66, p. CLX.

4 Ibid. pp. 81–82.

5 KU. 5 15; ŚU. 6 14; MU. 2, 2, 10.

that everything becomes perceptible by His light, and thus our knowing power is the same as God's and everything outside of us becomes an object of knowledge by his illumining power. Capable of knowledge and action as we are, we partake of the nature of God ; but there is no reason to place a limit to this participation, and it must be understood that we are God himself. But the joy and elevation, characteristic of God, we are unconscious of in our present condition, and that is due to the fact that we do not recognise that we are God, though we are really so. Just as a maiden, stricken with love for a youth whose excellences have been described to her, is not filled with raptures when she is carried to him and looks upon him as an ordinary individual, but is overjoyed and devotes her whole soul to him when she is told that he is the man whose excellences had so fascinated her, so is it with the individual soul. The serene bliss of godly nature he does not feel, though he is himself God, because he is not aware that those high attributes which belong to the divine nature exist in him. But when he is led to believe by his preceptor that he possesses them, i. e., when by his instructions he is enabled to recognise God in himself, then it is that the serene bliss dawns upon him. The Spanda school mentions the dawning of the form or vision of Bhairava, or God, on the mind in the course of meditation and thereby the clearing away of the impurities as the way to the realisation of the identity with God, while this maintains that recognition of oneself as God is the way.

According to Mādhava, these two systems do not enjoin restraint of the breath, concentration, and all that course of fantastic external and internal conduct or discipline which the other schools prescribe as essential. These two schools apparently cut themselves off from the old traditional Śaivism, which gradually developed itself into the ghastly Kāpālism or Kālāmukhism, and hence the epithet Pāśupata or Lākula cannot be applied to them in any sense. A fresh revelation, therefore, was claimed for Vasugupta, though some of the doctrines of the more sober Śaiva school were preserved in the Spanda system.

XI. The Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyat Sect.

§ 100. The foundation of this sect is generally attributed to

Basava, who was the son of Mādirāja, a Brāhmaṇa supposed to be of the Ārādhya sect. His story is given in the Basavapurāṇa[1] published in 1905, at Poona. From this story it by no means follows that he founded the sect by settling its doctrines and founding what may be called a church. He, however, appears to be a strenuous supporter of the sect. In the beginning of the Basavapurāṇa, Nārada is represented to have gone to Śiva and told him that on earth there were devotees of Viṣṇu, followers of the sacrificial religion, Jainas and Buddhists, but that there were no devotees of his. He mentions Viśveśvarārādhya, Paṇḍitārādhya, Ekorāma, the great Yogin, and others as having flourished from time to time and established Śivabhakti, but there is none now. Śiva thereupon told his Nandin to become incarnate on earth for the promotion of his religion and the furtherance of the cause of Vīraśaivas.

From all this it does not appear that Basava was the originator of the sect. He had predecessors, three of whom have just been named. His was a life of political turmoil. From his native place Bāgevāḍi he went to Kalyāṇa, when Vijjala or Vijjaṇa, was reigning (1157—1167 A. D.). His maternal uncle Baladeva was the minister of the king, and he himself was raised to the position after his death. Basava's sister, a beautiful woman, was married by the king. He was in charge of the king's treasury and spent large amounts in supporting and entertaining members of Liṅgāyat mendicants, called Jaṅgamas. The matter came to the notice of the king Vijjaṇa, who gradually became completely alienated from him, and endeavoured to apprehend him. Basava fled away, and the king sent a few men in persuit. These were easily defeated by Basava, whereupon the king himself advanced with troops to punish him; but Basava had collected a large number of followers and succeeded in defeating him. The king was reconciled to Basava and brought him back to Kalyāṇa, but there could be no true reconcilement, and after a time Basava caused the king to be assassinated.

1 This book and a good many others appertaining to the Liṅgāyat sect have been published under the patronage of an influential and enlightened member of the sect, the late Mr. Mallāppā Vārada of Sholapur.

§ 101. There is a work entitled Vijjalarāyacarita by a Jaina, which also gives an account of Basava and his relations with Vijjaṇa. It is written from the point of view of an enemy of Basava, and mentions Basava's sister as having been given to the king as a mistress, which was perhaps true. But since the Liṅgāyat account and the Jaina account agree in the main particulars, they may be accepted as historical[1]. Basava thus was a scheming politician and could hardly have been the propounder of a new system of doctrines or the organiser of a new sect. Besides, in the many Liṅgāyat works now available, his name is not mentioned as the name of a teacher of any articles of faith. What he did, therefore, appears to have been that he used his political influence to raise the fortunes of the Vīraśaiva sect, to bring it into prominence, and to disseminate the creed. There is another man who has been brought forward by Dr. Fleet, on the strength of certain Inscriptions, as the founder of the Liṅgāyat sect and that is Ekānta, or Ekāntada, Rāmayya. An account of this person is also given in the second part of the Basavapurāṇa, and this and that in the Inscriptions come to this that he was an enemy of the Jainas and wished to destroy their gods and shrines. He laid a wager with them that he would cut off his head and lay it at the feet of Śiva, and if it should be restored to him and replaced on his shoulders as it was before, the Jainas should consent to throw down their idols and profess a belief in Śaivism. According to the Inscription, this was first done at Ablūr at the place where it exists, and when Rāmayya compelled the Jainas to destroy their idols, they went to Kalyāṇa and complained to King Vijjaṇa, who thereupon summoned Rāmayya into his presence and required him to explain why he did so. He offered to repeat the feat of cutting off his head and getting it back again in the presence of the king. The Basavapurāṇa represents Basava himself to have been present when Rāmayya laid this wager. So that beyond undermining the Jaina sect there is no evidence of Rāmavya's having built up the Vīraśaiva creed.

§ 102. In connection with Dīkṣās, or initiatory ceremonies, as, for instance, that which one has to go through when one has to

1 For the Liṅgāyat account see the translation of the Basavapurāṇa, Journ. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, or the Basavapurāṇa itself, printed at Poona, and for the latter see Wilson's Mackenzie Mss.

choose a Guru, or preceptor, it is necessary to place four metallic vessels full of water at the four cardinal points and one in the middle. This last belongs to the person to be consecrated as Guru or preceptor, who is supposed to represent an old Ācārya, or teacher, of the name of Viśvārādhya, and the other four to four other priests chosen as having been brought up in the schools of Revaṇasiddha, Mārulasiddha, Ekorāma and Paṇḍitārādhya and connected with certain Maṭhas, or establishments.[1] The same list is given in another treatise.[2] These five vessels are consecrated to the five faces or forms of Śiva, Sadyojāta, etc. mentioned in a former section.[3] The Ācāryas, or teachers, named above are believed to have sprung from the five forms of Śiva in this Kali age[4]. Others bearing other names, born in other ages of the world, are also mentioned, but with these we have nothing to do. Of these five teachers three at least are mentioned as having preceded Basava in the passage quoted at the beginning of this section.

It will thus appear that the Vīraśaiva, or Liṅgāyat, system came into existence before Basava. It is affiliated to the moderate or sober school of Śaivas known by the name of Saivadarśana, or Siddhāntadarśana as it is called by its followers; and especially to the later form of it alluded to before.[5] But its technical terms, Sthala, Aṅga, Liṅga, etc. and its ideas are entirely different from those of that school as explained by Mādhava and others. And these terms we do not meet with elsewhere, so that this was a modern school. When it originated, it is difficult to say. But it was clearly in a militant condition in the time of Basava. It must, therefore, have originated about a hundred years before. The names of two at least of the five teachers as given above end in the word ārādhya, while in other books all the five have that epithet attached to their names.[6] This was the name of a sect allied to the Liṅgāyats.

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1 Vivekacintāmaṇi Pūrvabhāga, Sholapur 1909 A. D. pp. 230ff.

2 Vīraśaivācārapradīpikā, Poona 1905 A. D., pp. 33–37.

3 P. 177, note 1.

4 Pañcācāryapañcamotpattiprakaraṇa, Bombay 1903 A. D., p. 1.

5 § 95.

6 Pañcācāryapañcamotpattiprakaraṇa p. 35.

Of the five Ācāryas represented by the five metallic vessels, Mr. Brown[1] does not mention the middle one and calls all the other four Ārādhyas, so that all the five preceptors honoured at the time of initiation and other ceremonies belong to the Ārādhya sect, which, according to Mr. Brown, was a sect of the Vīraśaiva creed. There has been a good deal of ill-feeling between the Ārādhyas and the ordinary Liṅgāyats, and that appears to be due to the retention by the former of some Brāhmaṇic rites, such as repeating the holy Gāyatrīmantra and wearing the sacred thread. But the very name Ārādhya, which means one to be adored or worshipped, shows that, before the contention between the two sects arose the Ārādhyas enjoyed very great respect.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, what appears to be the truth is that the Vīraśaiva creed was reduced to a shape by the Ārādhyas, who must have been men of learning and holy living, and the subsequent reformers, such as Basava, gave it a decidedly uncompromising and anti-Brāhmaṇical character. And thus these two sects of the Vīraśaiva faith came into existence. We will now give a short account of the doctrines of this school.

§ 103. The One, Highest, Brahman, characterised by existence (Sat), intelligence (Cit), and joy (Ānanda), is the essence of Śiva (Śivatattva) and is called Sthala. Then are given explanations as to why it is called Sthala, two of them based upon an artificial etymology. In the supreme Brahman, or the essence of Śiva, Mahat and other principles exist and are eventually resolved into it. In the first existence the universe, arising from Prakṛti and Puruṣa, and to it it returns at the end; therefore it is called Sthala. (The first part stha signifies sthāna, or standing, and the second part la signifies laya, or resolution.) That name is given to it also because it is the support of the whole moveable and immoveable world and holds all powers, all luminaries, and all souls. It is the resting place of all beings, of all worlds, and of all possessions. It is the highest place to be attained by those who seek the highest happiness, and therefore it is called the One only and non-dualistic Sthala (position).

By the agitation of its innate power (Śakti), that Sthala be-

[2] Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XI.

comes divided into two: (1) Liṅgasthala, (2) Aṅgasthala. Liṅgasthala is Śiva or Rudra and is to be worshipped or adored, while the Aṅgasthala is the individual soul, the worshipper or adorer. In the same manner, the Śakti, or power, divides herself into two by her own will, one of the parts resorting to Śiva and being called Kalā, and the other resorting to the individual soul and being called Bhakti, or devotion. Śakti, or power, has got a certain susceptibility, which leads it to action and entanglement with the world, while Bhakti is free from that susceptibility and turns away from action and from the world and leads to final deliverance. The Śakti, or power makes one an object of worship, while Bhakti makes one a worshipper; therefore, the former exists in the Liṅga or Śiva, and the latter in the Aṅga or individual soul. Eventually, by this Bhakti, there is a union between the soul and Śiva.

The Liṅga is Śiva himself, and not a mere external emblem of him. The Liṅgasthala is divided into three: (1) Bhāvaliṅga, (2) Prāṇaliṅga, and (3) Iṣṭaliṅga. The first is without any parts (Kalā) and is to be perceived by faith. It is simple Sat (existence), not conditioned by space or time, and is higher than the highest. The second is to be apprehended by the mind and has parts and is without parts. The third has parts and is apprehensible by the eye. This confers all desired (iṣṭa) objects and removes afflictions; or it receives its name because it is worshipped (iṣṭa) with care. The Prāṇaliṅga is the intelligence (Cit) of the Supreme Soul, and Iṣṭaliṅga, the joy. The first is the highest principle, the second is the subtle form, and the third, the gross form.

These three Liṅgas, corresponding to the soul, the life and the gross form, and being characterised by use (Prayoga), formulas (Mantra) and action (Kriyā), form what are called Kalā, Nāda and Bindu. Each of these three is divided into two; the first into Mahāliṅga and Prasādaliṅga, the second into Caraliṅga and Śivaliṅga, and the third into Guruliṅga and Ācāraliṅga. These six operated on by six kinds of Śakti, or power, give rise to the following six forms. (1) When the Śiva essence is operated on by the power of intelligence (Cit), it forms the Mahāliṅga, the attributes of which are the absence of birth and

death, freedom from taint, perfection, unity, subtleness, being higher than the highest, incorruptibility, unfathomableness, capability of being apprehended by faith and love, and idealistic (Caitanyarūpa). (2) When the Śiva essence gets permeated with its highest power (Parāśakti), then is produced a principle called Sādākhya[1] which is light, eternal, indivisible, imperceptible to the senses, apprehensible by reason, indestructible, and the rudiment that develops; and that principle is called Prasādaliṅga. (3) When the Śiva essence is operated on by its primeval power (Ādiśakti), Caraliṅga is produced, which is infinite and pervades the internal and external world, which is full of light, is a Puruṣa (a person), and is higher than the Pradhāna or Prakṛti, and capable of being contemplated by the mind alone. (4) When permeated by the will power (Icchāśakti) it forms Śivaliṅga, which is a finite principle with a sense of egoism, possessed of knowledge and power (Kalā), having a celestial refulgence, with one face, and serene. (5) When permeated with the power of knowledge (Jñānaśakti) it forms a Guruliṅga, which possesses agency, presides over every system or science that instructs, is full of light, a boundless ocean of joy, and dwells in human intelligence. (6) When influenced by the power of action (Kriyāśakti), it is called Ācāraliṅga, which in the shape of action serves as the support for the existence of all things, which is conceivable by the mind, and leads to a life of renunciation.

It will be seen that the original entity becomes divided into God and individual soul by its innate power, and the six forms of the first, that are mentioned, are the various ways of looking at God. The first form is the infinite Being considered independently. The second is the form in which we conceive of him as developing or creating by its highest power. The third is the form in which he is conceived as distinct from the material world. The fourth is a bodily form, the body, how-

1 The Sādākhya is the product of the combination of the principle, the Śiva essence, with the two of the five powers, Parā and Ādi. The Sādākhyas are five: (1) Śivasādākhya, which develops into Sadāśiva; (2) Amūrta, or not finite, which becomes Īśa; (3) Samūrta, or finite, which results in Brahmeśa; (4) Kartṛ, or agent, which becomes Īśvara; (5) Karman, or action, which develops into Īśāna. The Sādākhya alluded to in the text must be Sadāśiva.

ever, not being made up of ordinary matter, but celestial like the body attributed to Nārāyaṇa, or Kṛṣṇa, by the Vaiṣṇavas. The fifth is the form in which he instructs mankind. And the sixth involves the idea of his guiding the individual soul in his actions until he is delivered. In this form Śiva is the Redeemer.

Bhakti is the characteristic of the individual souls. It consists in a tendency towards God, and there are three stages in the progress of this tendency and, corresponding to these, there are three divisions of the Aṅgasthala, or the subject of the individual soul. The first or highest division is called Yogāṅga, the second Bhogāṅga, and the third Tyāgāṅga. By the first, a man obtains happiness by his union with Śiva; by the second, he enjoys along with Śiva; and the last involves the abandonment of the world as transient or illusory. The first corresponds to the resolution into the cause and to the condition of sound sleep, the second to the subtle body and to dreamy sleep, and the third to the gross body and to the wakeful condition. Two varieties of each of these are distinguished. Of the first, or Yogāṅga, we have the two, Aikya and Śaraṇa. The first consists in sharing the joys of Śiva after one is convinced of the unreality of the whole world. This is called Samarasā Bhakti, in which God and the soul are united in blissful experience. The second is called Śaraṇabhakti, in which one sees Liṅga, or God, in himself and everything else. It is a condition of joy for oneself. The second is also of two kinds: (1) Prāṇaliṅgin and (2) Prasādin. The first consists in abandoning all regard for life, renunciation of egoism, and concentration of the whole mind upon the Liṅga, or God. The second is realised, when one resigns all the objects of one's enjoyment to the Liṅga, or God, and serenity (Prasāda) is acquired. The divisions of the last are Māheśvara and Bhakta. The first is one who has a firm belief in the existence of God, who goes through the whole discipline consisting in the observance of vows and restraints, which have Śiva for their object, and truth, morality, cleanliness, etc. and a heroically rigid vow based upon a firm belief in the unity of the Liṅga, or God. A Bhakta is one, who, turning his mind away from all objects by which it is at-

tracted and practising devotion and rites, lives a life of indifference to the world.[1]

This represents the progress of the soul from indifference to the world, which is the first step, through the intermediate stages, in a reverse order, to Sāmarasya, or union in blissful experience with Śiva, which is the highest condition. The goal thus pointed out does not involve a perfect identity between the supreme and individual souls, or the shaking off of individuality and becoming a simple soul unconscious of itself, which is the doctrine of the great non-dualistic school of Śaṁkara.

The belief of the Vīraśaiva school that the original essence of Siva divided itself by its own innate power into Liṅga or God, and Aṅga, or the individual soul, and under the influence of other powers the essence became the creator of the world, shows that the doctrine of that school is that the rudiment of the creation exists in God himself in the shape of his power, but this power is not unreal. This doctrine, therefore, resembles that of Rāmānuja, but with the latter there is a real rudiment of the soul and of the external world characterising God which afterwards develops, but with the Vīraśaivas there exists a power only in God which leads to creation; so that it is the power that characterises God according to the latter, while the rudiment is his characteristic according to the former. The Liṅgāyat school, therefore, is a school of qualified spiritual monism (Viśiṣṭādavaita). It will also have been seen that the method of redemption taught by this school is that of Bhakti or love of God, and a course of moral and spiritual discipline up to the attainment of Sāmarasya with Śiva. In this respect also it resembles Rāmānuja's system.

Śrīkaṇṭhaśivācārya, whose Bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtras has long been before the public, holds the same view. Under I. 4. 22, he states that the word Ātman in the sense of the individual soul is used to express the supreme soul in BU. (IV. 5. 6), because the latter is the internal controller of the former and is spoken of as identical with everything in this sense. Under II. 2. 38, he states that Śiva as possessed of powers is the material cause of the world;

1 The above is an abstract of the matter contained in the Anubhavasūtra of Mayideva, Sholapur, 1909.

and in his comment on IV. 4. 3—4, he represents the delivered soul as similar to the Supreme Soul, that is, as having the attributes of the latter. And under IV. 4, 2, he speaks of the delivered soul as Samarasa, or united in blissful experience with the Supreme Soul. Thus Srīkaṇṭha's view appears to be identical with that of the Vīraśaivas. Therefore unlike the four older schools (Pāśupata and others), which are dualistic, these three Śaiva schools hold a doctrine of qualified spiritual monism.

§ 104 The highest class of Liṅgāyats is composed of those who call themselves Liṅgi-Brāhmṇas, the other castes or classes who wear the Liṅga being simply their followers. 'The Liṅgi-Brāhmaṇas consist of two main classes, the Ācāryas and the Pañcamas. The legendary account given of these is as follows. The Ācāryas were originally five in number and sprang from the five faces, Sadyojāta, etc., of Śiva spoken of in a former section[1]. They are the same as those mentioned above as having a metallic vessel placed in their names on the occasion of any holy ceremony. From these five have sprung up all the priestly classes now existing. These five had five Gotras, viz. Vīra, Nandin, Vṛṣabha, Bhṛṅgin, and Skanda, who were originally persons almost as high as Śiva himself. From the Īśāna face of Śiva sprang a Gaṇeśvara (leader of a group), who had five faces. From these five faces sprang five Pañcamas, known by the names of Makhāri, Kālāri, Purāri, Smarāri, and Vedāri, which, the reader will remember, were the names of Śiva himself given to him on account of certain deeds done by him. From these arose others who are called Upapañcamas. Each Pañcama has to connect himself with one of the five Ācāryas as his Guru. The Gotra of the Guru is his Gotra, and there can be no marriage relation between the members of the same Gotra. These Pañcamas have got Gotra, Pravara and Śākhā of their own, and the Liṅgāyats thus seem to have copied the Brāhmanic system. The Pañcamas are spoken of as the true devotees of Śiva[2].

According to the ordinary account the true Liṅgāyats are divided into four classes: (1) Jaṅgamas, or priests, (2) Śīlavaṇts,

1 Ante. p. 177n1 [N. B. U.].

2 Pañcācāryapañcamotpattiprakaraṇa.

or pious, (3) Banjigs, or traders, and (4) Pañcamsālis. The second and the third classes are based on the occupation or mode of life followed ; so that even here, there are only the two classes mentioned in the work referred to above. The members of the first or Ācārya class are popularly called Jaṅgamas. Of these there are some who are called Viraktas (passionless) and who devote themselves to contemplation and other religious exercises and live a life of celibacy and asceticism. They maintain a convent (Maṭha) and are adored by all people.

One such convent, which might be called the chief convent, is that which exists at Chitaldrug in the Mysore territory about a hundred miles from Dharwar. The head monk is held in deep reverence and exercises great influence over the followers of the sect.

The second division of the class comprises those who follow a priestly occupation and conduct all ceremonies. They are married men and lead the life of householders. They exercise religious control over the Pañcamas and the followers of their sect. These priestly Jaṅgamas are the representatives of one or other of the five principal establishments located in different parts of the country from the Himālaya to the Mysore province. Any knotty question concerning the sect is decided by the final orders issued at one of these establishments. Besides the true Liṅgāyats their is an affiliated class and another composed of half Liṅgāyats. The Liṅgāyats abstain from meat and drink. Their widows are allowed to marry. And women are not considered polluted and untouchable during the days of monthly sickness, as is the case among Brāhmaṇic Hindus.

§ 105 There is a Dīkṣā ceremony among the Vīraśaivas corresponding to Upanayana among the Brāhmaṇas. Instead of the Gāyatrīmantra of the latter, they have the Mantra 'Om namaś Śivāya', and have to wear the Liṅga, or emblem of Śiva, in the place of Yajñopavīta. On the occasion of the Dīkṣā, the Guru holds a Liṅga in his left hand, worships it in the usual sixteen ways, and shows it to the disciple. Then placing it in the left hand of the disciple and enjoining him to look upon it as his own soul and as the highest existing thing and so forth, he ties it round the neck of the disciple with a silken cloth by repeating a

Mantra used by the Brāhmaṇas in putting on the Yajñopavīta. This is called the Liṅgasvāyattadīkṣā. This ceremony is performed in the case of girls also, and the women too have to wear the Liṅga like men. The Liṅga is generally put into a box made of silver and suspended round the neck. The Vīraśaivas have to go through daily ceremonies similar to the twilight adorations of the Brāhmaṇas, and the Mantra repeated on the occasion is that given above, as also the Śiva-Gāyatrī, the first two lines of which are the same as the Brāhmaṇic Gāyatrī, and the last is 'Tan naḥ Śivaḥ pracodayāt'.

In the marriage ceremony the Mantra to be repeated on the occasion of the taking hold of the hand of the bride is the same as among the Brāhmaṇas, and in the ceremony of walking the seven steps together with the bride, the formulas repeated are the same as those used by Ṛgvedin Brāhmaṇas. But in their marriage ceremony, they do not perform the rite of throwing parched rice into the fire as the Brāhmaṇas do. The worship of the Liṅga, called Iṣṭa-Liṅga, worn on the body, is their chief divine worship; and attendance at temples and worship of the Liṅga therein are by no means necessary for them. They do not concern themselves directly with the public temples of Śiva.

§ 106. There is a traditional legend among the Liṅgāyats that, when Śiva brought Brahmadeva into existence, he told him to create the world. But Brahmadeva said that he did not know how to do it. Whereupon Śiva created it himself in order that it might serve him as a model. And the Ācāryas and Pañcamas, as detailed above with their Gotras and Śākhās, are that creation of Śiva. The true import of this legend is that the Liṅgāyat set up a system for themselves as a rival to the Brāhmaṇic system and the close resemblance between the two confirms this view. But a mere copy was not their object, and they introduced several reforms, especially in the condition of women, as will have been seen from the above notice. In this respect, this system differs from all other schools, Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva or even Buddhist or Jaina, who did not set up for themselves a special system of social relations and domestic rites, though, as shown above, that framed by the Liṅgāyats for themselves is a copy of that of the Brāhmaṇas, which, however, is a reformed copy.

The impression that this whole account creates in one is that Liṅgāyatism owes its origin to a spirit of jealousy of the power exercised by Brāhmaṇism and of rivalry with the system. Such a spirit of jealousy and rivalry cannot be expected to have arisen in thoroughly depressed minds. The system therefore must have come into existence among the spirited members of the upper classes of non-Brāhmaṇic Hindus under the leadership of a body of men composed of Brāhmaṇas known by the name of Ārādhyas. Some of the members of this body did not go far enough in the desired reform, as mentioned before, and formed a distinct sect[1].

It will thus be seen that all the Liṅgāyats have not sprung up from the Śūdra caste, but there is a mixture of the three higher orders among them. The claim that the two main classes of the sect put forward of their being Liṅgi-Brāhmaṇas, i. e., Brāhmaṇas wearing the Liṅga, seems to be founded on truth. The Ācārya or Jaṅgama class is said to have sprung from the five holy persons, adored on the occasion of a religious ceremony, whose names end in the suffix ārādhya significative of their being Brāhmaṇas. We might therefore safely take them to be of a Brāhmaṇic descent[2]. As to the Pañcamas, they probably repre-

1 An Ārādhya sect is mentioned by Anantānandagiri as having come into conflict with Śaṁkarācārya (See Śaṁkaravijaya, Bibl. Ind., p. 37). In the corresponding portion of Dhanapati's Diṇḍima which accompanies Mādhava's Śaṁkaravijaya the name of the sect does not occur; so that it is questionable whether the Ārādhya sect came into existence before Śaṁkara, even if we suppose that the sect mentioned by Anantānandagiri was the same as the one we have noticed as affiliated to the Liṅgāyats. Or, on the evidence of Anantānandagiri the Ārādhya sect may be considered to have come into existence about the time of Śaṁkarācārya, that is, before the ninth century A. D., and the theory advanced, that the Liṅgāyat reform was carried out within its limits, and a portion of the Ārādhya sect adopted the new creed and developed it, while another remained orthodox and staunch to some of the Brāhmaṇic practices. To this portion is to be traced the Ārādhya sect of the present day.

2 There are Jaṅgamas who know Sanskrit, and I have been in communication with one such of the name of Mallikārjunaśāstrin, who directed me to some of the books of the sect wich I have followed in this section, and also gave oral information on some points. He claims to be a Brāhmaṇa authorised to study the Vedas, his own Veda being the White Yajurveda.

sent the Vaiśya order of the Brāhmaṇic system which followed the occupation of traders and cultivators, and as the Vaiśyas belong to the class of the twice-born, so also do the Pañcamas and hence they are included in the Liṅgi-Brāhmaṇa group.

XII. Śaivism in the Dravida Country.

§ 107. Śaivism prevails in the Dravida or Tamil country, and possesses an extensive literature of its own. It consists of eleven collections. The first three contain the hymns composed by a saint held in great reverence, of the name Tiruñānasambandha. They are three hundred and eighty-four in number, each being called a Padigam, which consists of ten stanzas with an eleventh containing the author's name usually added. The next three were composed by Appar who was an older contemporary of Sambandha, who had renounced Buddhism or rather Jainism and become a Śaiva. The seventh collection belongs to Sundara who was a Brāhmaṇa devotee of a later generation. These seven books are called Devāram and are compared to the Brāhmaṇic Veda. In certain processions, while on the one side the hymns of the Brāhmaṇic Veda are repeated, on the other are sung those contained in the Devāram which are addressed to the deity. The Tiruvāśagam forms the eighth book, and it resembles the Upaniṣads. The author of this book is Mānikkavāśagar. The ninth group is made up of hymns composed in imitation of the Devāram hymns. One of the writers is Kandarāditya, a Cola king, from whom Rājarāja Cola, who came to the throne in 984-85 A. D., was fifth in descent. The tenth contains mystic songs of a Yogin called Tirumūlar. The eleventh collection is composed of miscellaneous pieces, the last ten of which were written by Nambi Andār Nambi. The third of these ten forms the basis of the Tamil Purāṇa called Periyapurāṇa. These eleven collections together with the Periyapurāṇa, which are all written

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The head monk of the Chitaldrug convent alluded to above was on a visitation to Poona about two months ago with all the state of a spiritual potentate, having four elephants with him and a number of followers. He was a good, courteous and kindly person, had studied Sanskrit grammar and was able to converse fluently in pure Sanskrit. Some of the books of the sect are written in Sanskrit.

in the Tamil language, form the sacred literature of the Tamil Śaivas. Besides these there are the works of what are called Santāna-Ācāryas, which are fourteen in number and called Siddhāntaśāstras. Their contents are of a philosophical nature.

The most highly honoured of all these writers is Tiruñāna-sambandha. He was a Brāhmaṇa by birth, and the poetic faculty was developed in him very early in life. His hymns are full of the purest devotional feeling and are melodious. The tunes in which they were originally sung were Dravidian, but in later times northern melodies with northern names came to be used. Sambandha's image is set up for worship in every Śaiva temple, and he is adored by Tamil poets and philosophers in the beginning of their works. He was a great enemy of Buddhists and Jainas; and every tenth stanza of his Padigams, or hymns, contains an imprecation against them. On one occasion, he was invited by the queen of Kuni Pāṇḍya of Madhurā, where he held a disputation with the Buddhists or Jainas, which ended in the conversion of the king to the Śaiva faith[1].

In an Inscription in the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore the king Rājarājadeva, after whom the temple was named, makes a daily allowance for the support of the reciters or singers of the Tiruppadiyam or the Padigams of Tiruñānasambandha, before the twenty-ninth year of his reign[2]. The date of Rājarāja's accession to the throne has been determined by the mention of a lunar eclipse in one of his inscriptions to be 984-5 A. D.[3]. This is consistent with the fact mentioned in another Inscription[4] that he conquered Satyāśraya, who was the immediate successor of Tailapa, the founder of the later Cālukya dynasty of Mahārāṣṭra, and died in Śaka 930, or 1008 A. D. Thus before the twenty-ninth year of Rājarāja, i. e. before 1013 A. D., the Padigams of Sambandha had come to be looked upon as so sacred that the recita-

1 The above account is mostly taken from the able paper of P. Sundaram Pillai published in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XXV, pp. 113ff. It is to be regretted that Mr. Pillai does not give us precise information as to whether it was the Buddhists against whom Sambandha directs his attacks or the Jainas.

2 South-Indian Inscriptions ed. by E. Hultzsch, Vol. I, p. 252, No. 65.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXIII, p. 297.

4 South-Ind. Inscrs., Vol. II, p. 2.

tion or singing of them was considered an act of religious merit like the repetition of the Śatarudriya by the followers of the Brāhmaṇic Veda. This character the hymns of Sambandha could not have acquired unless they had come into existence about four hundred years before the beginning of the eleventh century. This is consistent with the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Pillai that Sambandha flourished in the seventh century.

The Inscriptions in the temples at Kāñcipura contain evidence of Śaivism being in a flourishing condition in the sixth century. The Pallava king Rājasiṁha constructed a temple, and the god inside was named after him Rājasiṁheśvara. Rājasiṁha appears from sóme of the Inscriptions to have been a contemporary of the early Cālukya prince Pulakeśin I.[1], who may be referred to about the year 550 A. D., as his son Kīrtivarman I, came to the throne about the year 567 A. D.[2].

The Śaivism that prevailed in the Tamil country seems to have been generally of the ordinary kind, since the hymns in the Devāram sing the praises of Śiva and exhibit fervent devotional feeling, but there must have been some Darśana or system of philosophy also, since in an Inscription in the Rājasiṁheśvara temple at Kāñci Atyantakāma, which was another name of Rājasiṁha, is represented as proficient in the system of the Śaiva-siddhāntas. And the last species of the Śaiva literature detailed above is, it will have been seen, called Siddhāntaśāstra composed by Santāna-Ācāryas. These must be philosophical works on Śaivism. And the system therein taught appears in all likelihood to be the same or similar to the Śaivadarśana, which has already been explained. But what exactly the system taught by the Siddhāntas was, we have not the means of finding out, as none of the works is available for examination.

The Periyapurāṇa gives an account of sixty-three Bhaktas or devotees of Śiva, and these correspond to the Ālvārs of the Vaiṣṇavas. The enemies that both these classes of devotees had to contend with were Jainas, and it appears to me that both

1 South-Ind. Inscrs., Vol. I, p. 11.

2 Early History of the Deccan, Second Ed., p. 61 [= Volume III of this Edition, p. 68 .—N. B. U.]

Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism penetrated to the extreme South of India after the revival of Brāhmaṇism in the North during the fourth and fifth centuries. Buddhism and Jainism had been introduced earlier, and were in possession of the field when the two later systems of theistic belief were introduced into the Southern country. Hence arose the necessity of controversies and contests which these systems carried on with their earlier predecessors. Whether Śaivism extended itself to the Tamil country before the revival, we have not the means of determining.

XIII. The Śāktas or Śakti Worshippers.

§ 108. In the Vedic literature down to the Gṛhyasūtras which we have examined for tracing the development of the idea of Rudra-Śiva, no female devotee of predominant power is mentioned. We have such names as Rudrāṇī and Bhavānī, which are simply derivatives and do not show a belief in the existence of an independent powerful goddess. Umā, too, is the wife of a god and does not overshadow her male consort. In the MBh. (Bhīṣmaparvan, chap. 23), however, there is a hymn addressed to Durgā by Arjuna under the advice of Kṛṣṇa in which she is prayed to for granting victory in the forthcoming battle. This hymn itself shows that at the time when it was composed and inserted in the poem, Durgā had already acquired such an importance that she was adored by men as a powerful goddess, able to fulfil their desires. Among the names by which she is addressed occur the following : Kumārī (maiden), Kālī (black or female time as destroyer), Kāpālī (wearer of skulls), Mahākālī (the great destroyer), Caṇḍī (angry), Kātyāyanī (of the Kātya family), Karālā (frightful), Vijayā (Victory), Kauśikī (of the Kuśika family), Umā, Kāntāravāsinī (dwelling in the forest). There is another hymn in the Virāṭaparvan (chap. 6) sung by Yudhiṣṭhira. It does not exist in the principal Southern MSS., and is probably an interpolation, as it contains almost the same matter as in a similar passage in the Harivaṁśa. The points and epithets in this hymn which deserve notice are these. She is called Mahiṣāsuranāśinī (or the destroyer of the demon in the shape of a buffalo) and she is fond of wine, flesh and beasts. She was born to Yaśodā and dashed against a stone, whereupon

she went to heaven. She is called the most beloved of Nārāyaṇa and the sister of Vāsudeva. She resides permanently on the Vindhya mountain.

It is related in the Harivaṁśa (vv. 3236 ff.) that Viṣṇu descended into the Pātāla, and asked sleep in the form of destroying time (Nidrā Kālarūpiṇī) to become the daughter of Yāśodā. She is told that she would become Kauśikī and would have a permanent residence on the Vindhya mountain. There she was told that she would kill Śumbha and Niśumbha and would be worshipped by animal sacrifices. There is given a hymn to Āpyā (Durgā) in which she is represented as the goddess of Śabaras, Pulindas, Barbaras and other wild tribes, and as fond of wine and flesh.

The goddess that killed the buffalo-demon, was, according to the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (ch. 82) made up of the fierce radiance of Śiva, viṣṇu and Brahmadeva, and all the other gods contributed to the formation of her limbs as well as her ornaments. She is called Caṇḍī and Ambikā. The formation of the goddess that killed Śumbha and Niśumbha, according to the account which follows, is thus explained. The gods being oppressed by the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha went to the Himālayas and praised the goddess, whereupon Pārvatī came out to bathe in the Ganges. Then Śivā, also called Ambikā, came out of the body of Pārvatī, and said that it was she whom the gods were praising to induce her to kill Śumbha and Niśumbha. She was called Kāuśikī, because she sprang out from Kośa or frame of Pārvatī's body. When Ambikā came out of her body, Pārvatī's complexion became dark, and hence she received the name of Kālikā (dark one). In the course of the fight, when Śumbha and Niśumbha pounced upon her, her forehead became dark with anger, and from it came Kālī with a frightful face wearing a garland of skulls and a tiger-skin and with an infernal weapon (Khaṭvāṅga) in her hand. She killed the demons Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, and went back to Ambikā, who thereupon, since she had killed those demons, gave her the name Cāmuṇḍā. The seven Śaktis, Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṁhī and Aindrī, which are the powers or spirits of the gods from whom their

names are derived, are called her excellent forms (Vibhūtis). At the end, the goddess says that she would, in the Vaivasvata Manu, destroy Śumbha and Niśumbha again by assuming the form of the goddess residing on the Vindhya mountain, and proceeds to give the other forms that she would assume on other occasions such as the daughter of Nanda, Śākambharī, Bhīmā, Bhrāmarī, etc.

§ 109. In the account here given, it will be seen that there is one goddess with a number of different names. But the critical eye will see that they are not merely names, but indicate different goddesses who owed their conception to different historical conditions, but who were afterwards indentified with the one goddess by the usual mental habit of the Hindus. First we have Umā, the protectress, the consort of Śiva. Then we have Haimavatī, and Pārvatī which are the epithets of Umā, since Śiva, her consort, was Giriśa, or dweller on the mountain, and she was a woman born on the mountain.

Then there are goddesses, dwelling in forests and on the Vindhya mountain, to whom animals and even human beings were sacrificed, and oblations of wine were given and who were also the goddesses worshipped by the wild tribes, such as Pulindas, Śabaras and Barbaras. These were fierce goddesses and have the names of Karālā, Kālī, Caṇḍī, Cāmuṇḍā, and others. It must be admitted, however, that the first two names came into use when in an early age Rudra was identified with Agni, whose flames, which were considered his tongues, have those two names and five others. Probably the ferocity of the later goddesses of those names was due to this identification and not to their being the objects of worship to the ferocious barbarous tribes. In all likelihood, however, both the elements contributed to give that character to Kālī, Karālā and Cāmuṇḍā. That an aboriginal element should have contributed to the formation of Rudra's consort in later times, as it did in earlier times, towards the formation of Rudra himself as he is represented in the Śatarudriya, is a matter that might be expected.

A third and powerful element in the conception of these goddesses is that of Śakti, or power. The powers of willing, acting,

creating, illuding, etc. were conceived of as goddesses as the noun Śakti is of the feminine gender. The seven goddesses named above, Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, etc. owe their origin to this conception of Śakti and the powers of the seven gods. In later times some of the Brāhmaṇic families came to have tutelary goddesses, and thus we have Kātyāyanī, or the goddess of the Kātyas, and Kauśikī, the goddess of the Kauśikas. A further development went on especially under the influence of the idea of Śakti, or power, and thus we have three forms in which the goddess was worshipped. First we have the ordinary bland form, in which the goddess is worshipped. Then we have the fierce form, in which she is associated with the schools of Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas, and animals and human beings are sacrificed. And the third is the sensual form, in which she is the object of worship with the school of the Śāktas, who are so called because they are worshippers of Śakti.

§ 110. The Tantras inculcating the worship of the goddess in these various forms, constitute a considerable body of literature. We will here notice the formation, doctrines and practices of a school based on one of these forms, that which we have called sensual. The goddess here is called Ānandabhairavī, Tripurasundarī, and Lalitā. Her dwelling is thus described. There is an ocean of nectar, in which there are five celestial trees. Then there is a row or enclosure of Nīpa or Kadamba trees, in the midst of which is a pavilion made of jewel stones. In that pavilion is situated a palace made of the wish-giving stone, where lies the great Īśānī, the great Tripurasundarī, on a couch, which is Śiva, with Maheśāna for its coverlet and Sadāśiva for its pillow. The legs of the couch are Brahmadeva, Hari, Rudra and Īśvara. These are spirits discharging certain functions contained in the essence of Maheśvara[1]. This is a mythological explanation of certain figures in the mystic cirles and of technical terms. The goddess is thus elevated to the highest position. Ānandabhairava or Mahābhairava, which is the name given to Śiva, is the soul of, or is composed of, the nine collections of things of which the world is made up, such as time and its

1 Saundaryalaharī with Lakṣmīdhara's commentary, Mysore Ed., comment, on vv. 8 and 92.

various forms (Kālavyūha), existing things like the blue substance (Kulavyūha), names (Nāmavyūha), perception (Jñānavyūha), the five faculties, viz. consciousness, heart, will, intelligence, and mind (Cittavyūha). Mahābhairava is the soul of the goddess; therefore she also is the soul of, or composed of, the nine collections. Both, therefore, constitute one entity. When there is Sāmarasya, or community of joy or intense love between them, creation follows. The female element, or Mahābhairavī, however, is predominant in the process of creation and the male element, or Mahābhairava, in the work of destruction[1].

The metaphysical doctrines of what is called Śāmbhavadarśana, on which the usual practices and rites of the Śāktas profess to be based, are these[2]. Śiva and Śakti are the primordial substances. Śiva in the form of Prakāśa (light) enters into Śakti in the form of Vimarśa or Sphūrti (feeling or appearance), and assumes the form of a Bindu (drop); and Śakti similarly enters into Śiva, whereupon the Bindu develops, and there arises out of it the female element called Nāda (sound). These two, the Bindu and the Nāda, becoming united, form one compound Bindu, and that substance represents the intense affinity between the female and male energies and is called Kāma (love). Again, there are two drops, one of which is white and represents the male element, and the other, red, which represents the female element. These form the Kalā; these three again, the compound Bindu, and the white and red drops form one substance called Kāmakalā. Thus there are four powers united here: (1) the original Bindu representing the material of which the world is made; (2) Nāda, or sound, upon which depends the naming of the substances, arising from the development of the Bindu. Between these two there is intense love, but no creation follows simply from it. They only contain the materials of things and speech. Therefore a productive energy is associated with them by (3) the white male drop which, however, by itself cannot produce, and by (4) the female red drop which is fecundated by the male drop.

1 Ibid. v. 34.

2 The following contains in a recast form the matter given in pp. 89—91 of my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during 1883—84. [= Volume II of this Edition, pp. 219–223 N. B. U.]

When all these four principles unite into one substance, Kāmakalā, the whole creation of words and the things expressed by them (Vāgarthau), proceeds. Another substance called the Hārdhakalā is also developed, according to some, along with the Nāda, when the female element first enters into the simple Bindu. In a certain text the highest deity, or Kāmakalā is spoken of as having the sun (compound Bindu) for her face, fire and moon (the red and white Bindus) for her breasts, and the Hārdhakalā for her organ of generation. This view provides a womb from which creation springs out. The creative agent, therefore, is a goddess thus constituted, and she is the highest deity and is called Parā, Lalitā, Bhaṭṭārikā and Tripurasundarī. Śiva is symbolically identified with the letter *a* and Śakti with *h*, the last letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. This *h* is called Ardhakalā, or half part, and hence the female element, or womb, mentioned above is called the half part in the shape of the letter *h*. This *h*, or the half part, together with *a* which stands for Śiva is a symbolic representation of Kāmakalā or Tripurasundarī, who is the result of the combination of Śiva and Śakti. She is thus called Aham, the ego, and is invested with egoism or individuality, and hence it is that all her developments (i. e. the whole creation) have egoism or individuality ; and all souls are but forms of Tripurasundarī and become Tripurasundarī when they study and practise the Kāmakalāvidyā with its series of Devīcakras, or mystic circles. *A* and *h*, being the first and last letters of the alphabet, contain between them all letters and through them all words, i. e. the whole speech ; and just as all things are produced from Tripurasundarī, so are all words which express the things. She is thus called Parā, the first of the four kinds of speech. Creation is Pariṇāma, or development, and not Vivarta, or the generation of false appearances. This is the philosophy of the Śāmbhavadarśana, and it will be seen that, though it admits a male element in the beginning, still it is thoroughly subdued by the female element which becomes predominant; and the highest deity is a goddess, viz. Tripurasundarī. The ambition of every pious follower of the system is to become identical with Tripurasundarī, and one of his religious exercises is to habituate himself to think that he is a woman. Thus the

followers of the Śakti school justify their appellation by the belief that God is a woman and it ought to be the aim of all to become a woman.

Tripurasundarī is propitiated and eventually attained by assuming the vow (Dīkṣā) of a devoted worship of her. This vow is of three kinds. The first consists in fully concentrating the mind on the Devī as sitting on the lap of Śiva in the Mahā-padmavana (a garden of lotuses), as possessed of a body which is pure joy and is the original cause of all, and as identical with one's own self. The second is the Cakrapūjā, the worship by means of the mystic circles, which is a Bāhyayāga, or material worship ; and the third consists in studying and knowing the true doctrine. The second is the proper Śakti ceremonial. It consists in the worship of a picture of the female organ drawn in the centre of another consisting of a representation of nine such organs, the whole of which forms the Śrīcakra. The pictures are drawn on a Bhūrja leaf or a piece of silken cloth or on a gold leaf[1]. With reference to this worship it must be observed that there are two classes of Śāktas : (1) Kaulika and (2) Samayin. The former worship the gross material object, while the latter have a recourse to imagery. The worship of the pictures just mentioned is resorted to by ancient (Pūrva) Kaulas, while the modern (Uttara) Kaulas worship the organ of a living beautiful woman. The Kaulas worship their goddess by offering to her, and themselves using, wine, flesh, honey (Madhu), fish and such other things. Tke Samayins, of course, abstain from such practices. There are even Brāhmaṇas, who secretly profess the doctrines of the Śākta school and worship the goddess Tripura-sundarī in accordance with the Pūrva-Kaula or Uttara-Kaula way. There are no distinctions of caste when the worship of the Bhairavīcakra is going on. Men of all castes become Brāhmaṇas, but they resume their own castes when the worship is over[2]. There are several more innocent and decorous modes of worshipping the goddess under the names of Lalitā and Upāṅga-lalitā mentioned in the ordinary religious books. The worship of the latter comes off on the fifth lunar day of Āśvina and of

1 Saundaryalaharī v. 41, commentary.

2 Aufrecht's Oxf. Cat. p. 92, n.

the former for the first ten days. The latter, when so worshipped by women, wards off widowhood[1].

XIV. The Sect of Gāṇapatyas.

§ 111. Rudra had his hosts of Maruts, who were called his Gaṇas, and the leader of these Gaṇas was Gaṇapati. The name Rudra, as we have seen, was generalised and signified a number of spirits partaking of the character of the original Rudra; and so was the name Gaṇapati generalised and meant many leaders of the Gaṇas or groups. Another name, Vināyaka, denoting a spirit also came into use. In the AU. Rudra is identified with many gods or spirits, and among these there is one called Vināyaka. In the MBh. (Anuśāsanaparvan 151, v. 26) Gaṇeśvaras and Vināyakas are mentioned amongst the gods, who observe the actions of men and are present everywhere; and again, (v. 57) Vināyakas are said to remove all evil from men when praised. Gaṇeśvaras, or Gaṇapatis, and Vināyakas are here represented, as the former are in the Śatarudriya, many in number and present everywhere.

In the Mānavagṛhyasūtra (2. 14) is given an account of Vināyakas. They are four in number. And their names are (1) Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa, (2) Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra, (3) Usmita, and (4) Devayajana. When possessed by these a person pounds sods of earth, cuts grass, and writes on his body, and sees in dreams waters, men with shaved heads, camels, pigs, asses, etc., and feels he is moving in the air, and when walking, sees somebody pursuing him from behind. Again, when possessed by these, Princes Royal do not obtain the kingdom, though qualified to govern. Girls do not obtain bridegrooms, though possessed of the necessary qualities. Women do not get children, even if otherwise qualified. The children of other women die. A learned teacher qualified to teach does not obtain pupils, and there are many interruptions and breaks in the course of student. Trade and agriculture are unsuccessful. A person, who shows such signs of being possessed by Vināyaka, is made to go through the ceremony of bathing in waters brought from four places and with a little earth from four different quarters thrown into them.

1 See Hemādri, Vratakhaṇḍa.

After bathing oblations of mustard oil extracted afresh should be offered to the four Vināyakas in a ladle made of the wood of the Udumbara tree and poured over the head of the individual. Then food of many sorts, rice, husked and unhusked, flesh, and fish, cooked as well as raw, pulse of various kinds, etc. should be put into a basket and the basket placed on the ground where four roads meet, the ground first being covered with Kuśa grass. Then certain deities including evil spirits are invoked, and a wish expressed that they may be satisfied, and, becoming so, satisfy the worshipper, etc. This is the ceremony which frees the persons haunted by the Vināyakas.

Yājñavalkya in his Smṛti (I. 271ff.) gives the same ceremony and frequently in the same words. But the ceremony appears in a somewhat more developed or complicated form. He begins by stating that Rudra and Brahmadeva appointed Vināyaka to the leadership of the Ganas, (i. e. made him Gaṇapati), and assigned to him the functions of raising difficulties and obstructions in the actions of men. In the Smṛti, one Vināyaka is only addressed, but instead of the four names occurring in the Sūtra, six are given, viz. (1) Mita, (2) Sammita, (3) Śāla, (4) Kaṭaṅkaṭa, (5) Kūṣmāṇḍa, and (6) Rājaputra, and these are said to be six different names of the one Vināyaka. After the basket with various kinds of food has been prepared, directions are given to make an obeisance to Ambikā, the mother of Vināyaka.

The form of the ceremony contained in the Sūtra is unquestionably more ancient than that contained in the other work. But the difference between the two shows that during the period that had elapsed between the composition of the Sūtra and that of the Smṛti, the four Vināyakas had become one Gaṇapati-Vināyaka, having Ambikā for his mother. It will thus be seen that, in his own nature, this last god is an unfriendly or malignant spirit, but capable of being made friendly and benignant by propitiatory rites. In this respect, he resembles Rudra himself. That the Vināyakas had come to be objects of faith before the Christian era, may be taken to follow from the occurrence of the ceremony mentioned above in a Gṛhyasūtra. But the one Gaṇapati-Vināyaka, the son of Ambikā, was introduced into the Hindu pantheon much later.

None of the Gupta Inscriptions which I subjected to an examination on a former occasion[1] contains any mention of his name or announces any gift or benefaction in his honour. But in two of the caves at Ellora, there are groups of images of Kāla, Kālī, the Seven Mothers or Śaktis, and Gaṇapati[2]. These caves are to be referred to the latter part of the eighth century. So that between the end of the fifth and the end of the eighth century the Gaṇapati cult must have come into practice, and the Smṛti of Yājñavalkya must have been written not earlier than the sixth century. Another Inscription, and an old relic, which indicate the prevalence of the worship of Gaṇapati, are found at a place called Ghaṭiyālā, 22 miles north-west of Jodhpur. There is a column there, on the top of which there are four images of Gaṇapati facing the four quarters. In the opening sentence of the Inscription engraved on it, an obeisance is made to Vināyaka. The date of the inscription is Vikrama-Saṁvat 918 = A. D. 862[3].

When and how the god came to have the elephant's head, it is difficult to determine. The images in the cave-temples at Ellora have that head, and Bhavabhūti also in the beginning of the eighth century describes him, in the opening stanza of the Mālatīmādhava, as possessed of such a head. Rudra-Śiva and the gods allied with him were connected closely with forests and wild places, in which elephants also were found. The hide worn by Rudra and by his consort also in one of her forms was the hide of an elephant, and it perhaps suited the fancy of some men to place the head of that animal over the body of a god originally mischievous. Gaṇapati's reputation for wisdom is, I believe, to be attributed to the confusion between him and Bṛhaspati, who in ṚV. II. 23. 1 is called Gaṇapati. Bṛhaspati, of course, is the Vedic god of wisdom, and is called the sage of sages.

§ 112. Six varieties of the Gāṇapatya sect are mentioned by Ānandagiri, or Anantānandagiri as he is sometimes called, in his Śaṁkardigvijaya as well as by Dhanapati in his commentary on

1 See my 'Peep into the Early History of India'; JBBRAS, Vol. XX, pp. 336ff,

2 In Rāvaṇa-ki-khāī, in the circumambulatory passage and Rāmeśvara temples. See Cave-Temples by Fergusson and Burgess,

3 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX, pp. 277ff,

the corresponding work of Mādhava. The first consists of those who adore Mahāgaṇapati. Mahāgaṇapati is, according to them, the creator, and he alone remains when Brahmadeva and others have been destroyed at the time of the dissolution. He should be meditated upon as possessed of his peculiar face with one tooth and as embraced by the Śakti. By his own wonderful power, he creates Brahmadeva and others. One, who repeats the original Mantra and meditates on this Gaṇapati, attains supreme bliss. The name of the person who expounds these doctrines to the Ācārya is given as Girijāsuta.

Another interlocutor follows. His name is Gaṇapatikumāra, and he adores Haridrāgaṇapati. He takes his stand on RV. II. 23. 1, and makes out this text to mean "We meditate on thee who art the leader of the group of Rudra, Viṣṇu, Brahman, Indra and others, and art the instructor of sages Bhṛgu, Guru, Śeṣa and others, the highest of all who know the sciences, the greatest lord of the Brahmans engaged in the creation of the world, i. e. adored by Brahman and others in the work of creation and others". He should be worshipped and meditated on as being dressed in a yellow silken garment, bearing a yellow sacred thread, having four arms, three eyes and his face suffused over by turmeric ointment, and holding a noose and an elephant-goad and a staff in his hand. He who worships the god in this form, obtains emancipation. Gaṇapati is the cause of the whole world, and Brahman and others are his parts. The worshipper of this Gaṇapati should [illegible] both of his arms, the marks of Gaṇapati's face and [illegible] impressed upon them by a heated iron stamp.

Then came Herambasuta, who was the worshipper of Ucchiṣṭa-gaṇapati. The followers of this variety resort to the left-handed path [illegible], which probably was set up in imitation of the Kaula [illegible] of Śakti. The form of Gaṇapati meditated on is very obscene. There is no distinction of caste among the followers of this sect. No restriction is to be observed, such as marriage imposes, and promiscuous intercourse is allowed and also the use of wine. The follower should have a red mark on his forehead. All the ordinary ceremonies, such as twilight adorations (Saṁdhyāvandana), are left to a man's own will.

The followers of the other three Gaṇapatis, Navanīta, Svarṇa, and Santāna, worship their god, they say, according to the Śruti. But since Gaṇapati is adored in the beginning of every religious act, he is the chief god and all the other gods are parts of him and should be worshipped as such. They regard the whole world as Gaṇapati and adore him as such.

Since the god Gaṇapati-Vināyaka was introduced about the sixth century, it is questionable whether these several sects existed at the time of Śaṁkarācārya. The imprinting of the face and the tooth of the god on the arms was a custom common to them with the Mādhva Vaiṣṇavas, though it is hardly indicative of the period in which the sect arose. But the worship of Gaṇapati without reference to any particular sect is practised by nearly all Hindus at the beginning of any religious ceremony and on special occasions. His image made of clay is worshipped with great pomp in the Maratha country on the fourth lunar day of the month of Bhādrapada (September), and at Chinchwad near Poona there is a special establishment for the exclusive worship of that god.

XV. Skanda or Kārttikeya.

§ 113. Another god whose worship was extensively practised in ancient times, but is now rare, is Skanda or Kārttikeya. The general belief is that he was the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. But in the Rāmāyaṇa he is represented as the son of the god of fire and Gaṅgā (I. chap. 37). The foetus was thrown by Gaṅgā on the Himavat mountain, and it was nourished by the six stars constituting the constellation of Kṛttikā (Pleiades), and was thus called the son of the Kṛttikās or Kārttikeya. In the MBh. (Vanaparvan, chap. 229) also he is represented as the son of Fire, but the mother was Agni's true wife Svāhā, who had assumed the forms of the wives of six Ṛṣis, whom Agni loved. But here he is called the son of Śiva also, as Agni is a form of that god. There are other stories connecting him with Śiva and Pārvatī as his parents. But whatever the legend may have been there is no question that he was connected with Śiva, and was the leader of one of his Gaṇas. There is a Liṅgāyat tradition reported in the section on that sect[1] that he was a founder of a

[1] Ante, p. 196 N. B. U.]

Gotra, and was a form of Śiva himself. His having the peacock for his vehicle is also consistent with his connection with Śiva, as peacocks are found in forests of which Rudra and his attendants were gods. His being the leader of the army of the gods was an idea probably suggested by his being the leader of a Gaṇa of Rudra. And in historical times he has been associated with Śiva. Under P. V. 3. 99, Patañjali mentions the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha as being worshipped in his time. On the reverse of the coins of the Kuṣana prince Kaniṣka, there are figures with their names in Greek letters of Skando, Mahaseno, Komaro and Bizago[1]. The first is Skanda, and because he was the commander of the army of the gods, he was also called Mahāsena, which is the second name on the coin. The third is Kumāra, which is also a name of Skanda, and the fourth is the Skr. Viśākha. If the first three were the names of one deity only, there was no necessity for giving three names and three figures. These, therefore, must have been regarded as three different gods as Viśākha undoubtedly was from his being mentioned separately from Skanda by Patañjali. In the story in the MBh. referred to above Viśākha is mentioned as having arisen from the right side of Skanda when it was struck by Indra's thunderbolt. This is indicative of the tendency to make the two as one person; and they appear to have been so made in later times. Or, looking to the fact that there are two names of Buddha on the coins, the above three may have been the names of one single deity. There are also three indications of the prevalence of the worship of Skanda or Mahāsena in the early centuries. In the year 414 A. D. was built a Pratolī, or gallery, in the temple of Svāmi-Mahāsena by one Dhruvaśarman at Bilsād[2]. Several holy observances and vows in the name of Kumāra and Kārttikeya are mentioned in Hemādri's Vratakhaṇḍa, and the worship of that god has not become obsolete even at the present day.

XVI. The Sect of Sauras and the Northern Sun-Worship.

§ 114. Sūrya, or the sun as the orb that is seen in the sky and not as an imaginary god of light, was a Vedic deity. It is

1 See JBBRAS, Vol. XX, p. 385.

2 Ib. p. 395.

but reasonable to expect that the worship of such a deity should not become obsolete in later times, since the orb of the sun is daily seen in the sky. In two passages in ṚV. (VII. 60. 1 ; 62. 2) the singer wishes the rising sun to declare him sinless to Mitra, Varuṇa, and other gods. This idea probably arose from the fact that the rising sun by his bright light discloses everything that has been done in the darkness of the previous night, and thence it developed into a belief that the sun destroys sins. Kauṣītaki is represented to have adored the sun in the morning, at midday, and in the evening, and having made offerings of water with flowers, sandal, etc. or without (Arghya), prayed for the removal of his sins (KBU. II. 7). And this is what we do or are expected to do in our twilight and midday adorations.

Water is sipped by repeating a formula expressive of a wish that the Sun, Manyu and Manyupati may protect the adorer from sins (AG. Pariśiṣṭa I. 3, and TA. X. 25. 1). After that, three offerings of water with or without the other ingredients are made to the sun after repeating the Gāyatrī, and then the water is whirled round his head by the adorer by repeating the Mantra " That Āditya is Brahman "[1]. Āśvalāyana directs that, while adoring the morning twilight, one facing the east should repeat the Gāyatrī-Mantra till the whole disc of the sun has risen, and in the evening with his face towards the west till the whole has gone down and the stars have begun to appear (AG. III. 7. 4—6).

In the Upanayana ceremony, when the boy is invested with the sacred thread and other badges of a student's life, he is made to look at the orb of the sun, when the preceptor, addressing that deity, prays " Oh god Savitar, this is thy student, protect him. May he not die " (AG. I. 20. 6). Khādira prescribes the adoration of the sun for the enjoyment of riches and for the attainment of fame (Khādiragṛhyasūtra IV. 1. 14 and 23). The hymn addressed by Yudhiṣṭhira to the sun after he entered his forest-residence, and his having obtained a vessel from him for the production of all the food wanted by him, his family and followers, are well-known.

In the seventh century Mayūra, who lived at the court of

1 Asāv ādityo Brahma.

Harṣavardhana, composed a hundred stanzas to obtain relief from the white leprosy from which he suffered. About the beginning of the eighth century Bhavabhūti makes the Sūtradhāra, or the manager, of the Mālatīmādhava offer prayers to the rising sun to remove all his sins and bestow holy blessings on him.

Thus the sun has been adored since the Vedic times for the removal of sins, and the bestowal of riches, food, fame, health, and other blessings. At the present day twelve prostrations are made to Sūrya by repeating twelve of his names, all of which have a Sanskrit etymology, and there is no foreign look about them. There is also a more elaborate set of such prostrations.

§ 115. It cannot but be expected, therefore, that a school should come into existence for the exclusive worship of the sun. And such a school is that of the Sauras. Ānandagiri brings Śaṁkara into contact with the followers of this sect at a place in the south called Subrahmaṇya situated at the distance of fourteen days' journey from Anantaśayana or Trivendram. The name of their leader was Divākara, and they wore a circular spot of red sandal on the forehead and bore red flowers. The substance of the account of this school given by Divākara is as follows :—

The Supreme Soul, the Sun, is the author of the world. He is the tutelary deity of the Sauras and is adored by them. The Śrutis themselves speak of him as the cause of the world, such as "the sun is the soul of moveable and immoveable things" (RV. I. 115. 1) and "That Āditya is Brahman". Brahman with which the sun has thus been identified is the cause of the whole world, according to the text, from which all these beings originate, etc. (TU. III. 1. 1.). There is also a Smṛti text in favour of this doctrine. There are six classes of devotees of the sun all bearing a mark made by red sandal, wearing a garland of red flowers, and repeating the formula of eight syllables. Some worship the orb of the sun who has just risen as Brahmadeva, the creator, others, the sun on the meridian as Īśvara, the destroyer. He is also regarded as the originator. Some regard the setting sun as Viṣṇu, the protector, and, considering him as the cause of the creation and destruction also and as the highest entity, worship him. There are some who resort to all the three suns as a triple form. Others, observing the vow of regularly seeing the orb, adore the Supreme

Soul as existing in it with golden whiskers and golden hair. One section of this class is devoted simply to the vow of the observation of the disc, and they see the orb, worship it in the sixteen ways, dedicate all their actions to the god, and do not eat without seeing the orb. The devotees of the sixth class imprint the orb on their forehead, arms and bosom with a heated iron piece and meditate on the god in their minds continuously. All these six classes have to repeat the same Mantra, or formula, of eight syllables. The followers of this creed like other sectarians interpret various Vedic texts as setting forth the greatness and the supremacy of their own god. The Puruṣasūkta (RV. X. 90) and the Śatarudriya are so expounded, and the conclusion is that all who desire emancipation should adore the sun, should bear his marks on the body, and mutter the Mantra.

§ 116. So far there is no trace of foreign influence in the development of the Saura system. But such an influence undoubtedly contributed to the growth of the sun-worship prevalent in Northern India from the early centuries of the Christian era. Varāhamihira in the stanza twice quoted before (Bṛhatsaṁhitā, chap. 60, 19) tells us that the installation and consecration of the images and temples of the sun should be caused to be made by the Magas, and generally those who worship a certain deity according to their special ritual should be made to perform the ceremony concerning that deity. This shows that the Magas were, according to Varāhamihira, the special priests of the sun-god. There is a legend concerning this matter in the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (chap. 139). Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa by Jāmbavatī, constructed a temple of the sun on the banks of the Candrabhāgā, the modern Chenab in the Punjab, and no local Brāhmaṇa would accept the office of a regular priest of the temple. He thereupon asked Gauramukha, the priest of Ugrasena. He told him to get Magas, who were special sun-worshippers, from Śākadvīpa. Then is given the history of the Magas. Sujihva was a Brāhmaṇa of the Mihira Gotra. He had a daughter of the name of Nikṣubhā, with whom the sun fell in love. The son of these two was called Jaraśabda or Jaraśasta, and from him sprang all Magas. They wore a girdle round their waist, which was called Avyaṅga. Thereupon Sāmba went on the back of Garuḍa, his father's

vehicle, to Śākadvīpa, brought some Magas from it and installed them into the office of priests of the temple he had constructed.

The Magas have long been known in the literary history of India. There is an Inscription at Govindapur in the Gayā District dated Śaka 1059, corresponding to 1137-38 A. D., in the opening stanza of which the Magas, who sprang from the sun, are represented to have been brought into the country by Sāmba. Six great poets, the works of some of whom are extant, are also mentioned. There are traces of the Magas elsewhere, and there are Brāhmaṇas of that name in Rajputana and some other provinces of Northern India.

Now these Magas are the Magi of ancient Persia, and the name Jaraśasta mentioned above as occurring in the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa connects them with the Avesta prophet Zarathushtra. The Avyaṅga, which according to the Purāṇa they wore round their waist, was the same as the Aivyāonghen of the Avesta language, which last signifies the Kusti worn by the Parsees at the present day. Albērūnī, speaking of the Persian priests Magians, says that they existed in India and were called Magas[1]. The idea of locating them on a continent called Śākadvīpa must have arisen from the fact that they were foreigners like the Śakas, with whom the Indians had been familiar since the second or third century before the Christian era.

Evidently then the worship of the sun or Mihira-worship was brought into India by the old Persian priests Magi, but at whose instance and under what circumstances they came it is difficult to say. The legendary tradition of their having been brought by Sāmba was current in the first half of the twelfth century, as we have seen from the Inscription. The temple on the Candrabhāgā referred to above was that which existed at Multan, and a glowing description of which is given by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang. Four centuries later it was seen by Albērūnī[2]. It existed till the seventeenth century, when it was finally destroyed by Auranzeb. Multan is the same as the Sanskrit Mūlasthāna, and this name may have been given to the place, because the

1 Sachau's Translation, Vol. I, p. 21.

2 Ibid, Vol. I, p. 116.

new worship of the sun was first organised there and it was its original seat.

On the coins of Kaniṣka there occurs a figure with the name Miiro=Mihira by its side. Mihira is the Sanskritised form of the Persian Mihr, which is a corruption of Mithra, the Avestic form of the Vedic Mitra. The cult of Mihr had originated in Persia, and it extended itself up to Asia Minor and even Rome, and the proselytising energy which characterised its first adherents must have led to its extension towards the east also, and of this extension the figure of Mihira on Kaniṣka's coin is an evidence. The cult, therefore, must have penetrated to India about the time of that Kuṣana prince, and the Multan temple which was its original seat must have been constructed about the same time.

An Inscription at Mandasaur records the construction of a temple to the sun in the year 437 A. D. by a guild of weavers, and its repair in the year 473 A. D. Another on a copperplate found at Indore in the Bulandshahar District in the United Provinces mentions an endowment of Devaviṣṇu in 464 A. D. for lighting a lamp in a temple of the sun. And in a third is recorded a grant in 511 A. D. to a temple of Āditya, or the sun. A great many more sun temples have been discovered especially in Western India from Multan down to Cutch and northern Gujarat[1]. The ruins of one exist at Modherā, eighteen miles to the south of Pāṭaṇ in the last-named province, and they contain the date Vikrama 1083 corresponding to 1027 A. D. There was another at Gwalior constructed in the time of Mihirakula, the Hūṇa Prince, in the beginning of the sixth century.

The form of the idol of the sun worshipped in such temples is described by Varāhamihira (Bṛhatsaṁhitā, chap. 58), but the features mentioned by him which have a significance for our present purpose are that his feet and legs should be enclosed or covered up to the knees and he should be dressed in the fashion prevalent in the North (v. 46), and that he should be encircled by an Avayṅga (v. 47). Accordingly the images of the sun that are found in the temples mentioned above have boots

1. Burgess, Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujrat, London 1903.

reaching up to the knees, and a girdle round the waist with one end hanging downwards[1]. This last is a Persian feature, as we have already seen, and the other also must have the same or similar origin. It certainly is not Indian. The features of the idol of the sun and the fact of Magas, who were descended from the Persian Magi, being its priests point unmistakably to the conclusion that the cult was introduced into India from Persia, and I believe that the construction of so many temples was also due to the foreign influence. For, in the account of the Saura systems we have given above, there is not the remotest allusion to a temple of the sun. According to all appearances, therefore, the cult prevalent in Northern India was entirely distinct from those systems. It does not appear to have allied itself with any one of these latter. But it was accepted by the mass of the Hindus as a general worship of the sun, and the feelings which it evoked could not have been different from those which the indigenous worship gave rise to. And the manner in which devotion to the sun is expressed in the Inscriptions which we find in some of the temples, has nothing special or foreign in it. The Magas themselves, the priests of the new cult, were gradually thoroughly Hinduised until they became undistinguishable from the other Hindus and formed only a separate caste.

In the copper-plate grant of Harṣavardhana, who lived in the middle of the seventh century, his father Prabhākarvardhana, his grandfather Ādityavardhana and his great-grandfather Rājyavardhana are all styled great devotees of the sun (Paramāditya-bhakta)[2]. This is an evidence to show that the sun cult, probably made up of a mixture of the indigenous and foreign forms, prevailed in the beginning of the sixth century and was professed by great princes.

XVII. Resume of Saivism & Other Minor Systems, Part II.

§ 117. The fearful and destructive phenomena of nature led to the conception of, and belief in, the god Rudra, the terrible howler, accompanied by his groups, or Gaṇas, called sometimes

1 Ibid., Plate LVI.

2 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 72-73.

Rudras or Rudriyas, who were minor howlers. This god, when propitiated, became the auspicious Śiva, the beneficent Śaṁkara and the benignant Śaṁbhu. The conception gradually developed further, until Rudra became the god of wild and awful scenes, such as cemeteries, mountains and forests. Of the beasts and savages that dwelt in these last and of the thieves and outcasts that resorted to them, he became the lord. Subsequently he developed into the god who pervades the universe, dwells in fire and water in all beings and in herbs and trees and was the supreme ruler of all. When he rose to this position, he became the subject of Upaniṣad speculation, by meditating on whom and seeing whom everywhere in the universe a man attained blissful serenity.

But the awful and wild side of his nature was not effaced, but went on developing; and when religious schools such as that of the Pāñcarātras came to be established, one with Rudra or Paśupati as the god to be adored was set up some time after. Its founder was a human being, who came to be known as Lakuṭin or Lakulin, the holder of a club, and Lakulīśa or Nakulīśa, the lord, the holder of the club. Pañcārtha was the title of the work attributed to him, and his system came to be known by the name of Pāśupata. Two extreme schools were developed out of this, and also one, which was more moderate, known by the name of the Śaiva. Traces of these schools have been found from about the second century of the Christian era to about the twelfth.

But the repulsive nature of the two extreme schools and the wild and fantastic character of the other two led to a reaction, and in the beginning of the ninth century we have the first Kaśmīr school; and about a hundred years afterwards was founded another. These are very sober in their doctrines and practices, and may be considered to have been influenced by the school of Śaṁkara, though an escape from his severe spiritual monism has been provided for, so as to allow of an individual existence to the delivered soul.

A further reform was effected about the middle of the eleventh century by the Liṅgāyat school. The philosophical doctrines of this school amount to this: that God is infinite intelligence and

joy, is the creator of the world and the instructor and redeemer of mankind, and that the individual soul attains to a unity of blissful experience with him by gradually estranging himself from the world, pursuing a course of devotional worship, abandoning himself to God and seeing him in everything. This philosophy seems to have been influenced by the tenets of the school of Rāmānuja. The spirit of the Liṅgāyats was, however, combative, and they set up for themselves a community distinct from that which owes its origin to the Brāhmanic system. All the while, however, during the existence of these schools the general worship of Rudra-Śiva has prevailed among ordinary people regardless of the doctrines of these schools.

Śiva was associated with his consort Pārvatī or Umā. She too had a beneficent and majestic character as alluded to in the KnU. But just as an aboriginal element contributed to the formation of the character of Rudra-Śiva, so an aboriginal element of a more distinct nature came to be combined with his consort, and she became a terrible goddess that had to be appeased by animal and even human sacrifices. But since the lustful nature of man is very strong in him, that goddess under the name of Tripurasundarī (the beauty of the three cities) or Lalitā (sportively graceful) became the creator of the world, and was also worshipped with debasing and sensual rites; and thus came in the school of the Śāktas, who looked forward to an identity with Tripurasundarī as the goal of their existence.

Gaṇapati as the leader of a host was, of course, connected with Rudra-Śiva. That idea became mingled with the idea of Vināyaka, an evil spirit that possessed men, and thus the combined god Gaṇapati-Vināyaka became an object of worship on the principle that an obstructive and evil spirit should be first propitiated before beginning an action. Thereafter he became the special god of six minor sects, one of these holding doctrines as debasing as those of the Śākta cult.

Skanda was more closely connected with Śiva as the lord of his Gaṇas or groups; and afterwards came to be believed to be his son; and his worship prevailed for several centuries from the time of Patañjali downwards and has not become obsolete even at the present day.

The Sun was a god worshipped in early times and his cult did not disappear, as his orb was daily visible. But he became the object of sectarian worship some time later. About the third century, however, of the Christian era, another cult of the Sun was introduced from Persia. It took root on Indian soil and prevailed for a long time in North-Western India, a good many splendid temples having been erected from time to time for his worship. A special caste of priests of the name of Magas was associated with the cult, and the masses of the Hindu population adopted it as if it had been indigenous to the country.

XVIII. Hindu Theism and Pantheism.

§ 118. As the theoretic or philosophic portion of the doctrines, taught by the founders of most of the various systems we have examined, are based on certain fundamental ideas contained in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā, I deem it necessary to devote this last section to a consideration of the question as to what those ideas definitely are, and to what extent they have been adopted or modified by the promulgators of those systems to suit their specific purposes.

In discussing these ideas, some scholars make a broad distinction between Vedantism, which they identify with Pantheism, and Theism. If they find any passage expressive of the immanence of God in the world in a work whose main aim is theistic, they consider such a passage to be interpolated. I have already alluded to this mental attitude in the beginning of the present work, but it is necessary to say something more on the subject. If they mean by Theism the Deism of the eighteenth century, according to which the world is a machine constructed and set in motion by God, who remains apart from it, with perhaps the additional doctrine that he enters into relations with men who worship him and appeal to him, they are probably right. But this is not Hindu Theism. The immanence of God in the external world and in the heart of man is its essential doctrine. But that is perfectly consistent with the belief in God's transcendency, that is, his being distinct from the world and man and above them, influencing them, controlling them, protecting them, and listening to prayers. That the ideas of

immanence and transcendency are not incompatible or inconsistent with each other is admitted even by European thinkers. The Theism of the Bhagavadgītā is a Theism of this nature, and consequently the passages expressive of immanence are by no means to be regarded as interpolated. Theism of this nature is contained in the Upaniṣads also, though there are pantheistic doctrines of varied sorts.

Pantheism as formulated by Spinoza is thus stated :—"God, though undetermined *ab extra*, is capable of infinite self-determination. Thus God, the *causa sui*, manifests himself in an infinite multiplicity of particular modes. Spinoza is, therefore, both pantheist and pancosmist: God exists only as realised in the cosmos: the cosmos exists only as a manifestation of God[1]." The Upaniṣads contain pantheistic doctrines corresponding to what is stated in the first two sentences of this quotation. There are affirmations that when one thing is known, everything becomes known, as in the case of a ball of earth, on knowing the true nature of which one knows the true nature of all that is made of earth, etc. (ChU. VI. 1. 4); that when the soul is seen, heard and known, all this becomes known, and the Brahman, the Kṣatra, these worlds, these gods, these Vedas, these elements, — all this is the soul (BU. IV. 4. 6). Then again there are such statements as: "That Sat alone existed in the beginning, one without a second. That reflected "I may be many and multiply". It created light". This statement is to the effect that everything existing is a form or modification of God. There are many such passages in the Upaniṣads and several of these are quoted in Śaṁkarācārya's Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras I. 4. 23–27. But it is by no means to be inferred that the Upaniṣad Pantheism is of the nature set forth in the last sentence of the quotation from Spinoza, that is; Brahman is, not exhausted in the world, but it exists separately also. But the objection to this view is that Brahman being of the nature of spirit is not like the body divisible into parts, so that one may become developed into the world and another re nain outside; and this is affirmed in a text of the ŚU. (VI. 19). This inconsistency is removed by Bādarā-

1 Encyclopædia Britanica, Eleventh Edition, Vol. XX, p. 633a, under Pantheism.

yaṇa in Brahmasūtras II. 1. 26-27. The argument is that though the Upaniṣads state that the constituent cause of the world is Brahman, they at the same time affirm the existence of Brahman separately from the world (ChU. III. 12. 6; and VI. 3. 2). The two are inconsistent on the theory that Brahman is a spirit and not discerptible into pārts. Though they are thus inconsistent, they must both be accepted on the authority of the sacred texts, since the true nature of Brahman and the world is beyond the reach of human intellect. This solution of the difficulty is inadmissible to non-believers in the sacred texts, but it shows that Bādarāyaṇa does not agree with the latter part of Spinoza's definition of Pantheism, i. e., according to him, the sacred texts do not affirm that "God exists only as realised in the cosmos: the cosmos exists only as a manifestation of God". The inconsistency pointed out by him is based on the impossible conception of Brahman's being divisible into parts. But it will not arise if, instead of bringing in this conception, we suppose that in one aspect Brahman is the material or constituent cause of the world or realised in the world, and from another point of view, it remains pure and becomes the object of contemplation and devotion. Whatever it may be, Bādarāyaṇa's view appears to me to be correct, and the Pantheism of the Upaniṣads is not exactly the same as that formulated by Spinoza.

But even this partial Pantheism is only one of the doctrines set forth in the Upaniṣads. As mentioned in the beginning they contain the rudiments not only of one system of religious philosophy, but of a good many and even of Buddhism. When Brahman or the Supreme Soul is affirmed to be distinct from the world and thus there is a denial of the partial Pantheism I have spoken of, that soul is represented as dwelling in the external world and in the soul of man; that is to say, Theism is taught with the immanency of God in the world and in man. For instance in the BU. III. 7. 7-30[1] we have first "He who dwelling in the earth is distinct from it, whom the earth does not know, whose body the earth is, and who, being in the inside, controls the earth, is the indestructible controlling soul". In the following passages up to 30 we have precisely the same statement about water,

[1] Mādhyaṃdina recension.

fire, the sky, wind, the sun, the moon and stars, the quarters, the lightning, thunderbolt, all the worlds, all the Vedas, all sacrifices, all beings, the vital breath, speech, the eye, the ear, the mind, the skin, light, darkness, the seminal fluid, and the (individual) soul. Here the inward controlling soul is mentioned as distinct from the earth and all the rest, up to the individual soul, and still as dwelling in them, controlling them from the inside, and having these for his body. The whole section winds up with the affirmation that this controlling soul is not seen, but is the seer; is not heard, but hears; is not apprehended by thought, but apprehends by thought; is not known, but knows; there is no other seer, no other hearer, no other apprehender, and there is no other knower. Herein are brought out the peculiar points of Hindu Theism: God is the only seer, the only hearer, and the only knower, that is, he is all-seeing, all-hearing, and all-knowing; and nobody can see him, hear him, or know him. He is distinct from all objects, but dwells in them and controlls them. Texts expressive of such an immanency are to be found in many places in the Upaniṣads. God being thus distinct from the world, though immanent, can be the object of devoted meditation, and can be attained by means of truth, knowledge and purity. Mere immanency of this nature does not at all constitute the Pantheism formulated by Spinoza. There is therefore no ground whatever for regarding as an interpolation the occurrence of texts expressive of it in such a theistic work as the Bhagavadgītā.

We have noticed above the manner in which Bādarāyaṇa removes the inconsistency between God's developing himself into the world, while at the same time he is transcendent, and his being a simple spirit without parts. Śaṁkarācārya fairly explains, I think, Bādarāyaṇa's view. But raising a further objection, he brings in his own doctrine eventually, that the so-called development of Brahman into the world is fancied by ignorance and is not true, that is, the world is an illusion. There are two doctrines indicative of the relation of God to the world, the so-called Pariṇāmavāda and the Vivartavāda. The former implies real development and the latter, an illusive development. This last is the doctrine of Śaṁkarācārya, wherefore his system should be called Singularism rather than spiritual monism; while the first

is that clearly held by the author of the Sūtras. This is evident from his very definition of Brahman as that from which everything originates, in which everything lives, and into which everything resolves itself in the end, and from the manner in which in the first Pāda of the Second Chapter he answers the objections based upon the theory that an intelligent being cannot develop into non-intelligent or insensate matter; and Śaṁkarācārya himself acknowledges at the end of his comment on II. 1. 14 that the author of the Sūtras follows the Pariṇāma doctrine though to save his theory, he imagines without any grounds that Bādarāyaṇa has in view the ordinary or illusory condition of things in doing so.

Śaṁkarācārya's Vivartavāda it was which the later schools of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism contended against; for even according to him, it leaves no scope for the relation of the ruler and the ruled, i. e., God and the devotee, in the condition of reality when all illusion is dispelled and one spirit alone exists (II. 1. 14). Most of them adopted Bādarāyaṇa's Pariṇāmavāda, but the distinctness of God, man and the world, which was necessary for the validity of their doctrines of worship and devotion, they secured by qualifying the mode of development. By this qualification they also steered clear of the inconsistency pointed out by Bādarāyaṇa in II. 1. 26, so that his mode of satisfaction was not necessary for them. Rāmānuja lays down that the rudiments of the individual souls and of the insensate world exist in God himself as his characteristics or body, and with these he develops into the world, thus giving rise to the three distinct substances, the material world, the individual soul, and God as the controller. Nimbārka maintains that the other two substances do not characterise God or form his body, but are dependent upon him for their existence, and in a subtle form constitute his power or capacity, which develops into the animate and inanimate world. Viṣṇusvāmin, and therefore Vallabha, hold that the highest God, or Parabrahman, manifests himself as the material world, the individual soul, and the supreme controller, but in the course of development his attributes of intelligence and joy are concealed by his mysterious power, and thus is produced the material world, while, his joy alone being concealed, individual souls

come into existence, and when the three are manifest or unconcealed, he becomes the supreme controller. Vallabha adds two other forms of Parabrahman or Puruṣottama, as mentioned[1] in the section[1] on this system. Madhva rejects the doctrine of God being the constituent cause of the world and consequently that of his development, and lays down the five eternal distinctions between God, man, and the world and between different individuals and objects involved in the last two. Of the older Śaiva schools, the Pāśupata brings in the Pradhāna of the Sāṁkhyas with its developments as the material cause of the world, with Paśupati as the efficient cause. Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya in his comment on Br. S. II. 2. 38, states that according to his predecessors, a certain branch of the philosophy based on the sacred texts revealed by Śiva (Āgamas) held Śiva to be only the efficient cause of the world. This must be a reference to the Śaiva school which, as we have already stated, was a dualistic or pluralistic school. The Vāyavīyasaṁhitā according to him states that Śakti, or power, first originates from Śiva, thence Māyā, thence Avyakta (I. 7. 3). By Māyā is to be understood the wonderful creative power of Śiva, as is evident from the following verse 4, and Avyakta means the Pradhāna, as appears from that verse as well as verse 7. He gives another verse which sets forth that everything from the Śakti to the earth is produced from the essence of Śiva, so that Śiva through the Śakti is both the efficient and the constituent cause of the world. This Śakti is brought in by those who hold creation to be the development of Śiva, while it is not wanted for those Śaiva philosophers who would keep the creative principle Māyā or Pradhāna as distinct from Śiva and undergoing independent development. Śrīkaṇṭha explains the expression 'Śiva alone existed' occurring in ŚU. IV. 18, under I. 4. 27, by 'Śiva, with whom the Śakti (the power) in the form of the animate and the inanimate world was united, alone existed so as to form one entity', so that he here understands Śiva as possessed of the Śakti to be the constituent cause. In this respect his doctrine is similar to that of Nimbārka. But immediately afterwards he speaks of the Cit and the Acit forming the body of Śiva and thus puts forth the same theory as that

1 [Ante, p. 112.—N. B. U.]

of Rāmānuja. Practically he makes no distinction between the two. The theory of the Liṅgāyats is the same as the first form of the theory set forth by Śrikaṇṭha Śivācārya. Śiva as qualified by the Śakti is the creator, that is, is the efficient and the constituent cause of the world. The Kāśmīr Śaivism attributes the production of the world to the will of God without any material cause, or affirms that God makes the world appear in himself.

Thus most of these schools avoid the Pantheism of Spinoza and the incompatibility between God's development into the world and his transcendency by holding that the rudiments of the material and the spiritual world associated with God as his characteristics, or as his body, or as his power only undergo development, he himself remaining pure. Viṣṇusvāmin and Vallabha, admitting, as they do, the development of Puruṣottama into the world and at the same time his transcendency, follow Bādarāyaṇa. The mysterious power which causes the differences by rendering certain qualities imperceptible, may be compared to the self-determining power of God involved in Spinoza's statement. The Kaśmīr Śaivas do not bring in the idea of God as a constituent cause undergoing development and seem to admit the doctrine of creation out of nothing.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

AB. = Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.
ĀG. = Aśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra.
AU. = Atharvaśiras-Upaniṣad.
AV. = Atharva-Veda.
BhG. = Bhagavad-Gītā.
Bibl. Ind. = Bibliotheca Indica.
Br.S. = Brahma-Sūtra.
BṛS. = Bṛhat-Saṁhitā.
BU. = Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad.
Chowkh. = Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.
ChU. = Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.
HG. = Hiraṇyakeśi-Gṛhyasūtra
KB. = Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa.
KBU. = Kauṣītaki-Brāhmana-Upaniṣad.
KnU. = Kena-Upaniṣad.
KU. = Kaṭha-Upaniṣad.
MaiU. = Maitri-Upaniṣad.
MBh. = Mahābhārata.
MU. = Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad.
P. = Pāṇini.
PG. = Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra.
RV. = Ṛg-Veda.
RVS. = Ṛg-Veda-Saṁhitā.
ŚB. = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.
ŚU. = Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad.
TA. = Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka.
TS. = Taittirīya-Saṁhitā.
TU. = Taittirīya-Upaniṣad.
VS. = Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā.
YV. = Yajur-Veda.

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Wilson Philological Lectures.

LECTURE I.

GENERAL LAWS GUIDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE; THE DIFFERENT STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SANSKRIT.

The occasion that brings us here together to-day is the first of its kind in the history of this University. Hitherto the University of Bombay has been merely an Examining Board. But this day witnesses the beginning of an attempt to discharge another and a more important function of such an institution. The main idea of a University is that it is a body of men devoted to learning, and engaged in acquiring knowledge and disseminating it. A country that has no such bodies of men occupies but a low position in the intellectual scale of the world, and contributes little to the general advancement of mankind in knowledge. But a devotion to learning implies sacrifice of worldly interests, and the poverty of learned men has become proverbial. To enable persons, therefore, to apply themselves to the pursuit of knowledge with undivided attention, there exist in connection with such institutions certain appointments tenable for life called professorships or fellowships, endowed by the enlightened liberality of private individuals or of the government of the country.

India and the Bombay University are no exception to the general rule. In other times learning flourished in the country under the fostering care of its innumerable princes and chiefs, as well as rich merchants. Though in the words of the poet, Śrī and Sarasvatī are, in a sense, constantly hostile to each other, it is Śrī alone at all times and in all countries that can support Sarasvatī, and enable her to live and grow. Hence it is impossible that the Bombay University should rise to the dignity of a seat of learning without such a provision as is found necessary in more advanced countries. India cannot take her place among the intellectual nations of the West, and compete with them in the advancement of knowledge unless her Universities discharge their proper function, unless we have professorships in connection with them for the cultivation of science, philosophy, history and philology.

But we may be told that an Indian does not care for knowledge for its own sake, and it is only as a means of worldly advancement that he enters the University at all, and, as soon as he takes his degree, he flings away his books, and no more troubles himself with the several branches of knowledge to which he was introduced while within the walls of his college. The reproach is true, as well as untrue. It is true if it is meant that since the first school or college was opened by our Government we have had very few or none among us who have devoted themselves to the pursuit of knowledge. But if what it is intended to assert is that a love of knowledge or learning and an unselfish devotion to it are foreign to the nature of a Hindu, it is altogether untrue. Those ponderous tomes which adorn the library of the Sanskrit student and those innumerable *pustakas* in the Sarasvatī Bhāṇḍāras scattered throughout the country tell a different tale. But in this, as in other matters, the circumstances in which our virtues have grown up and are exercised, are not the circumstances in which we are expected to display them, and fail to do so. Love of learning is ingrained in the very nature of the Hindu, but the legitimate object of this feeling is Sanskrit literature. A knowledge of English and of English literature and philosophy is, in the first instance, sought for only for its practical benefits. A Hindu would not send his son to an English School if he could help it. A very powerful motive for the pursuit of learning, the respect of the society in which one lives, is also wanting in the case of the so-called educated Indian. A Śāstrī or Paṇḍit is esteemed and treated with respect and consideration by his countrymen; the English-knowing Indian may be feared if he holds some Government appointment, but if none, he enjoys no consideration. The very word *vidvān* or 'learned' is grudged him by the orthodox Hindu. In one branch of learning, however, viz. Sanskrit, an English-knowing Indian may meet with appreciation and esteem at the hands of the learned in Europe. That is a subject in which he may successfully compete with his European brother, and in which he has peculiar advantages which the latter does not possess. Among his own countrymen he will find sympathy only if he has studied Sanskrit exactly in the old way, but even in this case his heterodoxy, which is the result of his

English education, would stand in the way. But there are indications that a more sympathising and appreciating body of men is growing about us, and the circle will go on widening as education advances. In this, as in other matters, there are hopes that our countrymen will, in the course of time, chiefly through the agency of Government education, adapt themselves to their circumstances; and the Hindu's inherent love of learning will gradually extend and engraft itself on the branches of knowledge to which he has been newly introduced by the European.

But encouragement and support are essentially needed; and, taught by our ancient tradition, we naturally look up for these, in the first instance, to our Government. Hitherto it has confined its endeavours to the education of its subjects, a thing which was never before done by any Indian prince, and for which it has the strongest claims on the gratitude of the Indians. But what Indian princes have all along done, viz., the extension of support and patronage to men of learning, and thus enabling them to prosecute their studies, has not yet attracted the attention of our Government, probably because they thought the time had not come for it. Next, it is the duty of those of our countrymen, who enjoy princely fortunes, to encourage the growth and advancement of learning among their countrymen. Now the best and most effectual way, in which learning can thus be encourged and patronized by all who have the means, is by founding University professorships to be held for life. A beginning, however, has been made, and for it we are indebted to the friends of the late Rev. Dr. Wilson, and to the good old Doctor himself. For, when his friends raised up the sum and expressed to him their intention to present it to him, he declined to receive it unconditionally, and, contenting himself with only a life interest in it, proposed that they should hand it over to the University, and found a philological lectureship. It is in virtue of the advice he thus gave that we meet here to-day. I only regret that the Syndicate was not able to secure the services of an abler man, and that the duty of inaugurating the Wilson Lectureship, and, I may say, the new phase on which the University is entering, has devolved on me.

* * * *

The subject on which the lectures are to be delivered this

year is the Sanskrit, and the Prakrit languages derived from it. Sanskrit is the language of the religion, law, philosophy, and poetry of the Hindus; and all their ancient and most revered books on these subjects are written in that language. Even at the present day the language we use in our daily prayers and in the performance of our various religious rites is Sanskrit; learned men carry on their disputations in Sanskrit, and now and then we meet with new poems written in that language. Prakrit is a general name given to certain dialects in which we find some old books written; and in ordinary Hindu usage the term is extended to the vernaculars we speak. Marathi, Gujarati, and the various other idioms spoken in Northern India are Prakrits. The wording of the subject as laid down in the calendar implies that Sanskrit is the more primitive of these, and that the Prakrits are derived from it. Our business, therefore, is to trace the history of Sanskrit, to observe how from the very earliest form in which it is presented to us in the existing literature of the language, it gradually developed or was corrupted into the modern vernaculars. The Sanskrit which we know of as such is not now the spoken language of any part of India or of the world. It is simply preserved in books, and is used by the learned. But if the Marathi, Gujarati, and the rest show unmistakable signs of having been derived from this language, it must have been at one time spoken generally by our ancestors; and in being handed down from generation to generation it has undergone various modifications and changes, until we have now come to speak it as we do. But of this more hereafter.

India may justly claim to be the original home of scientific philology. In one of the most ancient Sanskrit books, the Saṁhitā of the Black Yajurveda, there are distinct indications of the dawn of linguistic study.[1] The Brāhmaṇas of the Vedas,

1 वाग्वै पराच्यव्याकृतावदन्ते देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन्निमां नो वाचं व्याकुर्विति सोऽब्रवीद्वरं वृणै मह्यं चैवैष वायवे च सह गृह्याता इति तस्मादैन्द्रवायवः सह गृह्यते तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत्तस्मादियं व्याकृता वागुद्यते. Speech was once inarticulate and undistinguished (into its parts). Then the gods said to Indra, 'Distinguish our speech into parts.' He said, 'I will ask a gift of you, let Soma be poured into one cup for me and Vāyu together.' Hence Soma is poured into one cup for Indra and Vāyu together. Then Indra going into its midst distinguished it. Hence distinct speech is now spoken. Tait. Saṁhitā VI. 4, 7.

which rank next to the Saṁhitās, and even the Taittirīya Saṁhitā itself, the composition of which differs in no particular from its Brāhmaṇa, are full of etymological explanations of words though often they are fanciful[1]. One Ācārya followed another, and they all carefully observed the facts of their language, and laid down the laws they could discover. They studied and compared the significations and forms of words, observed what was common to them, separated the constant element from that which was variable, noticed the several changes that words undergo in different circumstances, and by such a process of philological analysis completed a system of grammar and etymology. In the Nirukta, Yāska, whose exact date we do not know, but who must have flourished several centuries before Christ, lays down correct principles of the derivation of words. The last of the grammarian Ācāryas were Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali. The Prakrit dialects which sprang from Sanskrit were next made the subject of observation and analysis. The laws of phonetic change or decay in accordance with which Sanskrit words become Prakrit were discovered and laid down. The Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit elements in those languages were distinguished from each other. This branch of philology also was worked up by a number of men, though the writings of one or two only have come down to us.

In this condition Sanskrit philology passed into the hands of Europeans. The discovery of Sanskrit and the Indian grammatical system at the close of the 18th century led to a total revolution in the philological ideas of Europeans. Before this time there was hardly a scientific treatment of linguistic facts, etymological analysis was scarcely known, and philological speculation had not emancipated itself from the trammels of religion. The Jews were the chosen people of God, and hence their language, the Hebrew, was the most original of all languages, and all others were derived from it. This was the belief of European scholars, as that of the orthodox Pandit at the present day is that Sanskrit is the primitive language, and all others are corruptions

1 The Ait. Brāhmaṇa gives the etymology of प्रेष (III. 9), of मानुष (III. 23), of जाया (VII. 13) ; the Tait. Saṁhitā, of रुद्र (I. 5. 1), of वृत्र (II. 4. 1, and II. 5. 2) ; the Tait. Brāhmaṇa, of अश्व (I. 1. 5). of नक्षत्र (II. 7. 18) &c., &c.

of it; though, however, the Pandit has an excuse in the fact that the languages he generally hears spoken about him have really sprung from Sanskrit. But several circumstances had about this time prepared Europe for independent thought in philology, and Sanskrit supplied the principles upon which it should be conducted and determined the current in which it should run. The languages of Europe, ancient and modern, were compared with Sanskrit and with each other. This led to comparative philology and the classification of languages, and a comparison of the words and forms in the different languages led scholars into the secrets of the growth of human speech, and the science of language was added to the list of existing branches of knowledge. The progress made within about fifty years is marvellous, and affords a striking instance of the intellectual activity of the Europeans. In the cultivation of philology and the elaboration of this new science, the Germans, of all other nations, have been most prominent, and have done by far the greater portion of the work. The more limited field of Prakrit philology with which we are here concerned has not been left uncultivated. Pali, the earliest of the Prakrit dialects, is almost as much studied in Europe as Sanskrit. We have editions of Pali texts by Turnour, a Ceylon Civilian, and a Danish scholar, Fausböll; and of a Native Grammar by Kaccāyana, by M. Senart, a Frenchman; an original treatise on this subject by Clough, and a very useful Dictionary by the late lamented Professor Childers.[1] The derivation of the language from Sanskrit forms the subject of an essay by the great French scholar, M. Burnouf, and the equally great German scholar, Professor Lassen. There are notices of the Prakrit dialects in one of Colebrooke's essays and in the preface to Professor Wilson's Hindu Theatre. Lassen also wrote a book entitled Institutiones Linguæ Pracraticæ, based upon the grammatical works of native writers, and upon the Prakrit passages occurring in the Sanskrit dramatic plays. Professor Weber, whose industry and comprehensive grasp are admirable, has published an

1 This lecture was written in 1877 and revised in 1878. It will be necessary for the reader to remember this in going over this short sketch. Many and valuable additions to Pali publications have been made since then, especially by the Pali Text Society.

elaborate analysis of the language and contents of a Jaina religious work in Prakrit entitled the Bhagavatī, and of the language of a collection of Prakrit songs by Hāla, together with an edition and translation of the work. Dr. Cowell has brought out a nice edition of the Prākṛta-Prakāśa by Vararuci; and Dr. Muir, whose works are so valuable to the student, devotes a large portion of his second volume of the "Sanskrit Texts" to Prakrit philology, in which he gives his own views and a summary of those of other scholars. In Ceylon, Mr. D'Alwis has published a work on the Pali, and in India, an edition of the Prakrit Grammar of Kramadīśvara has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica, and of that of Hemacandra in Bombay by a Jaina priest with the assistanace of a Śāstrī[1]. The modern vernaculars have not yet succeeded in attracting the attention of the learned in Europe. Essays on some points of vernacular philology by Professor Hoernle, of Jayanarayan's College, Benares, have appeared in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society. But the most important work on this subject that has yet appeared is Mr. Beames's Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages. Two volumes have been published, and the third and last is expected.[2] Mr. Beames has brought his subject down to the pronoun; and the forthcoming volume will treat of the verb. Dr. Trump in his valuable Grammar of the Sindhi language compares the grammatical forms existing in the several vernaculars, and recent grammarians of Gujarāti and Marathi have made attempts in some cases to trace the grammar of these languages from the Sanskrit through the Prakrit. A Gujarati Śāstrī, named Vrajalāl, has written a useful little tract on the history of his vernacular.[3] But upon the whole, it must be acknowledged that vernacular philology is still in a state of infancy, and a great deal of what has been written is unsatisfactory.

1. Since this was written Dr. Pischel's edition of Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar and his elaborate contribution to the Grundriss der Arischen Philologie have been published, besides several other minor works.

2 Since published.

3 Hoernle's Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages, Kellogg's Hindi Grammar, Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India have, among others, been published since then.

Before I proceed to the subject in hand, it is necessary that should trace some of the laws of the development and growth of language, as I shall have occasion to refer to them frequently in the course of these lectures. Suppose a person wishes to express the idea *in a village*, and the only means at his command are the roots and independent words in a language such as the Sanskrit. Now the word which expresses *a village* is ग्राम, and another which signifies the *interior* is मध्य. By joining the two together in such an expression as ग्राममध्य he conveys the idea the *interior of*, or *in, a village.* Now this word मध्य is pronounced मज्झ or मद्द by persons who have either not been taught to pronounce it properly or are not sufficiently careful to do so. This again is reduced to माझ or माध and thence to माह or मह, and ultimately to मा or मे. In this manner ग्राममध्य becomes गाममा or गामे, which, as you know, are the forms of Gujarati, Sindhi and Hindi locative. In this condition its origin is forgotten by the speakers, and becomes simply a termination signifying *in the interior.* Again, if a man wants to speak of *one who makes a pot* and has not got a word to express the idea, he naturally puts together the words कुम्भ *pot* and कार *maker*, and uses the compound कुम्भकार. After a time, by faulty pronunciation, the क् goes out and the word is reduced to कुम्भार. In the same way, as before, the persons who use the word कुम्भार have no consciousness that they are putting together two words, one of which means a *pot* and the other *maker*; but the syllable आर becomes with them a simple termination which signifies the doer of the thing expressed by the base. We thus see that these two very general terminations were originally independent words, and that in the course of time they lost that character. If you examine those forms which constitute the declensions and conjugations of any language you may happen to know, you will find that these also have originated in the same way. When, our remote ancestors wished to say *I now do*, they put together कृ *do*, नु *now*, and मि *I*, and said कृनुमि, afterwards changed for the sake of euphony to कृणोमि. In the same way कृणोति means *do now he* कृणुतस् *do now he* (and) *thou*, स् being a corruption of सि a pronoun signifying *thou*, and कृणोषि *do now thou.* Or they expressed present time by using a pronoun equivalent to *here* or *this* and said बोधति *know here he*, the अ

being the same as that we find in the forms अनेन, अस्मै, अस्मात्, &c. and signifying something that is near. In this manner we are able to trace the original signification of a good many of these forms, but since after their invention they are more or less corrupted, it becomes a difficult matter to do so in all cases. Still, we know enough to be able to lay it down as certain that this is the mode in which all our grammatical forms have originated. When a language is in that condition in which grammatical relation is expressed by such compounds consciously formed, and both parts of the compound can be used independently, it is said to be in the analytic stage. The change of मध्य to मा or मे, or of कार to आर, or of तसि to तस् or तः is what is called phonetic decay. Though this is usually spoken of in censure as curruption, it is the means by which a language leaves the analytic stage and develops. The words forming the compound grow together, both being altered in the process, and the original sense of the latter is forgotten. It is this circumstance that renders phonetic change possible, for, if those who speak the language always used the two *words* in the compound with a conscious desire to express their joint sense, such a corruption would not take place. Phonetic decay reduces the latter portion to a mere termination, and thus a language arrives at what is called the synthetic stage. All the dead Aryan languages, and most of the living ones also, are in the synthetic condition, while the Chinese is said to be in the analytic stage.

Phonetic decay or corruption is a process that is constantly going on in a living language. At some stages of its history it is very rapid and at others slow. It sometimes wholly transforms words. Its causes are deeply ingrained in human nature itself. Language is not the end and aim of human life; it is simply an instrument of communicating thought, and the matter of thought is always more important than the expression. The utterance of a word implies an effort. We have to force the breath through the windpipe, check or compress it at different points in its passage through the mouth, and then let it off. The glottis or the opening of the windpipe, and the tongue and the various parts of the mouth are our organs of speech, and an innumerable variety of sounds may be produced by their means. In pronouncing

certain letters the glottis must be stretched or expanded, while in the case of others it is contracted, which is its more natural condition. The breath which comes out when it is expanded is called *śvāsa* or simple unintonated breath by the old Indian Philologists. But when the glottis is contracted, and the breath is intonated by the vibration of the vocal chords, it becomes what is called *nāda, i. e.*, tone or intonated breath. Simple breath is the material cause of the hard consonants, and the intonated breath of the soft, and of the vowels. When *nāda* is forced out and allowed to pass away without being obstructed, we pronounce vowels, and when both *śvāsa* and *nāda* are obstructed at different parts of the mouth, the sounds that are formed are consonantal. Hence a consonant cannot be pronounced by itself; it is only when the touching organs are separated, and the air allowed to pass through any one of the vowel positions, that the sound is produced.

When the intonated breath is let off through the rounded lips, it forms उ, and with the lower lip a little further off, ओ; while if the lips completely touch each other, and the breath is thus obstructed in its passage, we have ् which, with a greater force of respiration, becomes भ्, and when it is partly sent into the nose, it assumes the form of म. If the *śvāsa* is in the same condition as *nāda* when it forms ् and भ्, we have प् and फ्. When these two kinds of breath are shut up by the tip of the tongue forming a complete contact with the root of the upper teeth, we have त, थ्, द्, ध्, and न्. When the contact is effected higher up and the forepart of the tongue is made into a curve, we have ट्, ठ्, ड्, ढ्, and ण्. If the middle of the tongue is brought near the palate, *nāda* passing through the intervening space forms the vowel इ; and when the tongue is a little further off and the mouth more open, we have ए; while if there is complete contact, the two kinds of breath give us च्, छ्, ज्, झ्, and ञ् as before. When the root of the tongue touches the lower skirt of the palate, we have similarly क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, and ङ्. If the intonated breath is allowed to pass away when the mouth is in its natural position with the lips open, we have the vowel अ, and, with greater force of breath, the aspirate ह्. The vowel portion of ऋ and ऌ differs from अ in the whole lower part of the mouth being brought closer

to the upper in pronouncing it, while in pronouncing आ the two parts of the mouth are more widely apart; so that the vowel sound involved in ऋ is the closest, आ, the most open. The diphthongs ऐ and औ are अ + इ and अ + उ pronounced hastily. In pronouncing the semi-vowels the organs are brought very close to each other, but do not form a complete contact; so that the breath is compressed and not shut up. Still, like the mutes, they cannot be pronounced without separating the organs. We pronounce व् when we bring the two lips and the ends of the upper teeth into close proximity, and it thus corresponds to the vowel उ; for य् the position is the same as that for इ, the proximity only being greater; while ल् is formed a little above the dental position by emitting the breath by the sides of the tip of the tongue, and र् a little below the cerebral. The sibilants श्, ष्, and स् are continuous sounds made by letting off the *śvāsa* or simple breath with the same force as in the case of the hard aspirates and through the space between the middle of the tongue and the palatal, cerebral, and dental or dento-palatal positions brought as near to each other as in pronouncing vowels.

You will thus see how minute and laborious these operations are. The difficulty is increased when we have to pronounce two or more consonants together. We have first to put the organs of speech into one position, and immediately afterwards into another, without leaving the first. Accurate pronunciation therefore requires great effort, and since, according to an observation of Locke, labour for labour's sake is against nature, the tendency always exists of making as little effort as is consistent with the necessity of making oneself understood. Hence सुख is transformed to सुह i. e. only the quantity of breath necessary to pronounce ख is let off, and the effort of forming a complete and close contact is saved; कदलकम् becomes कअलअम्, and thence केळं and केळें, where also you will see that the contact is avoided; अर्प becomes अप्प, in which case we find that the effort involved in the change from one position of the vocal organs to another is economized, though the pressure which the organs exert upon each other in the pronunciation of a conjunct continues the same, i. e. we have a conjunct as before, but the two members are assimilated. This is further changed to आप in which the pressure is avoided, but

the shortening of the time which this would involve is obviated by lengthening the preceding vowel. This tendency to phonetic decay is so powerful that if not counteracted it would in the short space of a few generations render a language entirely unintelligible to its former speakers. Children, in their first essays at speech, often mispronounce words, and if they were left to themselves, the language of a country would undergo very great transformation in a short time. But at home and in schools they are taught to speak the language of their parents correctly, and this result is averted. Education, therefore, is an agency which arrests the progress of decay. Another check is afforded by the necessity of making oneself intelligible. If a man is careless about his language, he will not be understood. He has therefore necessarily to endeavour to speak as other people do. The feeling of society is also arrayed against the corruption of a language. The speech which does not approach the received standard is branded as vulgar. The tendency to corruption is greatly diminished when a language comes to have a literature. Some races are very careful about their speech, and preserve it in a comparatively pure condition; there are others which corrupt it greatly. But even in the case of the former, accidents in its history may transform the idiom considerably. If one race comes in contact with another, and gives it its language, it is sure to be greatly corrupted. The alien race cannot catch the pronunciation properly, or its vocal organs may be naturally so constituted or its previous vocal habits may be of such a nature as to render the sounds of the language difficult or impossible to be imitated. If there were no schools and colleges for teaching English to us, we should corrupt the language of our rulers so greatly as to render ourselves perfectly unintelligible to them. The native sentry's challenge हुकुम डर for "who comes there?" would be a puzzle to the scientific philologist.

The grammatical terminations which are oftener used than any particular words suffer the most by this process of decay, and after a time they are confused with each other or dropped away. When a language is reduced to this condition, it has to fall back upon the expedient with which it started, and tack on certain words or particles to its nouns and verbs to express the

relations which the old terminations denoted, and thus the analytic state returns. But the old process goes on again, and these words in their turn assume the character of terminations. Sometimes along with a case-form there exists in the language another expression conveying the same sense. When the former goes out of use the latter takes its place, or sometimes the latter drives out the former. The modern vernaculars have had to resort to this process of reconstruction in a great measure, and, as in the older languages, it has already become difficult in several cases to trace the origin of the forms. For instance, in Sanskrit the termination which expresses future time is स्य, and when it is applied to the root दा *to give*, we have दास्यति *he will give.* This स्य is very likely a compound of the root अस् *to be* and या *to go*, so that the contrivance the early Āryans had recourse to, to express futurity, was to attach to a root two others expressive of *going to be*; दास्यति therefore originally meant he *goes to be giving*, i. e. he *does* not give, but *will* give since he goes to do it. Now this दास्यति in the derived dialects becomes first दास्सति, then दास्सदि, दास्सइ, दासइ, दाहइ, दाइ and दे in order. Phonetic corruption has thus reduced this form to दाइ or दे, and that for the present tense *I give* has also assumed the same appearance. There is thus no distinction between them; wherefore, to express future time, our languages have had recourse to a variety of expedients which I shall endeavour to explain in their proper place. The Hindi, however, has hit upon the same that was used by our early ancestors, and distinguished futurity by adding to this shrunken form the past participle of गम् to go, which is गआ, changed to गा by combining the vowels, and thus देगा, the form of the future, signifies literally, *gone that he* (*may*) *give.*

Another phenomenon constantly observable in the history of the growth of a language is the use of false analogies. Thus in Sanskrit the root श्रु *to hear* takes the augment नु in the Present and three other tenses or moods, and the Sanskrit of *he hears* is शृणोति. Now in the course of time people forgot that this termination was used in these tenses alone, and extended it to the Future, the past participle, and other derivatives, so that in the Pali and the Prakrits the root itself became सुण=शृण instead of श्रु. This root has descended to most of the modern dialects in this

same form. In the same way क्री to buy became किण, ज्ञा *to know*, जाण, बुध् *to know*, बुज्झ and so on. All these exist in the vernaculars so augmented. In the same way, though कृ is conjugated in Sanskrit by adding उ to the base according to the rule of the eighth conjugation, and forms करोति, कुर्वन्ति &c., in Prakrit it is conjugated according to the rule of the first or the tenth which are generalised, and has करइ or करेइ. This arises from the same sort of mistake that children commit, when, for instance, from the analogy of धरलें from धर, पडलें from पड &c., they use करलें from कर, though the correct Marathi form is केलें and you may remember such expressions as "*I knowed*" and "*you was*" that Dickens puts into the mouth of his lower characters. The Pali and the Prakrits are full of such formations. This law may be called the law of false analogies or of the generalisation of grammatical forms, or formal generalisation, and the effect of it is to do away with anomalies and introduce simplicity in a language. It springs from the same causes as phonetic decay, viz. the economisation of effort, and its operation is restricted also by the same causes as those which arrest the progress of phonetic corruption.

Hitherto we have been considering the growth or the decay of the grammar of a language. But the names of objects constitute a very important part of human speech. These are not arbitrary or simply conventional. The possibility of mere conventional names can exist only under a supposition of men meeting and agreeing that they should call such thing by such name. But this implies a condition of high social and political development, which in an early state of society does not exist, and, in the absence of language, cannot exist. The process is very artificial, and would hardly be worthy of the intellectual nature of man; and though even in a high state of civilisation a language grows, and new names spring up, this is not the way in which they do so. The names of objects are always expressive of some attribute possessed by those objects. पृथ्वी *the earth* is that which is broad, भानु *the sun*, that which shines, उदन्वत् *the sea* that which has water, पितृ *father*, one who protects, दुहितृ *daughter*, one who milks cows. But you will see that these names are not logical definitions, for they have the defect of *ativyāpti*, i. e. are too wide. It is not the earth alone

that is broad, nor the sun alone that shines, nor the sea alone that has water. But still these things possess these attributes pre-eminently, and hence the terms become restricted to them. What is general is thus rendered particular, and the sense of words is, so to say, specialized. This process goes on continually in a living language, not only in the invention of new names, but often it works in a manner to narrow the sense of existing words. Thus, वदना etymologically signifies 'a feeling,' 'a sensation,' thence it is restricted in Sanskrit to a particular sensation, that of severe pain; but the pre-eminent pain is that experienced in child birth, hence वेण, the Prakritised form of the word, signifies in Marathi that special pain. So, गर्भिणी in Sanskrit denotes '*a female that is pregnant*,' but गाभण, the Marathi form of the word, is restricted to lower animals; ताप in Sanskrit means 'heat' generally, but in Marathi, and in Gujarati in the form of ताव, it signifies a particular kind of heat, viz. 'fever' though the word has not lost its general sense; हृदय denotes originally 'the heart,' in modern Marathi in the form of हिय्या it signifies 'courage,' which is a quality of the heart, though in old Marathi it preserves its original sense; पिण्ड in Sanskrit means 'a ball' generally, but in Panjabi and Gujarati in the form of पण्ड it is restricted to this ball of flesh and bones, 'the body'; चेटक in Sanskrit signifies 'an attendant', but in the form of चेला it denotes in the Hindi 'a pupil or disciple', who, according to Indian custom, is his master's close attendant, and in Bengali and the Goanese Marathi, in the forms of चेले and चलो 'a boy' or *son*, who is constantly about his parents. Opposed to this is a process which may be called generalisation of the sense. Thus the root गवेष् originally signified 'looking or searching for a cow'; it was then extended to any kind of 'searching', and lastly in the form of गवसणें it signifies in Marathi 'to find'; इन्द्र originally 'the lord of the gods,' is in Sanskrit used to signify 'the lord' of any class of beings, such expressions as मानवेंद्र, गजेंद्र &c. being very common; and a notable example of this process is afforded by the word राजा which in Sanskrit means 'a king', but, in the forms of राय or राव, is in the modern languages used as a title of distinction, and in Marathi, any respectable gentleman not following the priestly occupation, and not a man of learning may be called a rāv. Sometimes, when

by means of phonetic corruption a word is reduced to two forms, each of the two acquires a distinct sense. Thus, Sanskrit वृद्ध is in the modern languages corrupted to बुढ्ढा H., बुढो S., बुड B., and in this form it means 'an old man.' It is also corrupted to बडा H., बडो S., बड B., वडो G., and व्हड Goan. M. in which form it signifies 'great,' 'large,' or 'more advanced in age'. In this last sense, the termination ल or र is appended to it (M. वडिल, S. वडेरो). The Sanskrit word क्षण becomes छण in the sense of 'a festival,' in Pali and the Prakrits, but खण in the sense of 'a moment.' In Marathi छण is further transformed to सण and खण in the form of खिण also occurs in the old literature and in one of its dialects. The Sanskrit उज्ज्वल in the form of उजळ M., उजल H., उजलु S., उजळ G., उज्जल P. means bright, clear, pure, but in the form of उजाड M., H., G., P., S., B., it means desolate or waste. This sense it acquired by the first process explained above, since a desolate land is cleared, purified of its tenants or appurtenances. खुजा means in Marathi a dwarf and कुबडा humpbacked. This last word exists in the other languages also, and both are derived from the Sanskrit कुब्ज.

The last phenomenon in the growth of a language which I shall notice is the gradual disappearance of words. As men advance in knowledge and civilisation, new ideas and modes of thinking arise, and the old ones fall into disuse. And since words are the representatives of ideas, new words always come in, and the old go out. The changes that the Marathi language, for instance, has undergone in this respect since the time of Jñāneśvara, or the Hindi since the time of Chanda, render the older books unintelligible to modern readers. There are also various other causes. Sometimes, when another language rises into importance on account of political circumstances, or when it is admired and esteemed by a nation, as Sanskrit is by Hindus, a great many words are borrowed from it, and necessarily the older ones go out to make room for them, or disappear because they are regarded as vulgar. The opening of an intercourse with a foreign nation brings about the same result. These causes account in a great measure for the fact that so many words in our languages have become obsolete. Jñāneśvara's Prakrit पसाय had to make room for the Sanskrit प्रसाद, गहिरु for गंभीर and नाह for

नाथ; and the word जमीन has well-nigh supplanted the old भुई, as हुकुम has done आज्ञा, which itself must once have driven out such a word as आणा or आयस, the Prakrit forms of आज्ञा and आदेश.

The languages of the civilised nations of the world have been divided into three families, the Āryan or Indo-European, the Semitic, and the Turanian. The first comprises the Indian branch, consisting of Sanskrit, Pali and the Prakrits, and the modern Vernaculars of Northern India and of Ceylon; the Iranic branch consisting of Zend, the sacred language of the Parsis, the Pehlevī and the other cognate dialects; the Hellenic or the Greek branch, comprising the languages of Ancient Greece and its modern representatives; the Italic branch, consisting of the Latin and the cognate ancient languages of Italy and the dialects derived from Latin, the Italian, the French and the old Provençal, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Wallachian; the Keltic or the language of those Kelts or Gauls that so often figure in Roman history, and distinguished into two varieties, the Kymric, now spoken in Wales and in the Province of Brittany in France, and the Gaelic, spoken in the Isle of Man, the Highlands of Scotland, and Ireland; the Lithuanian and Slavonic, comprising the languages of Lithuania, Russia, Bulgaria, and of the Slavonic races generally; and the Teutonic branch, consisting of the Scandinavian group, i. e. the languages of Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and Denmark, of the High German i. e. the old and the present language of Germany, and of the Low German, which comprised the old Anglo-Saxon and the other languages spoken on the coasts of Germany, the modern representatives of which are the English, and the dialects spoken in Holland, Friesland, and the North of Germany. The second family comprises the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Chaldee, the Syriac, the Carthaginian, and the cognate and derived languages; and the third, the Turkish and the languages of the Mongolian tribes. To this last family the dialects spoken in Southern India are also to be referred. The Zend approaches Sanskrit the most, but the affinities of this latter with Greek and Latin are also very striking, and such as to convince even a determined sceptic. Sanskrit has preserved a greater number of ancient forms than any of these languages, hence it is indispensable for purposes of comparative philology.

The literature of Sanskrit presents, as ordinarily considered, two varieties of the language; but a third may also, as I shall presently endeavour to show, be clearly distinguished. Of these the most ancient is that found in the hymns of the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā. These were composed at different times and by different Ṛṣis, and were transmitted from father to son in certain families. Thus the third of the ten collections, which make up the Saṁhitā, bears the names of Viśvāmitra, and the hymns contained in it were composed by the great patriarch and his descendants. The seventh is ascribed to Vasiṣṭha and his family. The composition of these hymns, therefore, extended over a long period, the language is not the same throughout, and while some of them present a variety so close to the later Sanskrit that there is little difficulty in understanding them, the style of others is so antiquated that they defy all efforts at interpretation, and their sense was not understood even by the Ṛṣis who flourished in the very next literary period, that of the Brāhmaṇas. Still for our purposes we may neglect these differences and consider the Vedic variety of Sanskrit as one.

The chief characteristics of the Vedic language are these :—It contains a large number of words that have become obsolete or changed their sense in the later or classical Sanskrit. There is a greater variety of verbal derivatives, such as दर्शत in the sense of दर्शनीय 'worthy to be seen, or handsome', जीवस, अवस &c., abstract nouns from the roots जीव्, अव् &c., जनुम् 'something that is produced', पपि, बभ्रि, जाघ्रि &c., nouns of agency having a past sense (Pāṇini III. 2. 171), which govern an accusative, दृशीक signifying 'handsome' or मृळीक 'favour,' &c. The nominative plural termination of nouns ending in अ is असस् (Pāṇini VII. 1. 50), as in विश्वे देवासः, as well as अस्, as in यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवाः; and the instrumental plural is देवेभिः or देवैः (Pāṇini VII. 1. 10). The vowel cases of nouns in उ are often formed by joining the vowels by the usual Saṁdhi rules; as तन्वम or तनुवम्, accusative singular of तनु; मध्वः and वस्वः, genitive singulars of मधु and वसु. The instrumental singular is made up by affixing आ, या, or इया, instead of ना, as मघ्वा, उरुया, उर्विया, धृष्णुया, &c. (Pāṇini VII. 1. 39); sometimes of other nouns also, as स्वपया, नावया &c. The nominative and vocative dual of masculine and the plural of neuter nouns in अ often

end in आ; as येनेमा विश्वा च्यवना कृतानि RV. II. 12. 4, अश्विना पुरुदंससा नरा RV. I. 3. 2; and the instrumental singular of feminine nouns in इ is optionally formed by simply lengthening the vowel (Pāṇini VII. 1. 39), as नविष्टया मती RV. I. 82. 2. The locative singular termination is often dropped, as in परमे व्योमन्; or its औ changed to आ, as in नाभा for नाभौ (Pāṇini VII. 1. 39). The Parasmaipada first person plural termination of verbs is मसि (Pāṇini VII. 1. 46), as नमो भरन्त एमसि RV. I. 1. 7, and that of the third person plural is often रे or रते, as दुन्हे or दुन्हते. Other forms also admit of this र, as अद्रुश्रमस्य. The त of the Ātmanepada terminations is often dropped (Pāṇini VII. 1. 41), as वस्व ईशे RV. I. 71. 9. There are eight different forms of the mood called लेट् by Pāṇini, which has a conditional or subjunctive sense; सुपथा करत्। प्र ण आयूंषि तारिषत्, RV. I. 25. 12, स देवानिह वक्षति RV. I. 1. 2. This is lost in classical Sanskrit. The several conjugations or ways of forming the special tenses do exist, but the roots are not restricted to any particular way, being conjugated sometimes according to one mode and sometimes according to another; as श्रुधी हवम्. There are some instances in which some tenses other than the special tenses also admit of the conjugational sign, as विशृण्विरे, perfect. Sometimes guṇa is substituted before the त of the second person plural imperative, though it is a weak termination, as in शृणोत.

The infinitive is formed by adding to roots the terminations से, ध्यै, अध्यै, तवै and तवे (Pāṇini III. 4. 9), as वक्षे, जीवसे, पिबध्यै, दातवै, हन्तवे. These are etymologically the forms of the dative singular of such nouns as वक्स्, जीवस्, पिबधि &c. A few other datives are similarly used, as दृशे, रोहिष्यै &c. (Pāṇini III. 4. 10, 11). The accusatives of some nouns are also used as infinitives when governed by शक् (Pāṇini III. 4. 12), as न ये शेकुर्यज्ञियां नावमारुहम् RV. X. 44. 6; also in other places, चिकितुषो विपृच्छम् RV. VII. 86. 3. The infinitive in classical Sanskrit ends in तुम्, as कर्तुम्, which is the accusative form of such a noun as कर्तु, the dative of which, कर्तवे, is one of the forms of the Vedic infinitive. The potential participles are often formed by adding तवै, य, एण्य and त्व (Pāṇini III. 4. 14), as नैषा गव्यूतिरपभर्तवा उ RV. X. 14. 2, न तेन देव आदिशे RV. VI. 56. 1, दिदृक्षेण्यः, कर्त्वम्. The first two, however, ought properly to be considered as infinitives. The absolutive is sometimes formed by the addition of त्वाय; as गत्वाय. There is such a form as

इष्टीनम् for इष्ट्वा; and such others as हत्वी and पीत्वी for हत्वा and पीत्वा occur often. These last, as also the usual or classical absolutives, are forms of the instrumental singular of the same nouns, the dative and accusative of which are used as infinitives; त्वाय appears also to be an instrumental. There are a great many other peculiarities which are noticed by Pāṇini, and which you will find collected in the Siddhānta-Kaumudī. One thing, however, should be borne in mind, that notwithstanding there is in these respects a very great difference between the Vedic and the classical Sanskrit, they are in the same phonetic stage, i. e. the vocal elements of words and letters remain the same. There are a few such instances, as सध for सह, and गृभ् for गृह्, in which the mute has disappeared, leaving only the aspirate element, and to these may be added the terminations मासि and असस् for मस् and अस्; but both the original and corrupt forms exist in the Vedas, and no general conclusion can be based on these few instances. You will hereafter see that the other dialects I shall speak of differ greatly from the classical Sanskrit in these respects. The following specimen will give you an idea of Vedic Sanskrit :—

१. यच्चिद्धि ते विशो यथा प्र देव वरुण व्रतम् । मिनीमसि द्यविद्यवि ॥
२. मा नो वधाय हत्नवे जिहीळानस्य रीरधः । मा हृणानस्य मन्यवे ॥
५. कदा क्षत्रश्रियं नरमा वरुणं करामहे । मृळीकायोरुचक्षसम् ॥
७. वेदा यो वीनां पदमन्तरिक्षेण पतताम् । वेद नावः समुद्रियः ॥
१०. नि षसाद धृतव्रतो वरुणः पस्त्यास्वा । साम्राज्याय सुक्रतुः ॥
११. अतो विश्वान्यद्भुता चिकित्वाँ अभि पश्यति । कृतानि या च कर्त्वा ॥
१२. स नो विश्वाहा सुक्रतुरादित्यः सुपथा करत् । प्र ण आयूंषि तारिषत् ॥
१९. इमं मे वरुण श्रुधी हवमद्या च मृळय । त्वामवस्युरा चके ॥

These eight verses contain 72 different *padas* or grammatical forms, not counting the prepositions as separate *padas*. Of these 19 have become altogether obsolete in classical Sanskrit, and 12 have changed their significations. This, however, is a specimen of one of the more intelligible hymns, but there are a great many which contain a much larger proportion of words that have gone out of use. It is these obsolete words that constitute the chief difficulty of understanding the Vedic hymns.

1. The use of चित् after यत् is unknown to the later dialect, that particle being found joined only to the pronoun किम्. The preposition प्र, though connected with मिनीमसि, is separated from it

by three words. Though the root of this verb is given in the Dhātupāṭha or Pāṇini's list of roots, it has gone out of use. In modern Sanskrit we should use अतिक्रामाम: instead. व्रत is not now used in the sense in which it occurs here, though it is connected with it. We should use शासन instead. द्यविद्यवि means here 'day by day'; in classical Sanskrit the word द्यो means 'heaven' only. The verse may be translated :—"Though we who are like subjects break thy law, day after day, O divine Varuṇa!" Varuṇa is spoken of frequently as a *rājan*, or king, and men are his subjects, with reference to that attribute of his.

2. वध means 'killing', or 'execution' in classical Sanskrit, but, since हन्तु 'killing' qualifies it here, it must mean some such thing as a weapon or a blow.

हन्तु is obsolete. जिहीळान is a participle of the Perfect of हेड् or हीड्. The form is obsolete; and a verbal form of the root is not ordinarily met with, though a word derived from it does occur. हृणान also is obsolete.

"Do not subject us to the killing blow of the spiteful, nor to the wrath of the angry," *i. e.* do not kill us out of spite or wrath.

5. क्षत्र signifies in later Sanskrit the order of the Kṣatriyas or the warrior caste. Here it is used in the primitive sense of 'valour', 'prowess'. नर does not mean 'man' here, but is used in its original sense of *manly*. आ and करामहे are separated by a word. मृळीक 'favour' is obsolete. चक्षस् 'the reach of sight', 'visual power', has also gone out of use.

"When shall we call the brave, manly, and far-seeing Varuṇa hither to favour us?"

7. समुद्रिय: This form of the derived adjective is unknown to later Sanskrit. The genitive singular is formed by changing ई to इय्.

"Who knows the path of the birds flying in the air and of the boat on the waters."

10. "Enforcing his laws, the powerful Varuṇa sits down in his abode to exercise universal sovereignty."

11. अद्रुहा, the termination of the accusative plural, is here dropped; कर्त्व is Vedic for कर्तव्य; here also नि is dropped.

"From this place the knowing one sees all secret deeds done or to be done."

12. करत् and तारिषत् are forms of लेट् or the Vedic subjunctive.

"May the powerful God make things easy for us all our days and prolong our lives."

19. श्रुधी. Conjugated as a root of the second class, with धि as the termination of the imperative singular, lengthened for phonetic purposes.

"O Varuṇa, hear this my invocation, and now be propitious. I call on thee, desirous of protection."

The next form of the language is presented to us in the Brāhmaṇas of the Vedas, such as the Aitareya of the Ṛgveda and the Śatapatha of the White Yajurveda. A great many of those peculiar words which we meet with in the hymns, and which are so unintelligible have disappeared, the declensions have approached the standard of classical Sanskrit, the nominative plural in असस्, for instance, and the instrumental plural in एभिः having gone out of use. The roots have arranged themselves definitely under certain conjugations. The subjunctive has mostly become obsolete, though such forms as निष्पद्यातै (Śat. I. 4. 1. 10), and असत् (Ait. II. 11) are sometimes met with. The roots take those forms of the Aorist that Pāṇini assigns to them, and this tense is scrupulously used in the sense mentioned by that grammarian. Such terminations as मसि and the various modes of forming the infinitive have disappeared, the ordinary one in तुम् being mostly used (Ait. IV. 8, VIII. 23). The language is in most respects the same as that usually called classical Sanskrit. It is rich in verbal forms of all tenses and moods. There are however a few peculiarities and archaisms. There are some antiquated words such as बर्स 'an extremity' (Ait. II. 2), अनीक 'a shaft,' मन्थाबल 'a bat' (Ait. III. 26); निष्टाव 'ultimate referee' अवदितृ 'one who pronounces a decree', भगवस् 'prosperous', तत for तात (Ait. V. 14), इरा 'food' (Ait. VIII. 7). शुष्मिण 'powerful' (Ait. VIII. 8. 23), मेनि 'a destructive instrument, flame' (Ait. VIII. 24), &c. The dative of feminine nouns is often used for the genitive, as पृथिव्यै राजा स्याः (Ait. VIII. 23); सर्वस्यै वाचः.....परिगृहीत्यै; the त of the third person singular of the

Âtmanepada is sometimes dropped as in the old dialect, as सविता वै प्रसवानामीशे (Ait. VII. 16); a few roots form their Aorist in another manner than that mentioned by Pāṇini, as अज्ञत वा अस्य दन्ताः (Ait. VII. 14), where अज्ञत stands for अजनिषत, अद्रुक्षो वै म आत इदं (Ait. VIII. 23) where अद्रुक्षः is for अद्रुहः; the form of the infinitive governed by the word ईश्वर is that which ends in तोस् as ईश्वरो ह तु पुरायुषः प्रेतोः (Ait. VIII. 7); and ग्रह् appears in the form of ग्रभ् (Ait. III. 26). In the seventh and eighth Pañcikās of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa some Gāthās or songs are quoted, the language of which is more antiquated than that of the body of the work. Notwithstanding these irregularities, these Brāhmaṇas are the best representatives extant of the verbal portion of that language of which Pāṇini writes the grammar, though he did not mean these when he spoke of the Bhāṣā. But nearly the whole of that literature which Pāṇini drew from, if he did so at all, has perished, or to speak more correctly, there is no portion of the extant Sanskrit literature that accurately represents Pāṇini's Sanskrit as regards the verb and the Taddhitas or nominal derivatives. Probably the spoken language of his time formed the basis of his grammar.

The next stage of Sanskrit is presented to us by the work of Yāska, whose language appears to be more ancient than that of the rest of the non-Vedic literature. We find a good many archaic words and expressions in the Nirukta, such as उपजन 'proximity,' उपेक्षितव्य in the sense of 'finding' or 'observing', कर्मन् 'signification,' यथो in the sense of 'as to', बिल्म 'variety,' उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तः 'unable to teach'. शिशिक्ष राज्येन 'invested with sovereignty', नैघण्टुक 'subordinate', अनिर्वाह 'celibacy', &c. There are also some technical terms which we do not meet with in later works such as निवृत्तिस्थान 'weak terminations', उपजन or उपबन्ध 'augment', नामकरण 'a nominal termination', &c. After the time of Yāska, Sanskrit underwent a peculiar change, for the proper understanding of which it is necessary for a time to consider the styles in which a man may speak or write. There is what may be considered as the fluent or flowing style of speech, in which the speaker looks at the actions of men in progress, actions in the course of being done or suffered. A man speaking or writing in this style will use a verb on every occasion. But a

verb may always be analysed into an attribute of the subject and the connecting link or copula. When one's attention is directed more to the attribute than to the progress or course of an action, one will use verbal nouns or adjectives. Thus instead of अश्वमारुक्षत् a man may say अश्वमारूढः, instead of सोऽवोचत्, उक्तं तेन, instead of अयं मांसं भक्षयति, मांसभक्षकोयम्; instead of मालामग्रथ्नात्, मालां ग्रथितवान् &c. In the same way a verb may be divided into a noun or adjective denoting the special action it involves, and a verb signifying action generally, as पचति, may be analysed into पाकं करोति or पक्वं करोति and पच्यते into पक्वो भवति. The later Sanskrit and the modern Vernaculars are full of such formations. The case forms may also be similarly analysed into attributive expressions; as राज्ञः पुरुषः into राजसंबन्धी पुरुषः or रामेण कृतः कटः into रामकर्तृकः कटः. The mode of thought which gives birth to such forms of expression leads also to a freer use of compound nouns by means of which a whole sentence may be compressed into a small attribute. In argumentation the ablative of an abstract noun saves a long periphrasis. This may be considered a petrified form of speech, and as distinguished from the verbal style it may be called the nominal style. In the earliest literature of Sanskrit the fluent or verbal style prevailed. Since this rarely admits of attributive or nominal expressions, the sentences are short, and the construction easy. Thus, in such books as the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas, we find short sentences, and an abundance of verbal forms. Even in the time of Yāska this style prevailed to a large extent, and notwithstanding that his book is on a scientific subject, his language often reminds one of that of the earlier works, though he must have written serval centuries afterwards. In the time of Pāṇini also verbal forms were in general use, as I shall presently attempt to show. Some time after, however, the petrified or nominal style began to supplant the other. Somehow it commended itself to the genius of the Indian Āryas of the times, and the very richness and flexibility of Sanskrit, which allows of a root or noun being twisted in a variety of ways to suit any sort of construction, greatly facilitated the change. The Itihāsas, the Purāṇas, and the metrical Smṛtis are written in this style. But here it is not carried to such an extravagant extent as is done in later writings, in some of which verbal forms are

rare and in others long and bewildering compounds are frequently met with, and the construction is complicated and involved. This is the general character of the Sanskrit in which the subsequent poetic and dramatic literature is written and if the language of a certain author is graceful and easy, and not dull and involved, if he does not use long compounds, and writes in a more natural style, it is either because his taste is superior to that of his contemporaries, or because he belongs to an earlier period.

But it was in the field of philosophy, dialectics and exegesis, scriptural or grammatical, that this nominal style was greatly cultivated and developed. The earliest work of the kind we know of is Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya on Kātyāyana's Vārtikas or notes on Pāṇini's Sūtras. Nearly the whole of the philosophical literature of the Sanskrit is written more or less in the style of disputation. An Indian author does not lead his readers into the processes his own mind has gone through in arriving at the doctrines he lays down; in other words, he does not tell us how he has come by the opinions he holds, but lays down these doctrines and sets forth those opinions and conceives objections that may be raised and answers them. Or before actually stating the true doctrine or *siddhānta*, certain others, more or less opposed are stated, and reasons given in support of them (*pūrvapakṣa*) which are, of course, refuted. The Mahābhāṣya is written in this manner, but it differs in a good many respects from later works of the kind. Unlike the latter, it gives the very words that an opponent, speaking in his own person, may be expected to use. It therefore really consists of a series of dialogues, often smart, between one who maintains the *pūrvapakṣa*, and another who lays down the *siddhānta*. Hence, the language is plain and simple, and the sentences are short, and such as a man may naturally use in ordinary conversation or oral disputation. The nominal style, however, as I have ventured to call it, in contradistinction to that of the Brāhmaṇas and also of Yâska, is observable; but it has of course not yet degenerated into the long compounds and algebraic expressions of modern times, and is perfectly natural. In this respect it keeps pace with the language of the Itihāsas and Smṛtis. Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya on Gotama's Nyāya Sūtra, and Śabarasvāmin's on that of Jaimini,

as well as the Bhāṣyas on some of the sacrificial Sūtras, are written in the same sort of simple and lively style, though however they present a further stage in the downward progress. But gradually this manner of writing ceased to be used, and the philosophical style went on progressing until it has come to be what it is now. Śaṁkarācārya's Bhāṣya presents it in a middle stage. The sentences are much longer than those of the earlier writers, the construction is more involved, there is a freer use of attributive adjuncts, and the form is that of an essay or a lecture, instead of an oral disputation. But the great Ācārya's style is perspicuous throughout, fluent and charming, and not solidified or petrified, as that of later writers is. These latter hardly ever use a verb, and of the cases only a few are to be met with in their works. The nominative and ablative singular prevail, and long compounds are constantly employed. All our ideas are thrown into the form of nouns, mostly abstract, and even the participles have become rare. This style is the style of formulas rather than of discourse. It has reached its climax in the works of recent *Naiyāyikas*, but it has been more or less used by modern writers in all the Śāstras. The movement which began with a less frequent use of verbal forms and the employment of attributive expressions has thus ended in making Sanskrit a language of abstract nouns and compound words.

I have used the word style in describing this movement, to show what important changes in the structure of a language may originate from what is in the beginning but a style or mode of speaking or writing. If everybody thought and spoke about all matters as the Naiyāyika does in his own subject, our language would be just like his. It would almost have no verbs, no participles, and no cases except one or two. But it is not so. The movement could not be carried so far in other subjects. Hence the real classical Sanskrit is the Sanskrit of the Epics, the Purāṇas, the metrical law-books, the better or earlier specimens of Kāvyas or poems and dramatic plays, and of the early philosophical or exegetical works. And if we examine this literature we shall find that the greater use of attributive or nominal forms of expression gradually drove out a large portion of the Saṇskrit verb, and gave a new character to the language,

which may be thus described :—Very few verbal forms are used besides those of such tenses as the Present and Future; participles are frequently met with; the verbal forms of some roots, especially of those belonging to the less comprehensive classes, have gone out of use, and in their place we often have a noun expressive of the special action and a verb expressive of action generally; compound words are somewhat freely employed; and a good many of the Taddhita forms or nominal derivatives have disappeared, and in their stead we have periphrastic expressions. If the treatises of Pāṇini and others had perished, and we had to construct a grammar of the Sanskrit from the classical literature I have above indicated, our Verb and the Taddhita portion would be very meagre. Professor Benfey attributes the condition which the language thus assumed to the influence of the Prakrits or the spoken vernaculars. But the process appears to me perfectly natural, and no such influence need be supposed. The change may in some respects be likened to that which rendered the Vedic subjunctive and other grammatical forms obsolete in the later stage of the language. The Prakrits may have given some words to the Sanskrit, but that they should in this manner have influenced its grammatical structure is very unlikely. It is more natural to suppose that it was the Sanskrit, from which the Prakrits evidently sprang, which gave to these latter their peculiar character. I shall endeavour to determine the exact relation between the Sanskrit and these dialects in the concluding lecture.

We have thus observed and determined the change that came over Sanskrit after the period that elapsed between the Brāhmaṇas and Yāska from an examination of the literature itself. But the fact is borne witness to by Kātyāyana, who observed it in his time and made it the subject of a few *vārtikas*. Patañjali discusses the points raised in the following manner. An objector or *Pūrvapakṣin* is introduced, who says :

PŪRV. अस्त्यप्रयुक्तः। There exist (some) words which are not used; for instance, ऊष, तेर, चक्र, पेच. (These are forms of the second person plural of the Perfect.)

The *Siddhāntin*, or the principal teacher, who advocates the doctrine that is finally laid down asks ;—

SID. What if they are not used?

PŪRV. You determine the grammatical correctness of words from their being used. Those then that are not now used are not grammatically correct.

SID. What you say is, in the first place, inconsistent, viz., that words exist which are not used. If they exist they cannot be not used; if not used, they cannot exist. To say that they exist and are not used is inconsistent. You yourself use them (utter them) and say (in the very breath) there are words which are not used. What other worthy like yourself would you have to use them in order that they might be considered correct (lit. What other person like yourself is correct or is an authority in the use of words)?

PŪRV.—This is not inconsistent. I say they exist since those who know the Śāstra teach their formation by [laying down] rules, and I say they are not used, because they are not used by people. Now with regard to [your remark] "What other worthy, &c." [when I say they are not used] I do not mean that they are not used by me.

SID.—What then?

PŪRV.—Not used by people.

SID.—Verily, you also are one amongst the people.

PŪRV.—Yes, I am *one*, but am not *the people*.

SID.—(Vārt. अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेन्नार्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्). If you object that they are not used, it will not do (the objection is not valid).

PŪRV. Why not?

SID.—Because words are used to designate things. The things do exist which these words are used to designate. (Therefore the words must be used by somebody. If the things exist, the words that denote them must exist).

PŪRV.—(Vārt. अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात्). (It does not follow.) Their non-use is what one can reasonably infer.

SID.—Why?

PŪRV.—Because they (people) use other words to designate the things expressed by these words; for instance, क्व यूयमासिताः in

the sense of ऊष; क्व यूयं तीर्णाः in the sense of तेर; क्व यूयं कृतवन्तः in the sense of चक्र; क्व यूयं पक्वन्तः in the sense of पेच. (We here see that participles had come to be used for verbs of the Perfect Tense.)

SID.—(Vārt. अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्रवत्) Even if these words are not used, they should be essentially taught by rules just as long sacrificial sessions are. It is in this way. Long sacrificial sessions are such as last for a hundred years and for a thousand years. In modern times none whatever holds them, but the writers on sacrifices teach them by rules, simply because [to learn] what has been handed down by tradition from Ṛsis is religiously meritorious. And moreover (Vārt. सर्वे देशान्तरे) all these words are used in other places.

PūRV.—They are not found used.

SID.—An endeavour should be made to find them. Wide indeed is the range over which words are used; the earth with its seven continents, the three worlds, the four Vedas with their angas or dependent treatises and the mystic portions, in their various recensions, the one hundred branches of the Adhvaryu (Yajur-Veda), the Sāma-Veda with its thousand modes, the Bāhvṛcya with its twenty-one varieties, and the Ātharvaṇa Veda with nine, Vākovākya, the Epics, the Purāṇas and Medicine. This is the extent over which words are used. Without searching this extent of the use of words, to say that words are not used is simple rashness. In this wide extent of the use of words, certain words appear restricted to certain senses in certain places. Thus, शवति is used in the sense of motion among the Kambojas; the Āryas use it in the derived form of शव; हम्मति is used among the Surāṣtras, रंहति among the eastern and central people, but the Āryas use only गम्; दाति is used in the sense of 'cutting' among the easterns, दात्र among the northerners. And those words which you think are not used are also seen used.

PūRV.—Where?

SID.—In the Veda. Thus, सप्तास्ये रेवती रेवदूष। यद्वो रेवती रेवत्यां तमूष। यन्मे नरः श्रुत्यं ब्रह्म चक्र। यत्रा नश्चक्रा जरसं तनूनाम्।

We here see that the objector says that certain words or forms are not used by people, and therefore they should not be

taught or learnt. The instances that he gives are forms of the perfect of some roots, and he observes that the sense of these forms is expressed by using other words which are perfect participles of these roots. These statements are not denied by the Siddhāntin, but he does not allow that the forms should not be taught on the account. Though not used, they should be taught and learnt for the sake of the religious merit consequent thereon, just as the ceremonial of long sacrificial sessions, which are never held, is. Then the objector is told that though not used by people, the words may be current in some other country, continent, or world, or they must have been used somewhere in the vast literature of the language. As regards the particular instances, two of them are shown to be used in the Vedas.

It thus follows that in the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, such verbal forms had become obsolete, and participles were used in their place. But it must have been far otherwise in the time of Pāṇini. He gives minute rules for constructing the innumerable forms of the Sanskrit verb. Our grammarians proceeded upon a strictly scientific basis. Nothing is more clear from several observations scattered throughout the work of Patañjali, besides those contained in the above passage, than this, that the Indian Grammarians do not give us the inventions of their own brains as they are supposed by some scholars to do. The very perfection of their observation and analysis has rendered them liable to this reproach. But notwithstanding all that, there can be *no doubt whatever* that they scrupulously adhered to usage. If so, the verbal forms taught by Pāṇini must have been current in the language at some time. We do meet with them in the Brāhmaṇas, but our grammarian does not include these forms among the peculiarities he has given of the Vedic or Chandas and Brāhmaṇa dialect, and thus does not restrict them to those works. They must therefore be understood as having been in use in the Bhāṣā or current language, the grammar of which he teaches in his Sūtras. And the Bhāṣā that he means must be that which was current in his time. In Pāṇini's time, therefore, the fluent or verbal style of speech was in use, as I have observed before. But it may be argued that though he refers these forms to the Bhāṣā, the Bhāṣā he means may not be that which prevailed

when he lived, but another current before his time and preserved in its literature, on which Pāṇini based his rules. It matters very little even if we make this supposition. The only effect is that the period when the non-Vedic Sanskrit was rich in verbal forms is placed before Pāṇini; but the fact itself that there was such a period is undeniable. The supposition, however, is unreasonable. For it is not at all likely that he should neglect the language prevalent in his time and teach that which was current before him, and speak of it as the Bhāṣā, which word literally signifies the "spoken language" or vernacular. And the occurrence in the Sūtras of words that became obsolete in later Sanskrit confirms this view. The following are such words :— अन्ववसर्ग 'allowing one his own way,' निरवसित 'excommunicated,' प्रत्यवसान 'eating,' अभिविधि 'including,' स्वकरण 'marrying,' उत्सञ्जन 'throwing up,' अग्रेष 'equitableness'. You will have seen that the Vārtika of Kātyāyana which starts the discussion I have translated, and Patañjali's comment on it speak of words generally as having ceased to be used, though the examples given consist of certain verbal forms only. It is, therefore, to be understood that the observation is applicable to other forms and expressions also taught by Pāṇini which we do not meet with in the later literature.[1] Among such may be noticed उपाजेऋ and अन्वाजेऋ 'to strengthen', निवचनेऋ 'to be silent,' कणेहन्, and मनोहन् 'to fulfil one's longing,' &c. कणेहन् occurs in Yāska also. Most of the verbal derivatives ending in the technical termination णमुल् must also be so considered, such as ब्राह्मणवेदं भोजयति 'feeds every Brāhmaṇa that he finds', चेलक्नोपं वृष्टः 'rained till the clothes were wet', स्वपोषं पुष्णाति 'supports by his own means,' उर्ध्वशोषं शुष्यति 'withers standing,' &c. A good many Taddhita forms taught in Pāṇini's Sūtras must also, I think, be put in the same category.

And there is another circumstance which shows that Pāṇini's Sanskrit was more ancient than Kātyāyana's. Kātyāyana's Vārtikas on Pāṇini, which I have already spoken to you of, touch on various points concerning grammar and the system of Pāṇini.

1 Professor Goldstücker has used the argument based on the occurrence of obsolete words in the Sūtras and that set forth in the next paragraph, to prove the archaic character of the language as it existed in Pāṇini's time and some of the instances quoted in the text are the same as his.

The purpose of a great many of them is the proper interpretation of the Sūtras, and there are some which supply links that are wanting in the system, also a good many which teach forms not taught by Pāṇini, or give the correct forms, when by the strict application of Pāṇini's rules we arrive at such as are incorrect. Now, this strict application of Pāṇini's rules is often in the manner of a quibbling logician, and consequently it was probably never meant by Pāṇini himself. Again, it may also be allowed that some forms existing in the language may have escaped Pāṇini's notice. But even after making allowance for all these considerations, a good many forms taught by Kātyāyana are left which it is impossible to believe Pāṇini did not observe or know, if they existed in the language in his time. Though not infallible, Pāṇini was not an indifferent grammarian. He justly deserves the reputation he has all along enjoyed of being the pre-eminent teacher of grammar. He has noticed even stray facts about the language. If so, the only reasonable supposition is that these forms did not exist in the language at the period when he lived.

For instance, according to Pāṇini's rules the vocative singular of neuter nouns ending in अन् such as ब्रह्मन् and नामन् is ब्रह्मन् and नामन्, but Kātyāyana in a Vārtikā on VIII. 2, 8 tells us it is ब्रह्मन् or ब्रह्म and नामन् or नाम.

Pāṇini teaches that the forms of the dative, ablative, genitive, and locative singular of the feminine of द्वितीय and तृतीय are optionally like those of the corresponding pronouns, *i. e.* we have either द्वितीयायै or द्वितीयस्यै, द्वितीयायाः or द्वितीयस्याः &c., but Kātyāyana in a Vārtika on 1. 1, 36 extends this option to the masculine also, and according to him we have द्वितीयाय or द्वितीयस्मै, द्वितीयात् or द्वितीयस्मात् &c., while Pāṇini gives us only the first.

Pāṇini's rule IV. 1, 49 allows of मातुलानी only as the feminine of मातुल, but Kātyāyana gives मातुली also; उपाध्यायानी is not noticed by Pāṇini while Kātyāyana lays down that as well as उपाध्यायी in the sense of 'wife of the उपाध्याय'. So also आर्या and क्षत्रिया are according to Pāṇini, 'a female Ārya' and a female Kṣatriya', but Kātyāyana gives आर्याणी and क्षत्रियाणी as well as आर्या and क्षत्रिया.

A good many more instances of a similar nature may be given from other parts of Sanskrit Grammar. Are we then to suppose that the forms ब्रह्म, नाम, कर्म &c. of the vocative singular, द्वितीयस्मै of the dative of द्वितीय &c., मातुली, उपाध्यायानी, आर्याणी, क्षत्रियाणी and many more such, escaped the observation of such a grammarian as Pāṇini, or that he did not know them? Is the supposition that they did not exist in the language in his time not more reasonable? It therefore appears clear to me that the language in Pāṇini's time was in a different condition from that in which it was in Kātyāyana's. The chief differences, to point out which has been the object of this discussion, may be thus stated:—In Pāṇini's time a good many words and expressions were current which afterwards became obsolete; verbal forms were commonly used which ceased to be used in Kātyāyana's time, and some grammatical forms were developed in the time of the latter, which did not exist in Pāṇini's.

Pāṇini's Sanskrit must, therefore, be identified with that which preceded the Epics, and he must be referred to the literary period between the Brāhmaṇas and Yāska. Hence it is that the Brāhmaṇas, as observed before, are the best existing representatives of the language of which Pāṇini writes the grammar. Kātyāyana, on the other hand, wrote when the language arrived at that stage which we have called Classical.

Thus then, we have been able to trace three distinct periods in the development of Sanskrit. First, we have the Vedic period, to which the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā, the Mantra portion of the Yajurveda, and the more antiquated part of the Atharva-Saṁhitā are to be referred. Then commences another period, at the threshold of which we find the Brāhmaṇas, which, so to say, look backwards to the preceding, that is, they present the Vedic language in the last stage of its progress towards Pāṇini's Bhāṣā; and later on, we have Yāska and Pāṇini. This may be called the period of Middle Sanskrit. And last of all, there is the Classical period to which belong the Epics, the earliest specimens of Kāvyas and dramatic plays, the metrical Smṛtis, and the grammatical work of Kātyāyana.

Pāṇini's work contains the grammar of Middle Sanskrit, while Kātyāyana's that of Classical Sanskrit, though he gives his sanction to the archaic forms of the former on the principle, as he himself has stated, on which the authors of the sacrificial Sūtras teach the ritual of long sacrificial sessions, though they had ceased to be held in their time. Patañjali gives but few forms which differ from Kātyāyana's, and in no way do they indicate a different stage in the growth of the language; hence his work is to be referred to the same period. The form which the language assumed at this time became the standard for later writers to follow, and Kātyāyana and Patañjali are now generally acknowledged authorities on all points concerning the correctness of Sanskrit speech. We shall hereafter see that the last two stages have left distinct traces on the Prakrits or the derived languages.

LECTURE

PALI AND THE DIALECTS OF THE PERIOD

In the last lecture we traced the development of the Sanskrit language until it assumed the form in which it is usually called Classical Sanskrit. This form it acquired several centuries before Christ, as I shall hereafter endeavour to show, but it has since preserved it unaltered. The reason is that the number of people using it has been growing smaller and smaller, and now for a considerable period, it has remained confined to a few learned men who devote long time to its study and use it only for religious and philosophical purposes. But in so far as it has been used for these purposes, it has not been free from change, as was pointed out on the last occasion. The style and modes of expression used by Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya, the great Naiyāyika of modern times, are not the same as those of Kaṇāda, Gotama, and Vātsyāyana, nor those used by Nāgojibhaṭṭa, the same as those of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. But all these changes have followed one direction. The efforts of our modern writers have been mostly, if not altogether, directed to systematizing and reducing to an accurate and definite shape the conceptions of those ancient sages, and no new ideas or methods of thought have arisen. They have thus elaborated a highly artificial style, abounding in abstract terms. In other branches of the literature also, we may discover some peculiarities and corruptions of diction and manner. But still, making due allowance for all this, the generally received standard of good and correct Sanskrit is the same as it was many centuries ago. There are certain models which modern writers and speakers have to conform to.

When, however, a language is living, that is, is used by people generally and in matters of every-day life, it must undergo very great changes. Men will not waste time and trouble in accurately ascertaining and imitating the pronunciation of their fathers, or reproducing exactly the several grammatical forms used by their predecessors. All that is necessary is that they should make themselves understood. Old modes of thinking give

place to new ones, and ideas spring up; and both must be represented in the language that is used. Sometimes accidents in the history of a race, such as its coming in contact or being incorporated with another race, serve to transform its language within a short time. But the alterations that occur from these and other causes obey certain laws; and hence the possibility of a Science of Language.

Now, by the operation of influences such as these, Sanskrit was, in very remote times, corrupted, and new dialects arose from it. We should have known nothing of these if they had not been preserved in their literatures. Of these dialects that which approaches Sanskrit the most is the Pali. This is the sacred language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, Siam, and Burma, and possesses an extensive literature.

I will introduce my remarks on this dialect by placing before you a specimen :—

सावत्थियं किर अदिण्णपुब्बको नाम ब्राह्मणो अहोसि। तेन कस्साचि किंचिद-दिण्णपुब्बं तेन तं अदिण्णपुब्बको त्वेव सं जानिंसु। तस्सेकपुत्तको अहोसि पियो मनापो। .....तस्स सोळसवस्सकाले पण्डुरोगो उदपादि। माता पुत्तं ओलोकेत्वा ब्राह्मण पुत्तस्स ते रोगो उप्पन्नो तिकिच्छापेहि नन्ति आह। भोति सचे वेज्जं आनेस्सामि भत्तवेतनं दातब्बं भविस्सति। त्वं मम धनच्छेदनं न ओलोकेसीति। अथ किं करिस्ससि ब्राह्मणा ति। यथा मे धनच्छेदो न होति तथा करिस्सामीति। सो वेज्जानं सन्तिकं गन्त्वा अमुकरोगस्स नाम तुम्हे किं भेसज्जं करोथाति पुच्छि। अथस्स ते यं वा तं वा रुक्खत-च्चादिं आचिक्खन्ति। सो तं आहरित्वा पुत्तस्स भेसज्जं करोति। तं करोन्तस्सेवस्स रोगो बलवा अहोसि।

This is from the Aṭṭhakathā or commentary by Buddhaghosa on the Dhammapada. It was written in the fifth century after Christ, long after Pali had ceased to be a vernacular. The following is from the Dhammapada itself, which we have reason to believe is much more ancient :—

129. सब्बे तसन्ति दण्डस्स सब्बे भायन्ति मच्चुनो।
अत्तानं उपमं कत्वा न हनेय्या न घातये॥

131. सुखकामानि भूतानि यो दण्डेन विहिंसति।
अत्तनो सुखमेसानो पेच्च सो न लभते सुखं॥

133. मा वोच फरुसं कञ्चि वुत्ता पटिवदेय्यु तं ।
दुक्खा हि सारम्भकथा पटिदण्डा फुसेय्यु तं ॥

134. सचे नेरेसि अत्तानं कंसो उपहतो यथा ।
एस पत्तोसि निब्बानं सारम्भो ते न विज्जति ॥

The Sanskrit of these passages is as follows :—

श्रावस्त्यां किलादत्तपूर्वको नाम ब्राह्मणोभूत् । तेन कस्मैचित्किंचिददत्तपूर्वं तेन तमदत्तपूर्वकस्त्वेव समज्ञासत । तस्यैकपुत्रकोभूत्प्रियो मनोज्ञः । तस्य षोडशवर्षकाले पाण्डुरोग उदपादि । माता पुत्रमवलोक्य ब्राह्मण पुत्रस्य ते रोग उत्पन्नश्चिकित्सयैनमित्याह । भवति स चेद्दैयमानेष्यामि भक्तवेतनं दातव्यं भविष्यति । त्वं मम धनच्छेदनं नावलोकयसि । अथ किं करिष्यसि ब्राह्मणेति । यथा मे धनच्छेदो न भवति तथा करिष्यामीति । स वैद्यानामन्तिकं गत्वास्मुकरोगस्य नाम यूयं किं भैषज्यं कुरुथेत्यप्राक्षीत् । अथास्य ते यद्वा तद्वा वृक्षत्वगाद्याचक्षते । स तदाहृत्य पुत्रस्य भैषज्यं करोति । तत्कुर्वत एवास्य रोगो बलवानभूत् ।

129. सर्वे त्रसन्ति दण्डस्य सर्वे बिभ्यति मृत्योः ।
आत्मानमुपमां कृत्वा न हन्यान्न घातयेत् ॥

131. सुखकामानि भूतानि यो दण्डेन विहिनस्ति ।
आत्मनः सुखमिच्छन्प्रेत्य स न लभते सुखम् ॥

133. मा वोचः परुषं कंचिदुक्ताः प्रतिवदेयुस्त्वाम् ।
दुःखा हि संरम्भकथा प्रतिदण्डाः स्पृशेयुस्त्वाम् ॥

134. स चेन्नेरयस्यात्मानं कांस्यमुपहतं यथा ।
एष प्राप्तोसि निर्वाणं संरम्भस्ते न विद्यते ॥

"In Śrāvastī there was a Brahman of the name of Adattapūrvaka (literally 'one who had not given away anything before'). He never gave anything to anybody, whence they called him Adattapūrvaka. A son was born to him, pleasing and delightful. When he was sixteen years old, he got jaundice. Seeing the son thus, the mother said, "O Brahman, your son has got a disease, put him under medical treatment." "Lady, if I get a physician, food and salary will have to be given to him. You do not see that this will entail expense" (lit. lessen my money). "What then will you do, Brahman?" "I will do what will not involve expense" (lessen my money). He then went to physicians and asked, "What medicine do you use against such and such a disease?" They spoke to him at random of the bark of some tree. He brought it and gave it as a medicine to his son. As he went on doing so, the disease was aggravated."

129. "All are afraid of being hurt, all fear death. Taking one's own self as a model, one should not kill and cause to be killed."

131. "He, who looking to his own happiness, inflicts injury upon creatures that equally desire their happiness, does not obtain felicity after death."

133. "Do not speak harshly to anybody; they may speak to you in return. For angry altercation is painful, and revenge will overtake you."

134. "If then, like a bottom of a shattered metallic vessel, you will not stir yourself (utter), then you have reached Nirvāṇa, and you will have no angry altercation."

(A)

PHONOLOGY OF THE PALI DIALECT

Here you will see a great many instances of the laws we laid down in the last lecture. And first, as regards phonetic corruption, we have in these passages त्त for त्र as in पुत्त for पुत्र, for क्क as in भक्त for भक्र, and for प्प as in पत्त for प्राप्त, and प्प for त्प as in उप्पन्न for उत्पन्न. This change is usually called assimilation of consonants.

In pronouncing a conjunct, one has to pass from one position of the vocal organs to another without letting off the breath checked or compressed in the first, an operation of great difficulty. The sound of the first member is indistinct, but when the second is a weak consonant such as a nasal or a semi-vowel, it glides into the first almost as a vowel does, and thus the sound of the first acquires greater prominence. In the first position, the vocal organs strike and press againt each other strongly, and the momentum necessary for this effort is acquired by uttering forcibly and with a jerk the vowel that precedes the conjunct, *i. e.* अ for instance in the word भक्र, just as a man previous to striking and pressing anything with his fist moves the hand with force through some distance. The previous forcible vowel breath and the subsequent strong contact and pressure form the characteristic of a conjunct consonantal sound. This is the only way of rendering the two members at all distinct, for the first is thus uttered with the preceding vowel and the second with the following,

Thus, भक्त if pronounced in the manner I have described becomes भक्-त, but, if the previous vowel sound is weak, it becomes भ-क्त, in which case, in consequence of the absence of momentum, the pressure cannot be strong, and the conjunct character is not fully brought out.

What we find in the Pali, therefore, is that the passage from one vocal position to another is avoided, and the more distinct sound only, whether of the first member or the second, is pronounced with this forcible previous vowel breath and the succeeding strong contact and pressure; that is, we have a conjunct as before, but it is made up not of two different letters, but of two of the same kind. Hence the instances noted above and also धम्म for धर्म, जम्म for जन्म, यज्ञ for यज्ञ, सद्द for शब्द, दुद्ध for दुग्ध, खग्ग for खड्ग, मुग्ग for मुद्ग, अब्भुत for अद्भुत, लद्ध for लब्ध, उक्का for उल्का, अप्प for अल्प, तप्पन for तर्पण, अय्य for आर्य &c. But an attempt is made to pronounce the other sound also, and such of its elements as can go in, with that which is uttered without involving change of position, are transferred to it, that is, in effect, the Pali speaker treated a conjunct consonant as one sound possessing the characteristics of both. Thus the heavy *śvāsa* or simple breath of स्, श्, and ष् in the conjuncts स्क्, ष्क्, श्च्, ष्ट्, स्त्, स्प् and ष्प् is combined with the distinct sounds क्, च्, ट्, त्, and प्, and we have ख्, छ्, ठ्, थ्, and फ् for those conjuncts; but, when preceded by a vowel and pronounced with the usual conjunctal characteristic, they become क्ख्, च्छ्, ट्ठ्, त्थ् and प्फ्; as in सावत्थियं for श्रावस्त्याम् and फुसेय्यु for स्पृशेयुः in the above, and in खन्ध for स्कन्ध, पोक्खर for पुष्कर, पच्छा for पश्चात्, अच्छरिय for आश्चर्य, दिट्ठ for दिष्ट, पुट्ठ for पुष्ट, मत्थक for मस्तक, वत्थु for वस्तु, फन्दन for स्पन्दन, and पुप्फ for पुष्प.

In न्, श्, ष्, स्, ह्, and ष्, the consonantal portion of the distinct sounds, being made up of *nāda* or intonated breath, the heavy *śvāsa* or simple breath of the sibilant is first made heavy *nāda*, that is, the sibilant is changed to the aspirate ह् and we have न्ह्, ण्ह् or म्ह् for these conjuncts; as in पञ्ह for प्रश्न, उण्ह for उष्ण, अम्हि for अस्मि, अम्ह for अस्म, and गिम्ह for ग्रीष्म. These correspond to the ख्, छ् &c., in the above instances, and must, like them, be considered as simple sounds, and in our modern languages they are pronounced as such in certain places; but when preceded by

a vowel they must have, as in other cases, the characteristic of conjunctal sounds, and be pronounced as न्ह, ण्ह or म्ह though they are not so written.

I have already observed that when a following semi-vowel or nasal glides into the sound of the first consonant, this latter acquires prominence. But there are cases in which the semi-vowel य् does not so merge into the preceding; and this takes place when it is preceded by a dental mute. The palatal य् and the labial व् have since remote times been often pronounced in two ways;—one in which the organs approach each other so closely that it is difficult to distinguish them from ज् and ब्; and another in which they are kept more distant. Hence the confusion between य् and ज् and व् and ब् that we find so often in modern pronunciation and in the modern languages. The Bengali invariably makes ब् of the Sanskrit व् and in most cases ज् of य् and the people of Northern India follow him to a great extent. In the Hindi we have many such forms as जमुना for यमुना, बांस for वंश, बांझ for वन्ध्या.

The heavy or close pronunciation of य्, is favoured by a preceding dental. In pronouncing letters of this class the tongue is nearly horizontal. Consequently, when after the formation of the dental mute it is moved upwards to form य्, the force with which it separates from the teeth carries it nearer to the palate than it should be. In the cerebral position, in which, the tongue forms a curve with the concave side inwards, the force with which its tip separates acts downwards; hence if a य् has to be pronounced afterwards, the effort is in no way aided, but, if possible, hindered. In this case, therefore, the य् is always light; and for a similar reason, it is so when preceded by a guttural. It is also light when preceded by the dental न्, since a large portion of the obstructed breath passes through the nose, and the tongue is not separated from the teeth with any force. Thus in the word वैद्य in the passage I have placed before you, and in अद्य, पद्य &c., the य्, being heavy, does not glide or merge into द्, and, being the latter of two successive consonantal sounds, acquires greater distinctness; and the preceding sound must, in virtue of the laws we have been examining, communicate all its elements to it, except

of course the organic position. The element that is communicated in this case is the complete contact, wherefore the heavy य् becomes a complete ज्, and this, when pronounced like a conjunct becomes ज्ज्. In such words as मध्य, वध्य, उपाध्याय &c., the preceding has got its heaviness of *nāda* or tone to communicate besides the complete contact, and thus the ज् becomes झ् and thence ज्झ्; and so we have मज्झ, वज्झ, उपज्झाय &c. In मृत्यु, प्रेत्य, सत्य &c., to the ज् formed as above must be added the hardness or *śvāsa* of त्, i. e. the letter ज् must be pronounced not with the glottis contracted but stretched, wherefore we have च् and, with the conjunctal characteristic, च्. Those words therefore become मच्चु, पेच्च, and सच्च. If थ् precedes instead of त्, the heavy *śvāsa* required for its pronunciation is transferred to ज्, and so it becomes छ्, and thence च्छ; as in रच्छा for रथ्या, नेपच्छ for नेपथ्य &c.

The semi-vowel व् is also heavily pronounced when it forms a conjunct with another semi-vowel, and thus we have पुब्ब for पूर्व, सब्ब for सर्व, &c. There are also instances of this pronunciation when व् is preceded by a dental mute as in उब्बेग for उद्वेग, सब्भि for सद्भिः &c. In ऊर्ध्व the preceding ध्, as in मध्य, transfers its heavy *nāda* or tone to व्, and makes it भ्, and so we have उब्भ; but ऊर्ध्व is changed उद्ध also.

The conjunct क्ष् or क्ष् must in some cases have been pronounced in ancient times like कश्, as it is invariably so pronounced by the lower classes of the Marathi people at the present day. This latter sound is easier to be made than क्ष्, first because the passage from the guttural position of क् to the palatal which is nearest to it is more natural than that to the more distant cerebral position of ष्, and also because, in the latter case, after the guttural contact, the tongue has to be rounded and the tip brought near the cerebral position. Thus, the whole weight of that organ has to be supported; while in the case of कश्, when its middle approaches the palatal position in pronouncing श्, the forepart falls into a natural position, and no effort is required to hold it there. Now in this कश्, the sound of श्, being the latter of the two, is by the general rule more distinct than the other; and the complete contact of क् being transferred to it, it becomes छ्, because sibilants are produced by the heavy *śvāsa* as the hard

aspirates are, and thence च्छ ; as in तच्छक for तक्षक, छण for क्षण in the sense of 'a festival', छुद्द for क्षुद्र, &c.

In such words as वत्स and अप्सरस्, the prevailing sound is that of स् which, with the complete contact of the preceding त् and प्, ought to become थ्, as श् becomes छ् in the above case, on the theory that स् is a dental. But it is not properly a dental, since it is formed not at the root of the upper teeth as त्, थ्, द् &c. are, but considerably above, and not by the tip of the tongue but by a part of it further inwards, which is made into a curve, having its convex side upwards, and brought near to that position. In this last respect it resembles the palatals, though the part of the tongue employed in their case is still further inwards, i. e. the middle. The sibilant स् therefore, has no mute corresponding to it in the sounds of the Sanskrit and Pali languages. The Marathi dento-palatals 'च्, 'छ्, 'ज्, 'झ् answer to it completely, being formed in the same position as itself ; so that स्, when the organic contact is complete, should become the Marathi 'छ्. But these sounds are unknown to the Pali ; the speakers of that language could not pronounce the Marathi dento-palatals, as the Gujaratis and other northern nations cannot at the present day, and just as these turn them into pure palatals, so did their ancestors. Hence, that sound which should properly be the dento-palatal 'छ् become the palatal छ्, and we have वच्छ for वत्स, अच्छरा for अप्सरस् and मच्छर for मत्सर.

The dentals following a र् in a Sanskrit word are in Pali often changed to cerebrals; as in वड्ढति for वर्धते, वट्टति for वर्तते, छड्डेति for छर्दयति, अट्ठ for अर्थ &c. Here, as in the cases we have examined, the distinct sound is by the general rule the second, as we may observe even from the optional form वत्तति for वर्तते, and अत्थ for अर्थ. But, as before remarked, in all these Pali transformations of Sanskrit conjuncts we see an attempt to pronounce both the members. When the speaker, being about to put the vocal organs into the position necessary for the utterance of the first letter, which he has first heard though indistinctly, sees that the second which he has distinctly heard cannot be produced there, he gives it up, and then passes immediately to the next position. But if, at the first, he thinks he can produce something like the second sound, which he has distinctly heard, he pro-

nounces the letter there, and does not give up that position. Thus in pronouncing तर्, he feels that nothing like the sound प् can be produced at the position of र्, and hence gives it up and passing on to the lips forms तप्; but in वर्त् the ट् that he pronounces at the cerebral point sounds a great deal more like त् than प्, and therefore he does not pass on to the dental position. But such of the Pali speakers as could distinguish between त् and ट् did not stop at the cerebral position to pronounce their conjunct, but passed on to the dental; hence the optional forms we have noticed.

Such words as मित्र, सत्र, भद्र, &c., differ from वर्ध, वर्त् &c., in having the र् after the distinct sound, so that the speaker resorts first to the dental position, and uttering the distinct sound there, is not carried away by the following र् to the cerebral position, the sound of र् being weaker. But if in the same word a dental follows such a conjunct, that dental is changed to the corresponding cerebral; as in पटि for प्रति and पठम for प्रथम. The cerebral element of these words has made a distinct impression on the speaker's ear, and he is conscious that his transformation of प्र into प, which was necessitated by his inherent inability to pronounce the two consonants together, has not brought it out. He therefore realizes it by changing the following ति and थ to टि and ठ. But if a consonant of another species follows, or if the conjunct ends the word, he cannot give effect to this impression.

The conjuncts in which the second sound is weak and consequently gives way to the first are क्य्, ख्य्, ग्य्, प्य्, भ्य्, श्य्, स्य्, क्र्, ग्र्, त्र्, द्र, ध्र्, प्र्, भ्र्, श्र्, स्र्, क्ल्, क्लज्व्, त्व्, द्व्, ध्व्, श्व्, &c., which have a semi-vowel for their latter member, and ङ्, ञ्, ण्, न्, &c., which have a nasal. Thus we have सक्क for शक्य or शाक्य, अक्खान for आख्यान, योग्ग for योग्य, कुप्प for कुप्य, अब्भन्तर for अभ्यन्तर, पस्सति for पश्यति, तस्स for तस्य, सक्क for शक्र, अग्ग for अग्र, मित्त for मित्र, अद्दक for आर्द्रक, गिद्ध for गृध्र, विप्प for विप्र, अब्भ for अभ्र, अस्सम for आश्रम, अस्सव for आस्रव, सुक्क for शुक्र, पक्क for पक्व, पज्जलति for प्रज्वलति, नीलत्त for नीलत्व, विद्देस for विद्वेष, अद्धा for अध्वा, अस्स for अश्व, &c., and अग्गि for अग्नि, अत्ता for आत्मा, छद्द for छद्म, सोप्प for स्वप्न, &c. The semi-vowel य् after न् in going out turns the न् into the palatal ञ्, this latter representing the combined effect of both; as in अञ्ञ for अन्य, राजञ्ञ for राजन्य, &c.

We have noticed above the change of क्ष् to च्छ्, but more frequently it is transformed into क्ख्. This change is due to the latter ष् being pronounced not incorrectly like श्, but correctly as a cerebral sound, which being hollow and distinguishable, is lost in the sound of ख्. This last is distinctly heard, and the effect of ष् is only to add heavy *śvāsa* to it and render it ख; and thus the whole becomes क्ख as in रुक्ख for वृक्ष, लक्खण for लक्षण, पक्ख for पक्ष, &c. Upon the principles we have laid down, it does not matter whether the Sanskrit conjunct is composed of two or three consonants, since what is done in the Pali is to reproduce only the distinct consonantal sound with the other attendant characteristics; and thus we have ण्ह for क्ष्ण or र्ष्ण as in सण्ह for श्लक्ष्ण and पण्हि for पार्ष्णि, and म्ह for क्ष्म as in पम्ह for पक्ष्म, in which words the last is the distinct sound, and क्ख for क्ष्म as in लक्खी for लक्ष्मी, where the म् must have been pronounced so as to merge into the preceding क्ष्.

A Sanskrit conjunct at the beginning of a word is reduced to a single letter; and the reason is obvious. For, as I have already observed, the distinctive characteristic of a conjunct consists in the previous vowel being pronounced with rapidity and force, and in the subsequent strong pressure of the vocal organs, which is rendered possible by the momentum acquired by that forcible utterance. It is the reproduction of this characteristic that makes a single consonant that is pronounced at any one of the vocal positions look like a double. When a previous vowel does not exist, that is, when a conjunct begins a word, this characteristic cannot be reproduced; hence there is no double consonant. Thus, we have खलित for स्खलित, कमेण for क्रमेण, भमर for भ्रमर, फस्स for स्पर्श, &c.

You will have seen that in all the changes of conjunct consonants which we have examined, no element of the two sounds is omitted by the Pali speakers. They had not the patience to hear and reproduce the two consonants immediately after each other, by putting their vocal organs into two different positions, or they laboured under a physical inaptitude for doing so, their tongue not being sufficiently trained for the successive movements. But short of this, all the constituents of the sound, the *śvāsa*, light and

heavy, the completeness of contact, and the force of utterance, are represented in their pronunciation, and the amount of muscular exertion involved is the same as in the case of the original. This may be called the energetic mode of pronouncing conjuncts.

There are, however, a few instances in which the components are separated by inserting a vowel between them. Thus Sanskrit सूक्ष्म is changed to सुखुम, औष्मिक to ओसुमिक, श्लेष्म to सिलेसुम, स्मरति to सुमरति, श्री and ह्री to सिरी and हिरी, बैल्व to बेलुव and औपश्लेषिक to ओपसिलेसिक. The separating vowel is generally such as can be easily pronounced along with the previous or the following consonant, that is, belongs to the same organic position as either. Thus in the first four instances we have the labial उ in the syllables खु and सु owing to the influence of the following म्.

The conjuncts र्य and र्ह are almost invariably dissolved into रिय् and रह् as in कारिय, अरिय, सुरिय, विरिय &c. and अरह, गरहा, बरिह &c. for कार्य, अर्य or आर्य, सूर्य, वीर्य &c. and अर्ह, गर्हा, बर्ह &c.; and in one or two instances, we have the first change when the य् is preceded by a consonant other than र् as in चैतिय for चैत्य. This change is to some extent due to the य् being pronounced weak, *i. e.* almost like इ.

In the same way, we have सिलोक, सिलेस, सिलाघा, किलेस, किलन्त, गिलान, मिलान, पिलुवति, सुपिन, सिनिद्ध, नहान or सिनान &c. for श्लोक, श्लेष, श्लाघा, क्लेश, क्लान्त, ग्लान, म्लान, प्लवति, स्वप्न, स्निग्ध, स्नान &c. This mode of utterance wants the force of the one we have examined, but both the sounds of a conjunct are clearly reproduced in it. You will have observed that the second member of the conjunct dissolved in this way is what may be called an imperfect consonant, *i. e.* a semi-vowel, aspirate, or nasal, in pronouncing which the breath is not completely stopped. They therefore act like a vowel, and render the sound of the first consonant comparatively distinct and audible, but are not so weak themselves as to melt away into that sound. Hence both the sounds are audible; but the Pali speaker not being able to put his vocal organs into two consonantal positions successively, as we have seen, reproduced the two sounds by interposing a vowel between them. But when in some cases the second member was weakly pronounced, it melted away into the first, and so we have the optional forms विस्सरति for विस्मरति, सेह्म for श्लेष्म, सोप्प for स्वप्न &c. When, however, its pronunciation

became stronger than that of the first, it prevailed, and so we have कय्य for कार्य and अय्य for आर्य.

Some conjuncts appear also unchanged in this dialect; as ब्र in the words ब्रह्म, ब्रवीति and ब्रूहेति, व्य in व्याधि, व्यग्घ, व्यग्ग &c., ध्रु in ध्रुवङ्ग, ध्रुवति, and ध्रुव, स्न in स्नेह &c., Such as have a nasal for their first member and a mute for the second are also unchanged, since the nasal, even according to the rules of Sanskrit, belongs to the same organic position as the mute.

We will now proceed to notice the changes of single consonants. An unaspirate is changed to an aspirate when it is followed in the same word by a sibilant; as in फरसु for परशु, फरुस for परुष, फुस्स for पुष्य, सुखुमार for सुकुमार, थुस for तुष &c. The heavy *śvāsa* that forms a constituent of the sibilant sound has made such a strong impression on the ear of the hearer, that he immediately prepares himself to let it out, and thus uses it even in pronouncing the letters which precede the sibilant and do not require it. The pronunciation of a word is rendered easier by transferring one of the elements of a sound to another or others, that is, by assimilating them to each other as much as possible. In a few instances the simple breath or *śvāsa* of a previous surd is transferred to the following, originally a sonant, as in थकेति for स्थगयति. The cerebral unaspirated sonant ड् between two vowels is softened into the corresponding semi-vowel ळ्ह, as in ताळन for ताडन, पीळन for पीडन, तळाक for तडाक &c. This peculiarity. distinguished the old Vedic Sanskrit also; and the sound exists in the modern Marathi and Gujarati, though it is unknown to the other vernaculars.

I have already given instances in which the cerebral र् of a previous syllable in going out changes the dental of the following to the cerebral, and to these I may now add निगण्ठ for निर्ग्रन्थ, वण्ट for वृन्त, कट for कृत &c. In some instances, this change takes place without such an influencing cause, as in डसति and डंस for दशति and दंश, and डाह for दाह. The same phenomenon is observable in some conjuncts, as in विदड्ढ for विदग्ध, हेट्ठा for अधस्तात् and ठा or ट्ठा for स्था in the several derivatives from that root as ठाति, ठायी, उट्ठान &c. The dental nasal न् is also similarly changed to ण् in a few cases, as in याणु, ओणत, ओणीत, सणिकं for ज्ञान, अवनत, अवनीत, शनकैः &c. The operation of this process is very limited, but still it

exists, and cannot be accounted for in any other way than by supposing that the vocal organs or the vocal habits of the Pali speakers were more adapted for the production of cerebral sounds, or, in other words, the people had a natural aptitude for them.

Sanskrit श् and ष् are changed to स्, which is the only sibilant in the language. This change involves an economy of effort. The tongue in its several movements becomes a lever with the fulcrum at the inner end where it is fixed in the mouth, and the weight in its centre of gravity. The advantage increases with the distance from the fulcrum of the point which is moved, that is, the point where power is applied. Hence gutturals are the most disadvantageous, palatals next, and dentals, the least. The cerebrals being pronounced by rounding the tongue and raising it very high, it is a question whether this additional effort does not neutralise the advantage they possess over the palatals by their position being more distant. Thus स् is the weakest of the sibilants. But in the Pali the change is so universal, that we must suppose a special inaptitude in the speakers of that language for pronouncing श् and ष्, as we had to suppose in the case of the conjuncts.

When, however, in a few cases, the peculiarity of the palatal श् was distinctly preceived, and it was felt that the substituted स् did not bring it out, that sibilant was changed to the corresponding mute of its position, *i. e.* to छ्, which resembles श् in the heaviness of the simple breath required for pronouncing it. We have thus छव for शव, छक for शकृत् and छाप for शाव. The change of षष् 'six' to छ is also to be similarly accounted for.

I have already remarked that sometimes ष् must at an early period have been pronounced very much like श्. Besides these changes there are solitary instances of others, such as the softening or toning of surds as in मृग for मृक, or the dropping of the mute element of the sonant aspirates as in होति and हेट्ठा for भवति and अधस्तात्. But these will be more fully discussed in connection with the Prakrits and the vernaculars, in which these processes have a much wider range.

The vowel ऋ is changed to अ as in कसि for कृषि, तण्हा for तृष्णा, गह for गृह, घत for घृत, मच्चु for मृत्यु &c.; to इ as in दिट्ठ for दृष्ट, तिण for

तृण, मिग for मृग, तित्ति for तृप्ति, गिद्ध for गृध्र &c.; and to उ as in भुस for भृश, मुदु for मृदु, मुसा for मृषा, वुस for वृष, वुट्ठि for वृष्टि &c. The last change generally takes place when the vowel is preceded by a labial; so that the vocal position of the consonant influences that of the vowel. When there is no such influence, it is changed to अ and इ. Now, the vowel ऋ is composed of a consonantal and a vowel element, the former of which is subordinated to the latter. On this account it does not give to the consonant to which it is added the character of a conjunct, and the preceding vowel is not rendered heavy[1]. In Pali this consonantal element disappears in virtue of the inherent inability, which we have considered at such length, of passing from one vocal position to another without letting off the breath; but the previous consonant is not doubled because the usual character of a conjunct is absent. Or the disappearance may be accounted for by the fact that the consonantal element is so subordinated to the vowel element as to escape notice, and that the letter, as a whole, is difficult to pronounce. The vowel element of ऋ is pronounced by bringing the root of the tongue in contact with the root of the palate, *i. e.* in the position of the gutturals; and is unrepresented independently in the Sanskrit or Pali alphabet. Hence it is pronounced either lower down, in the position of अ, or higher up, in that of इ, while it is sometimes carried so far to the outside as the position of उ, especially when a labial precedes. That the cerebral or र् element did exist, and was occasionally preceived by the Pali speakers is proved by such examples as रिते for ऋते and रुक्ख for वृक्ष, and also by the circumstance that in some cases, though it disappears, it changes the following dental to a cerebral, as in वड्ढि for वृद्धि, विसट for विसृत, कट for कृत &c. From these observations it would appear that the vowel we have been considering must have been in those days pronounced just in the manner in which Marathi Pandits of the present day pronounce it, and not like अर्, इर्, र् or रि as is supposed by several European

1 This fact is accounted for by the authors and the commentators of the Prātiśākhyas by supposing that the vowel element envelops the र् on all sides i. e. precedes it and follows it. (See Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, in Indische Studien, Volume V, p. 145; and Atharva-Prātiśākhya, edited by Whitney I, 37.)

scholars. If घृत were really घर्त, or मृग, मिर्ग, the Pali corruptions would be घत्त or मिग्ग; and if सुकृत were सुकृत, or तादृश were तादृिश, we should have सुक्कत or तद्दिश instead of सुकत and तादिस, and there is no reason why ऋतु and ऋषि should have lost their र् and become उतु and इसि if they were really pronounced like रितु or रतु and रिषि or रषि.[1]

The sounds of the Sanskrit diphthongs ऐ and औ are like those of अइ and अउ uttered rapidly, *i. e.* without allowing any appreciable time to elapse between the two elements. In forming अ, the tongue and the lips are in a natural position, the lips, however, not being closed but a little opened; while इ requires that the middle of the tongue should be brought close to the palate, and उ, that the lips should be completely rounded. Hence, in pronouncing ऐ and औ it is necessary to pass from one vocal position *immediately* to another, a process of which, as we have seen, the Pali speakers were incapable. These diphthongs are therefore changed to ए and ओ which partake of the character of both the components. In the formation of ए the tongue is not horizontal as in the case of अ; its middle is raised up but not brought so close to the palate as in the case of इ. Similarly, in pronouncing ओ the lips are not so completely rounded as in the formation of उ; neither are they in a natural position as in the case of अ. These sounds, therefore, being produced in a position between those of अ and इ, and अ and उ, combine the characteristics of both, but are simple, *i. e.*, formed in one position only. Thus we have सेल for शैल, तेल for तैल, केवट्ट for कैवर्त, खोम for क्षौम, कोसेय्य for कौशेय, मोलि for मौलि &c. Similarly अय and अव frequently become ए and ओ; as in कथेति for कथयति, पूजेति for पूजयति, नेति for नयति, ओधि for अवधि, ओकास for अवकाश, नोनीत for नवनीत &c. The sounds of these dissyllables differ from those of ऐ and औ in this respect, that the अ of the former is not rapidly pronounced as is that involved in these diphthongs; or, in the words of the grammarians, the value of the first अ is one *mātrā* and of the other one-half. In the same way the अ of the two dissyllables is followed by the semi-vowel य् and व्, while that of ऐ and औ has the corresponding vowels इ and उ after it. When

1 The explanation of this vowel sound and the others that follow is based upon the mode in which we Marathas pronounce them at the present day, and which is sanctioned by the Prātiśākhyas.

अय and अव are hastily pronounced, this distinction disappears, and these dissyllables assume the form of the diphthongs ऐ and औ, which by the rule just discussed become ए and ओ.

A long vowel is shortened when it is followed by a double consonant; as in मग्ग for मार्ग, पत्त for प्राप्त, इक्खण for ईक्षण, कित्ति for for कीर्ति, तिव्ब for तीव्र, रुक्ख for रूक्ष, मुत्त for मूत्र &c. The strong pressure that is necessary for the pronunciation of a conjunct cannot be properly exerted, as formerly observed, without momentum, for the acquisition of which the previous vowel has to be uttered with force and with a jerk. For this purpose a short vowel alone is fitted, but if a long one precedes, its utterance being by its nature slow and weak, the organs for want of momentum do not strike against each other with force, and hence the pressure they exert is weak. But the Pali speaker, catching from his Sanskrit teacher only the generally strong nature of the pressure involved in the utterance of conjuncts, realized it to the fullest possible extent, without stopping to observe how much it was impaired by the length of the previous vowel, by pronouncing the previous vowel with force and rapidity, and thus rendering it short. And in this way the real quantity of the syllable is not diminished. Though the vowel is short, the vocal organs take some time to emerge from the close contact, and the strong pressure resulting from its forcible utterance, and hence the whole syllable इक्, for instance, in इक्खण, has the metrical value of a long vowel, *i. e.* is equal to two *mātrās* or syllabic instants. In the original ईक्षण, on the contrary, the pressure in the pronunciation of क्ष, being weaker in consequence of the slowness of the previous vowel utterance, occupies less time; so that in the one case the shortness of the vowel is accompanied by a longer duration of the contact, and in the other the length of the vowel is attended by a shorter duration of the contact. The change, then, we have been considering, is due to the pressure necessary for the formation of the conjunctal sounds in these words having made a strong impression on the ear of the Pali speaker. When, however, the length of the vowel prevailed, and neutralized the pressure to such an extent as to render it incapable of attracting attention, the conjunct came to be in the condition of one standing at the beginning of a word; and, like it, preserved only the more distinct sound and dropped the other, leaving the long vowel unchanged.

We have thus सीस for शीर्ष, दीघ for दीर्घ, सासप for सर्षप, &c. It is, however, clear that a long vowel followed by a double consonant is an impossibility in Pali. A Sanskrit conjunct, whenever it made a distinct impression, was pronounced with the usual characteristics of that sound, viz., the previous rapid and forcible vowel utterance and the subsequent strong contact and strong pressure, the perceptible effect of which was the shortening of the previous vowel and the doubling of the following consonant.

Without the momentum acquired from the force and rapidity of the previous vowel utterance, the Pali speaker could not form a strong contact and exert strong pressure, that is, without a short preceding vowel they could not pronounce a double consonant. If then the Pali has such words as तेत्तिस (त्रयस्त्रिंशत्), सेट्ठि (श्रेष्ठिन्), नेत्त (नेत्र), सोत्थिय (श्रोत्रिय) योग्गा (योग्या), मोक्ख &c., it follows that the vowels ए and ओ were in such cases pronounced short. Similarly, when before doubles इ and उ are changed to them, as they often are, they must be short. This change of इ and उ to ए and ओ arises from the fact that the force and rapidity of the jerk with which the current of breath is sent up to pronounce the former vowels, is apt to prevent the tongue from rising as close to the palate or the lower lip to the upper, as is necessary for the formation of इ or उ, or they are apt to be forced down by the current. And ए and ओ differ from इ and उ simply in the distance between the pronouncing organs being greater. This change, therefore, really involves an economy, since the effort to raise up the tongue and the lower lip, across the strong current of breath blowing above, is saved. We have thus, ओट्ठ for उष्ट्र, पोक्खर for पुष्कर, पोत्थक for पुस्तक, सोण्ड for शुण्ड, नेक्ख for निष्क, नेत्तिंस for निस्त्रिंश, वेस्सभू for विश्वभू &c. In some cases both vowels are in use, as in the word नेक्ख which has another form निक्ख. Sometimes, especially before य, ए was invariably pronounced short, though no conjunct followed, and to make up for the loss of quantity thus occasioned the consonant was doubled; as in थेय्य for स्थेय, गेय्य for गेय, कोसेय्य for कौशेय &c. The vowel ओ was also similarly treated in a few cases, as in ओस्सजति for अवसृजति. Thus then not only has the Pali a short ए and ओ, but the speakers of the language seem to have possessed a predilection for those sounds. Besides the changes we have examined, there are stray

examples of others, such as उसु and उच्छु for इषु and इक्षु, in which the उ of the following syllable influences the utterance of the first vowel, सोप्प for स्वप्न, in which the semi-vowel व् is dissolved into the corresponding vowel उ, and thence transformed to short ओ, मोर for मयूर, in which the य् being lightly pronounced loses its consonantal character and the vowel ऊ with the preceding अ forms ओ, and others.

You will thus have observed that the phonetic changes which Sanskrit words undergo in passing into the Pali may be brought under a few general rules. There are not such various and extensive corruptions both of vowels and consonants as we find in the later dialects and in the modern vernaculars. It has been estimated that two-fifths of the Pali vocabulary are composed of pure Sanskrit words, and the remaining three-fifths, of words altered in one or other of the modes explained above. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is, that when the Pali was in use, the tradition of the original Sanskrit was not distant; the words, so to say, did not stray away long from the mother-language, so as to undergo extensive alterations. If so, how is it that some of the changes such as the transformation of ऐ and औ into ए and ओ and the assimilation of consonants are so universal, the first being without any exception, and the second with but a few unimportant ones? The principle which guides phonetic change is the economy of effort, understanding the word in its widest sense. This economy is observable in the two kinds of changes, as well as in the transformation of surds into sonants, the elision of consonants or of some of their elements, the assimilation of the vowels or the single consonants that make up a word, and in several other processes. But in the Pali there are very few instances of some of these, and none at all of others. The language had not a sufficiently long duration of independent existence to bring them into extensive operation. If, then, the two processes we have noticed are found in full play in that dialect, the reason must be sought for in the vocal peculiarities of the people who spoke it. Though they heard conjunct consonants and the diphthongs ऐ and औ pronounced by the speakers of Sanskrit, as correctly as the other letters which they did not corrupt, their organs were not fitted to utter them. These peculiarities may have been natural or acquired. If natural, the people

who first corrupted Sanskrit into the Pali must have belonged to an alien race which came into close contact with the Āryas and learnt their language. If they were acquired, a branch of the same Āryan race must be supposed to have been isolated in some part of the country, and to have developed them, in consequence of being cut off from the main body. But this supposition must be rejected for the reasons that have been already given. Such complete isolation as could give rise to new vocal peculiarities must be expected to have occasioned greater phonetic decay in other respects than is observable in the Pali. And our analysis of the Sanskrit conjunctal and the Pali double sounds favours the first view. For, we have seen that these latter represent all the elements of the former, but they are combined in a sound produced in one vocal position only. The Pali speakers endeavoured to reproduce the sound of a conjuct faithfully, their pronunciation was not weak, as is that prevailing in modern times, but energetic and correct in every other respect; but they could not combine energy of utterance with two successive movements of the vocal organs. This could only be because their organs were not sufficiently trained for the purpose; in other words, because the sounds were foreign to them. The condition of men who have to learn the language of others is similar to that of children, whose organs of speech are being exercised for the first time. Healthy children, whose utterance is energetic, pronounce the conjuncts almost in the same way as the Pali speakers did. And there is another instance in History of an alien race having treated the sounds of the language of a civilized community in just the same way. The Barbarians who overran Italy and developed the Italian from the Latin, showed the same inability to pronounce the Latin conjuncts, and assimilated them as our Pali ancestors did.

If this supposition is correct, we must find other traces of the peculiarities of this alien race. And such we do find. The existence of the short ए and ओ in the Pali, and the predilection the people showed for them, as well as the change of dentals to cerebrals without any influencing cause, are similarly to be attributed to the natural vocal tendencies of the people. These sounds must have existed and played an important part in the original language of this people, so that they were unable to shake

them off entirely, even when they left their own tongue and learned that of the more civilized Āryas with whom they came to be closely incorporated. If the original Pali speakers belonged to the same race as the Dravidians of Southern India of the present day, we have a reason to believe that their native tongue contained them ; for they exist in the Dravidian languages and are very characteristic of them.

We shall also find in the Pali, and even in the passage placed before you, examples of another phenomenon presented by a growing language. Several new words, unknown to Sanskrit, but formed from Sanskrit roots, have come into use. Such is मनापो, derived very likely from मनस् 'mind' or 'heart' and आप् 'to obtain' 'to meet,' so that the word signifies 'something that comes up to the wishes of the heart', 'pleasing'. The word सचे is from चेत् with स prefixed, which स seems to be the same as the nominative singular of the masculine of तद्. For, it is so used in Sanskrit before चेत्, though it has there an independent sense; as in स चेन्मुनिदौहित्रस्तल्लक्षणोपन्नः (Śākuntala). Often used together in this way, the two words formed a compound expression, and, the independent character of स being forgotten, it came to be looked upon as one word. In the same way, सन्तिक must have come into existence from the frequent use of such expressions as तस्सन्तिकं, ब्राह्मणस्सन्तिकं &c. made up of the genitive singular of a noun or pronoun ending in अ and अन्तिक. The portion सन्तिक then came to be regarded as an independent word, and was used as such. Another new word is फासु or फासुक 'agreeable', 'pleasant', corresponding to such a Sanskrit word as स्पर्श्य or स्पर्शक formed from the analogy of such verbal derivatives as भिक्षु, इच्छु, or लाषुक, पातुक &c., and meaning 'that which is or deserves to be touched', or 'pleasant to the touch'. Other instances are पिलन्धन 'an ornament', पेय्याल 'plentiful' &c.

(B)

Grammar of the Pali Dialect

We will now proceed to the examination of Pali grammar. When after years of successive creative efforts, the language of our Āryan ancestors came to be so rich in all kinds of grammatical forms, as the Vedic or middle Sanskrit is, it became cumbrous, and the tendency set in, as we have seen, of dropping away some of them and rendering the grammar simpler.

The duals of both nouns and verbs are unnecessary; the occasions for using them do not often present themselves. Hence, even in Sanskrit, their use must have been rare, and the Pali, which, in its original form at least, must be taken to represent the current usage, has dropped them away altogether.

But the manner in which the process of simplification is principally carried on is by the use of false analogies. Thus in Sanskrit nouns ending in इ and उ of the neuter gender prefix न् to the terminations of the vowel cases. But in Pali it is added to those of the corresponding cases of masculine nouns also in मच्चुनो for मृत्योः in the passage before us. Similarly, from the analogy of neuter nouns in अ which form their nominative and accusative singular by adding म, the pronouns यद् and तद् come to have यं and तं for the corresponding cases, instead of the Sanskrit यद् and तद्.

In Sanskrit, the conjugation that is very often used is the first, in which अ is tacked on to the root in the special tenses, and it embraces a large number of the most ordinary roots. Here, in our passage, we find the analogy extended to the root हिंस् the present tense of which is in the mother dialect ordinarily formed by inserting न between the two letters, and adding the termination to the final (हिनस्ति 3rd person singular), and we have हिंसति. The root ज्ञा takes the form of जा in the present and other special tenses, and to it is added the conjugational sign ना, so that it becomes जाना. Now, this special form is generalized, and used in other tenses also, such as the Aorist and the Future. Thus, we have here संजानिंसु, the Aorist 3rd person plural of ज्ञा, and in other places we find जानिस्सति as one of the forms of the Future. The special forms इच्छ, पश्य, शृण, बुध्य, and पद्य are similarly generalized, the last four being phonetically changed to पस्स, सुण, बुज्झ and पज्ज.

In the same way, in forming the causative of a root, प or आप is added in Sanskrit to roots ending in आ and to a few others. It is extended to all roots in the Pali, and thus we have तिकिच्छापेहि for चिकित्सय in the above passage.

The termination त्वा of the absolutive is in Sanskrit replaced by य when a root has a preposition prefixed to it. But here no such distinction is observed, and त्वा is used in all cases.

The operation of this law of false analogies is very extensive

in the grammar of Pali and the later Prakrits; and by its means, new forms have been made up instead of those current in the primitive language. But side by side with these, we often find the latter also in use currupted by the usual phonetic laws, and having a sort of isolated existence, since they transgress the general rule that has newly come into operation. Thus we have जानिस्सति, पस्सिस्सति and लभिस्सति according to the law of analogy; but अस्सति from ज्ञास्यति, दक्खति from द्रक्ष्यति, and लच्छति from लप्स्यते are also in use. These three processes then, *viz.*, the dropping away of forms, not required for the expression of the current ordinary thought, the formation of new ones on the principle of analogy, and the preservation of the old ones in what may be called an isolated or petrified condition, have contributed to the formation of the grammar of this and the succeeding languages. With these preliminary observations, I will now hastily pass under review the principal points in the grammar of this dialect.[1]

The Pali has lost the dual, and also the dative and ablative cases, except of masculine and neuter nouns ending in अ.* The only occasion when the first is ordinarily used is when 'giving' is expressed, but the genitive case has such a comprehensive signification in Sanskrit that it denotes the dative relation also, and is often used in that sense. Most of the relations expressed by the ablative are denoted by the instrumental, and for the expression of the peculiar ablative sense, *viz.*, the separation of one thing from another, the particle तस् had come into very general use, even in the parent language. The genitive and instrumental thus took up the place of those two cases. But people do not forget what they have frequent occasion to use. The great majority of nouns in Sanskrit end in अ, and of these the singular is oftener used than the plural. Hence the singulars of the dative and ablative of these nouns are preserved in the Pali, notwithstanding the operation of the causes that drove away these cases from other places.

The म् of the termination of the instrumental plural is optionally changed to ं. The locative singular of masculine and

1 My authority in this portion of my subject is Kacchāyana, as edited by M. Senart.

* The ablative अग्गिस्मा-म्हा, भिक्खुस्मा-म्हा do, however, occur in the literature.

neuter nouns ending in a vowel is formed by adding the pronominal termination स्मिन्, phonetically changed to स्मिं and म्हि; and the ablative स्मात् in the form of स्मा or म्हा is used optionally in the case of nouns in अ. The termination स्य of the genitive singular of this class of nouns is generalized, and in the form of स्स applied to all nouns of the masculine and neuter genders. It should be remembered that in accordance with the general rule, the Sanskrit grammatical forms drop the final consonant, including a visarga, in passing into the Pali. The nasal म् is changed to an anusvāra, and since this, like a conjunct consonant, necessitates the rapid utterance of the preceding vowel and renders it heavy, the vowel is shortened. We have thus नं for नाम्, स्सं for स्याम्, यं for याम्, &c. The न् of स्मिन् and of the syllable अन् occurring in some of the cases is also changed to anusvāra.

[THE NOUN]

MASCULINE NOUNS ENDING IN अ

The nominative singular always ends in ओ. In Sanskrit we have this form before a short अ or a sonant only. Here it is generalized. The accusative plural ends in ए as बुद्धे. When the final consonant is dropped according to the usual phonetic rules, the Sanskrit nominative and accusative plurals become exactly alike. To distinguish the one from the other, therefore, this form is appropriated in the Pali for the latter. The ए appears to be the termination of the nominative plural of pronouns, and it is transferred to nouns in the same way as the others we have noticed above. But it is used here in an accusative sense.

The forms of the singular and plural of the nominative of neuter nouns, and of the plural of many more, are the same as those of the accusative in Sanskrit, and this fact must have led to a tendency to liken the two cases in other places also. Hence the pronominal nominative came to be used like an accusative. We shall directly see this tendency to confuse the two cases manifested more clearly as regards the plural, and it may be remarked that as regards both the numbers, it went on increasing at each successive stage, until in the latest Prakrit and in the vernaculars the distinction has entirely disappeared.

The termination of the instrumental plural is एभि as in बुद्धेभि, or, with the mute element dropped, एहि which is traced to the Vedic एभिः in such forms as देवेभिः. But it may be explained otherwise. The Sanskrit बुद्धैः becomes बुद्धे by the dropping of the visarga and the change of the diphthong to ए, and this is the same as the locative singular, and is by no means distinctive of an instrumental sense. Hence to बुद्धे was added the instrumental termination भि or हि which all other nouns in Sanskrit and Pali take.

The other cases are the same as in Sanskrit, subject to the general remarks made above. The ablative and locative singulars have the new pronominal forms in स्मा or म्हा and स्मिं or म्हि in addition to the old ones. In the vocative singular, the final अ is optionally lengthened.

MASCULINE NOUNS IN इ AND उ

The nominative and accusative plurals have two forms and they are the same for both the cases, as अग्गी and अग्गयो, भिक्खू and भिक्खवो. Now अग्गी and भिक्खू are the Sanskrit accusative plurals अग्नीन् and भिक्षून्, and अग्गयो and भिक्खवो the nominative plurals अग्नयः and भिक्षवः. The distinction between the two is lost, and both are used indifferently in the sense of the nominative and accusative.

The termination of the instrumental plural is भि or हि. The singulars of the genitive and locative are, like those of the corresponding neuter nouns or nouns ending in इन् such as दण्डिन्, formed by the addition of नो, as अग्गिनो and भिक्खुनो, अग्गिनि and भिक्खुनि. They have also the forms indicated in the general remarks, viz., अग्गिस्स and भिक्खुस्स and अग्गिस्मिं—म्हि and भिक्खुस्मिं—म्हि; and the dative and ablative are, as usual, like the genitive and instrumental. The vocative is like the nominative, except in the plural of nouns in उ which ends in वो or वे as भिक्खवो or भिक्खवे. The rest are old or Sanskrit; the final vowel being, however, lengthened in the plural of the instrumental and locative, and the syllable ग्नि of अग्नि being optionally dissolved into ग्गिनि in the nominative singular.

MASCULINE NOUNS IN ऋ

The nominative has the old Sanskrit forms; as सत्था and सत्थारो

for शास्ता and शास्तारः from शास्तृ. The accusative plural is the same as the nominative plural. The augmented form of the Sanskrit nominative plural, *viz.* सत्थार for शास्तार, is taken as the base for the plural of the instrumental, genitive, and locative, and declined like nouns in अ. The genitive plural is also formed by taking the nominative singular as the base, as सत्थानं. The instrumental singular has the new base and the old termination आ; and thus we have सत्थारा. The genitive singular has three forms, one of them being the old one with the final र् dropped, as सत्थु, and the other two made up by taking this form as the base, and appending the terminations which nouns in उ as भिक्खु take, as सत्थुस्स or सत्थुनो. The singulars of the accusative and locative have the Sanskrit forms, as सत्थारं and सत्थरि; and the vocative singular has besides the old one another with the vowel lengthened, as सत्थ or सत्था. You will thus see that there are four bases, the old one which gives the old forms, and three new ones, सत्था and सत्थार generalized from the nominative, and सत्थु, from the genitive.

MASCULINE NOUNS ENDING IN A CONSONANT.

There can be no consonantal declension proper, since a final consonant is dropped, and the noun treated as one ending in the preceding vowel. But relics of the Sanskrit forms of the consonantal bases are preserved and used along with the others.

In the declension of the noun आत्मन्, there are two new bases अत्त and अत्तन, generalized from the forms of the singular of the Sanskrit nominative, and of the instrumentals and others, आत्मा and आत्मना &c., and declined like nouns in अ. The first is used in the singular of the accusative, and the other cases of the singular and locative, which are अत्तं, अत्तनो and अत्तनि, and in the plural of the instrumental which is अत्तेहि-भि. The remaining forms are old, the portion आत्म being corrupted to अत्त; they are अत्ता nominative singular, अत्तानो nominative and accusative plural, अत्तानं accusative singular, अत्तना instrumental singular, अत्तनो genitive singular, and अत्तनि locative singular. The vocative is अत्त or अत्ता, like that of nouns in अ.

In the declension of the noun राजन्, the base राज is used in the singulars of the accusative, the instrumental, and perhaps the ablative also, and the forms are राजं, राजेन, and राजस्मा or राजम्हा,

The old forms are found in the nominative (राजा, राजानो), and in the singular of the accusative which has thus two forms राजं and राजानं, and the plural of this last case is, as usual, the same as that of the first. The singulars of the instrumental, genitive, and locative are the same as those in Sanskrit, but ज्ञ being changed to ञ्ञ, we have ञ्ञा, ञ्ञो, and ञ्ञि. In the last two cases the conjunct is also dissolved into ञ्जि, wherefore we have राजिनो and राजिनि also. The genitive plural is ञ्ञं and, ज्ञ being dissolved into ञ्जु, the form राजूनं is used, in addition. This राजु is made the base of the plurals of the instrumental and locative; and thus we have राजूभि-हि and राजूसु. The vocative singular is like that of nouns in अ.

The suffixes वत् and मत् of such nouns as गुणवत् and सतिमत् are regarded as if they were वन्त and मन्त, and the nouns declined like those ending in अ in the singulars of the nominative, accusative and genitive, and in the plurals of the accusative, instrumental, genitive and locative; and, according to the commentator of Kacchāyana, in the singulars of the instrumental and locative also; as गुणवन्तो, गुणवन्तं, गुणवन्तस्स, गुणवन्ते, गुणवन्तेभि-हि, गुणवन्तानं and गुणवन्तेसु; also गुणवन्तेन and गुणवन्तस्मिं-म्हि. The old forms are preserved in both numbers of the nominative and genitive, and in the singulars of the instrumental, locative, and vocative; as गुणवा, गुणवन्तो, गुणवतो, गुणवतं, गुणवता, गुणवति, and गुणवं. The nominative singular is made the base of other forms of the singulars of the accusative, genitive and vocative, as गुणवं, गुणवस्स and गुणव or गुणवा. The present participles, Parasmaipada, are similarly declined, the only difference being in the nominative singular, as गच्छं.

FEMININE NOUNS

The nominative, besides the old forms, has another transferred from nouns in ई; as कञ्ञायो. The singulars of the instrumental and the succeeding cases, excepting the vocative, have one same form made up from the Sanskrit genitive by dropping the visarga and shortening the final vowel; as कञ्ञाय, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, and locative singular. The others and also the locative singular have the old forms; as कञ्ञाभि-हि instrumental and ablative plural, कञ्ञानं genitive and dative plural, and कञ्ञायं and कञ्ञासु locative singular and plural.

The final member य of the conjunct which appears in the case-forms of nouns in ई such as नदी, is dissolved into इय, and thus we have नदियो from the Sanskrit नद्यः; and this and नदी from the Sanskrit नदीः are both of them the plurals of the nominative and accusative; नद्या the singular of the instrumental is dissolved into नदिया, and also नद्याः of the ablative and genitive which, after dropping the visarga, becomes नद्या;* and this is extended to the locative singular, which has also another form नदियं, from नद्याम्. There is nothing particular about the rest. Nouns in short इ are declined in exactly the same way, except that Kacchāyana gives such forms as रत्या and रत्यं in addition to रतिया and रतियं for the singular of the ablative and locative.

Nouns in उ or ऊ follow completely the analogy of those in ई; the forms of वधू, for instance, are not derived from the corresponding Sanskrit forms of the noun, but are made up by adding the final syllables of those of नदी; as वधुयो nominative and accusative plural, वधुया singular instrumental, ablative, genitive, &c.

NEUTER NOUNS

The singular of the nominative and accusative of neuter nouns ending in a vowel is the same as in the parent tongue, but the forms of the plural are optionally like those of the corresponding masculine nouns; as रूपा or रूपानि nominative plural, and रूपे or रूपानि accusative plural; अट्ठी (like अग्गी) or अट्ठीनि nominative and accusative plural, आयू or आयूनि nominative and accusative plural.

As in the case of masculine nouns, such neuter uouns as have a final consonant in Sanskrit drop it and are treated as if they ended in the preceding vowel. But in the singulars the old forms are preserved; as मनो or मनं nominative and accusative, मनसा or मनेन instrumental, मनसो genitive, मनसि, मने or मनस्मि-म्हि locative.

PRONOUNS

As pronominal terminations have been transferred to nouns, a few nominal ones have been extended to pronouns, thus carrying on the process of unification a step further. The plural of the nominative of feminine pronouns has a form ending in यो, and the singulars of the instrumental and genitive end in आय or या and

* The Sanskrit form नद्या corrupted to नज्जा is also found used.

that of the locative in यं, as in the case of the corresponding nouns; as तायो nominative plural, ताय or तस्सा, इमाय or इमस्सा, अमुया or अमुस्सा genitive singular, and तायं or तस्सं, इमायं or इमिस्सं, अमुयं or अमुस्सं locative singular, of तद्, इदम् and अदस्. All pronouns of the third person, of whatever gender, form the genitive plural by adding सं from the Sanskrit साम्, and also सानं which is made up of सं, the pronominal, and नं, the nominal termination, so that the second form is the genitive of the first taken as a base, as तेसं or तेसानं, तासं or तासानं, &c. Similarly, the bases एती and इमी which are substituted for एता and इमा in the singulars of the genitive and locative, and ती which optionally replaces ता in these cases, have a genitive singular with a double termination; as तस्सा, तिस्सा or तिस्साय, एतिस्सा or एतिस्साय, इमिस्सा or इमिस्साय, where स्सा, Sanskrit स्याः, is the pronominal, and आय the nominal termination. The plurals of the nominative and accusative have the same form, as ते, सब्बे, ता or तायो, &c., and the instrumental plural of the masculine has, like that of nouns, the termination एभि or एहि. The remaining terminations are the same as in Sanskrit.

The correlative or remote demonstrative तद् has, besides the usual Sanskrit base, another न which has all the cases नं, नेन, &c., except the nominative singular. The base is generalized from the एनम्, एनेन &c. of the accusative, the singular of the instrumental, and the dual of the genitive and locative, which are used in making *anvādeśa* as it is called by Pāṇini, *i. e.* in referring to one who has already been spoken of. The near demonstrative इदम् has two bases, अ and इम. In Sanskrit this latter is used in the nominative dual and plural and in the accusative. Here it is extended to all the cases except the nominative singular, and so we have इमे, इमिना, इमेहि, इमस्मा, इमस्स, इमेसं, इमस्मिं, and इमेसु; इमाय, इमिस्सा, &c. The first base is used, as in Sanskrit, in all cases except the plural of the nominative and accusative and the forms are अयं, अनेन, एहि, अस्मा &c. The pronoun अदस् has the base असु for the nominative singular, and अमु for all other cases and this latter is lengthened in the plural; as अमुना, अमूहि, अमुस्मा, अमुस्स, अमूसं; अमुया, अमुस्सा, &c. The nominative and accusative of the neuter is अदुं.

The singulars of the pronouns of the first and second persons are the same as in Sanskrit; as अहं, मं, मया, मम or मे, and मयि; त्वं, त्वं, त्वया, तव or ते, and त्वयि. This syllable त्व is optionally dissolved

into तु in the nominative and accusative, which have thus तुवं, and changed to त in the latter as well as in the instrumental and locative; and so we have तं, तया and तयि also. The dative and genitive being confounded, the Sanskrit मह्यम् and तुभ्यम् of the former are in the form of मय्हं and तुय्हं used for both cases. The latter has also the forms ममं and अम्हं and तुम्हं, the anusvāra being inserted from the analogy of the plural. The plural of अहं is मयं in which the initial व of the Sanskrit form is changed to म; and in the accusative, instrumental, and locative, the Sanskrit base अस्म in the form अम्ह is declined like the masculine तद्, and the forms are अम्हे, अम्हेहि and अम्हेसु.

The यु of युष्मद् was probably weakly pronounced, hence the singular base तु has been transferred to the plural, and the peculiar syllable of this number स्म tacked on to it, and the whole in the form of तुम्ह is declined like तद् in all the cases except the genitive; as तुम्हे, तुम्हे, तुम्हेहि &c. The forms of the plurals of the last are like those in Sanskrit; as अम्हाकं and तुम्हाकं. The accusative singulars of these pronouns have the forms ममं and तवं, besides those mentioned above. These are made up by adding anusvāra, the sign of the accusative, to the form of the genitive used as a base.

On the same principle we have अम्हाकं and तुम्हाकं for the plural, but as the genitive forms have an anusvāra already, the addition of the accusative sign makes no difference. This is an isolated instance in this dialect of a method of constructing new case-forms, which is, we shall find as we proceed in our investigations, largely used in the later dialects and especially in the modern vernaculars.

You will have seen how naturally the new formations we have noticed grew up. A language is well learnt by others or correctly transmitted to them only when they are in constant and close intercourse with those who know it, or when they are deliberately taught. When for some reason or other this is not the case, and the linguistic tradition is imperfect, men proceed from what is more in use and consequently better known to that which is less used and less known. Nouns in अ, for instance, constitute a very large portion of the ordinary Sanskrit names. Their case forms were most used, whence they were well known and those of the other nouns not being so often used were less known. In

these cases these less forms had to conform to the model of the more known, and thus we see a tendency to bring nouns as close as possible to the अ declension, as you have seen in such nouns as आत्मन्, गुणवत्, गच्छत्, शास्तृ, and even अग्नि. And it is also clear that the new अ base is generally taken from the nominative, which case is oftener used than others, as अत्त, गुणवन्त, इच्छन्त, and सत्तार *i. e.* शास्तार. In the same way we have observed a strong tendency to obliterate the distinction between the nominal and pronominal declensions, and fuse them into one, and this tendency has succeeded everywhere except in the genitive plural. Still at the time when Pali arose, the traditions of the original Sanskrit were not entirely lost, wherefore we have often old forms used side by side with the new ones. The same process is observable in the conjugations of verbs, as I have already remarked. It will thus be seen how groundless is the opinion of those who maintain that these Prakrits or derived languages were simply literary languages, or were constructed by Pandits. But this point will be discussed at length hereafter.

Inattention to this law of false analogies or generalization, and to the wide range of its operation in the formation of Pali grammar has led some scholars to set down as Vedic certain forms which exist in this dialect but are not to be met with in classical Sanskrit. Such are इमस्स the genitive singular masculine of इदम्, फला the nominative plural of फल, अट्ठी and मधू nominative and accusative plural of अस्थि and मधु, अम्हे the general plural base of the pronoun of the first person, and गोनं genitive plural of गो. I see no reason why इमस्स should be regarded as Vedic and not the other forms that have इम for their base, such ss इमस्मा, इमेसं, &c., or why फला should be so and not फले the accusative plural; अम्ह and not तुम्हे, अट्ठी and not अट्ठिस्स, or गोनं and not अभिभूतं. If these latter forms and a host of others must be explained with reference to a thoroughly different principle, why should the former, which are kindred to them and are as completely capable of that same explanation, be traced to a Vedic origin ? The fact that they happen to resemble certain Vedic forms does not prove their derivation from them. The same process of generalization and the same natural tendency to construct the less known forms from the

analogy of those that are more known brought them all into use. The forms फला and फले and अट्ठी and मधू are, as stated before, made up upon the analogy of the corresponding masculine, and herein we observe the beginning of a tendency to obliterate the distinction between the masculine and neuter, which went on progressing until now, in the Hindi, Sindhi, and other vernaculars of Northern India, the neuter gender has totally disappeared, while in the Marathi the distinction remains in the case of pronouns and certain nouns, and in the Gujarati only in the latter.

II

THE VERB.

We will now examine the Pali verb. The distinction between the special and general tenses and moods is almost lost, the special form being used in the general, as in गच्छिस्सति the future of गम्, or the general form in the special as गमेति. We have also गमिस्सति and गच्छति. A large number of roots used in ordinary intercourse belong in Sanskrit to the first conjugation; this and the sixth are the easiest of the ten; in many cases there is no practical distinction between them, and in others they are so greatly like each other that they are capable of being confused together. Hence the rule of constructing verbal forms common to these two conjugations, *viz.* the addition of the personal terminations through the intervention of अ, has become general in Pali. A good many roots belonging to the other classes are conjugated according to this rule; as दोहति, विदति, and रवति, for दोग्धि, वेत्ति, and रौति, of the second class; पोसति for पुष्यति, मुसति and बन्धति for मुष्णाति and बध्नाति, &c. The tenth conjugation is almost equally common in Sanskrit, whence a great many roots are conjugated necessarily or optionally in this way; as वदेमि or वदामि, गमेति or गच्छति, सिलेसेति, वेदेति or विदति, विगाहेति, &c. from वद्, गम्, श्लिष् विद्, गाह् with णि, &c. The ए in these forms stands, you will remember, for the Sanskrit अय, which is the characteristic of the tenth class.

The second conjugation has gone out, except in isolated forms such as अत्थि for अस्ति, and the third has left some reduplicated roots, as ददामि, जहाति, &c. The fourth has preserved a good many of its roots but its य is corrupted according to the usual phonetic rules; thus बुध्य becomes बुज्झ; पद्य, पज्ज; नृत्य, नच्च; मन्थ, मञ्ञ, &c. The

fifth and the ninth are confounded, and roots of the former take the termination of the latter also; as पापुणोति or पापुणाति for प्राप्नोति; सुणोति or सुणाति for शृणोति; सक्कोति or सक्कणाति for शक्नोति &c. In the last instance the base is सक्क derived from सक्कोति the corruption of शक्नोति, thus showing that the forms in ना are a later growth. The seventh inserts, as before remarked, a nasal in the body of the roots and transfers them to the first; the eighth remains in a few cases such as तन and कृ, though this last takes a peculiar form also, as तनोति, करोति or कयिरति; and the ninth adds ना as in Sanskrit, as किणाति, धुनाति, लुनाति पुनाति, &c.

But it is to be observed that the more common of the roots belonging to these conjugations only have preserved their peculiar forms; the rest are conjugated according to the rules of the first, sixth, or tenth. Since the distinction between the special and general tenses and moods is lost, the effect of these conjugational peculiarities is only to constitute a new or augmented root.

Of the ten tenses and moods in Sanskrit, the Pali has lost two, the first future and the precative. The two Padas or voices remain, but the distinction is lost in most cases, such forms as बुच्चति, लब्भति, पच्चति, &c., though passive, taking Parasmaipada terminations.

The following are the terminations :—

PRESENT TENSE

	Parasm.		Ātm.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1st pers.	मि	म	ए	म्हे
2nd ,,	सि	थ	से	व्हे
3rd ,,	ति	अन्ति	ते	अन्ते
Ex.	पचति	पचन्ति &c.	पचते	पचन्ते &c.

IMPERATIVE.

1st pers.	मि	म	ए	आमसे
2nd ,,	हि, or none	थ	स्सु	व्हो
3rd ,,	तु	अन्तु	तं	अन्तं
Ex.	पचतु	पचन्तु &c.	पचतं	पचन्तं &c.

IMPERFECT

1st pers.	अ	म्हा	ई	म्हसे
2nd ,,	ओ	त्थ	से	व्हं
3rd ,,	आ	ऊ	त्थ	त्थुं
Ex.	अपचा	अपचू &c.	अपचत्थ	अपचत्थुं &c.

POTENTIAL

1st pers.	एय्यामि	एय्याम	एय्यं	एय्यम्हे
2nd ,,	एय्यासि	एय्याथ	एथो	एय्यव्हो
3rd ,,	एय्य or ए	एय्युं	एथ	एरं
Ex.	पचे or पचेय्य	पचेय्युं &c.	पचेथ	पचेरं &c.

AORIST

1st pers.	ई	म्हा	अ	म्हे
2nd ,,	ओ	त्थ	से	व्हं
3rd ,,	ई	उं or इंसु	आ	ऊ
Ex.	अपची	अपचुं or अपचिंसु &c.	अपचा	अपचू &c.

PERFECT

1st pers.	अ	म्ह	इ	म्हे
2nd ,,	ए	त्थ	त्थो	व्हो
3rd ,,	अ	उ	त्थ	रे
Ex.	पपच	पपचु &c.	पपचित्थ	पपचिरे &c.

FUTURE

1st pers.	स्सामि	स्साम	स्सं	स्सम्हे
2nd ,,	स्ससि	स्सथ	स्ससे	स्सव्हे
3rd ,,	स्सति	स्सन्ति	स्सते	स्सन्ते
Ex.	भविस्सति	भविस्सन्ति &c.	भविस्सते	भविस्सन्ते &c.

CONDITIONAL

1st pers.	स्सं	स्सम्हा	स्सं	स्साम्हसे
2nd ,,	स्से	स्सथ	स्ससे	स्सव्हे
3rd ,,	स्सा	स्संसु	स्सथ	स्सिंसु
Ex.	अभविस्सा	अभविस्संसु &c.	अभविस्सथ	अभविस्सिंसु &c.

The terminations of the Present of both Padas are the same as in Sanskrit, with the exception of the plural म and म्हे, the व्हे of

the second person plural of the Ātmanepada being a corruption of ध्वे. This tense is most in use; hence the Pali speakers learned it well, so to say, from their Sanskrit teachers.

The other tenses,—except the Future which, like the Present, is also entirely Sanskrit—and the moods have preserved such of their forms as are more frequently used in ordinary life. There is, for instance, greater occasion for the use of the second person singular of the Imperative Mood, and also for the third person Hence these are the same as in Sanskrit, but the second person plural termination थ, and the first person singular मि and the plural म, Parasmaipada, have been transferred from the Present. As to these, even in Sanskrit we find the Present used very generally for this Mood in the first person; as in किं ते भूयः प्रियमुपहरामि Śāk., किं ते भूयः प्रियं करोमि Mṛc., &c. where the forms should be उपहराणि, करवाणि &c. The rest are the same as in Sanskrit. The second person singular is formed in two ways, *viz.* without adding any termination as in the conjugations which give an ending अ to the base, and by appending हि as is done in the others. The Ātmanepada स्व is changed to स्सु, the व being dissolved into उ, since स्व renders the previous vowel heavy, the resulting सु is doubled to preserve that effect. The plural ध्वम् is altered to ह्वो; the म and the mute element being dropped, we have ह्व the final vowel of which is transformed into ओ through the influence of the preceding व्. The ऐ of the first person singular becomes ए, or this may be considered to have been transferred from the Present, and for the plural we have आमसे which is an old Vedic termination of the Ātmanepada first person plural corrupted in Sanskrit to आमहे. The तं and अन्तं of the third person are the same as the ताम् and अन्ताम् of the parent language.

The Potential has preserved the old forms of the third person only, *viz.*, पचे for पचेत्, and पचेय्युं for पचेयुः. The य is doubled as in थेय्यं for स्तेय according to a general rule which we have noticed before. The singular of this person is also formed by adding एय्य made up on the analogy of the plural एय्यु and also of such forms as सुनुयात्. The final vowel is, however, shortened, but in such cases as जानीया for जानीयात् it remains long. This form with the final long is used as a base, and the terminations of the first person and second person of the Present added to it to form the

corresponding person of the Potential. The Ātmanepada एथ, एर, and एथो are the same as एत, एरन्, and एथाः of the Sanskrit अ-conjugations, the त of एत being rendered an aspirate and the आ of एथाः shortened. The Parasmaipada singular एयम् as in पचेयम् is adapted for the Ātmanepada in the form एय्यं and the plurals of the second and first persons are formed by taking एय्य as the base and appending ध्वम् corrupted to ह्वो and म्हे of the Present.

In the Imperfect the आ and ऊ of the third person seem to be generalized from such forms as अयात् and अयुः. The termination उम् is, as you know, applied in Sanskrit optionally to roots ending in आ and necessarily to विद् and such as are reduplicated. The आ of the singular, however, may be considered as due to the lengthening of the previous अ of such Sanskrit forms of the अ-conjugations as अपचत्, when the final consonant was dropped. This lengthening was brought about by the forcible pronunciation of the अ rendered necessary in Sanskrit by the final consonant. The second person singular is ओ, which corresponds to the Sanskrit अः, and अ of the first person singular to the अम् with the nasal dropped. The Ātmanepada second person singular से is transferred from the Present, ह्वं is ध्वम्, and इ is generalized from the forms of the non-अ-conjugations, such as अलुनि, अददि, &c. The Perfect has preserved the third person singular अ and plural उ and the first person singular अ, of the Parasmaipada; and रे of the Ātmanepada. Of the rest, ए second person singular Parasmaipada is perhaps the ए of the Sanskrit Ātmanepada singular of the first and third persons; and the इ of the Ātmanepada is transferred from the Imperfect.

In the Aorist the third person singular ई is the termination of the fifth form of the Sanskrit Aorist with the final त् dropped as usual; and the plural ुं is generalized from such forms as अस्थुः. Some roots, such as भू and कृ have सि for the singular as अहोसि, and अकासि, the सि of which is to be traced to सीत्. Another plural termination is इसु in which we can recognize the Sanskrit इषुः. The second person singular ओ is from the अस् of the second Aorist; and the first person singular is इं resulting from the fusion of the augment इ with the अम् of the second Aorist. The third person singular and plural and the first person singular of the Ātmane-

pada are the same as the corresponding ones of the Parasmaipada Imperfect, both numbers of the second person are the same as the corresponding Ātmanepada of the Imperfect, and the म्हे of the first person plural is transferred from the Present.

The terminations of the Second Future are made up as in Sanskrit by prefixing स्स = स्य to those of the Present. The Ātmanepada first person singular has however स्सं instead of स्से. In one instance, *viz.*, होहिति, होहिन्ति from हो, the स्स is corrupted to ह. In the Conditional terminations the स्स occurs everywhere, but the other portions are transferred from other tenses The ending आ of the third person singular स्सा is of course the आ of the Imperfect; the अंसु of the plural has been transferred from the Aorist, Imperfect, or Potential; the से and थ of स्से and स्सथ are brought over from the Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada of the Present; स्सं is स्यम्, and the म्हा of स्सम्हा the plural is from the Imperfect. In Sanskrit, the short terminations of the Imperfect and other tenses are added to the स्य in the Conditional; but here there is a mixture of both the short and the long, and also of the two Padas. We find the same mixture in the Ātmanepada.

It will thus appear that the Present and Future have preserved most of the Sanskrit terminations, and the other tenses only about two or three. Besides the terminations that have thus been preserved or transferred by analogy from one tense to another, there are others which cannot be thus explained. Such are म्हे Ātmanepada first person plural of the Present; त्थ and म्ह of the Parasmaipada second and first person plural, and त्थ third person singular. त्थो second person singular and म्हे first person plural of the Ātmanepada of the Perfect; त्थ second person plural and म्हा first person plural Parasmaipada, and त्थ and त्थुं third person singular and plural and म्हसे first person plural Ātmanepada, of the Imperfect; त्थ second person plural and म्हा first person plural Parasmaipada of the Aorist, and म्हे first person plural of the Ātmanepada of the same; म्हे first person plural Ātmanepada of the Future; and हा Parasmaipada and म्हसे Ātmanepada of the first person of the Conditional. These are unquestionably forms of the root अस् tacked on to the base in the particular tenses when the old terminations were forgotten, or some of them may be traced directly to the terminations of the Sanskrit Aorist स्त, स्था: and स्म, which themselves,

as you know, are forms of अस्. Of these, the Parasmaipada second person plural त्थ is to be traced to the corresponding Sanskrit स्थ of the Present of अस् and म्ह and म्हा first person plural to the स्म of आस्म of the Imperfect and स्मः of the Present respectively. The penultimate अ of स्मः is lengthened for the same reason as that of अपचत् is in forming अपचा. The Ātmanepada त्थो of the second singular comes from the स्थाः of आस्थाः of the Imperfect, त्थ third person singular, from the स्त of अस्त of the same; and म्हे and म्हसे first person plural are to be referred to such Ātmanepada forms as स्मे and स्मसे. Of the last two, स्मे appears to be a new formation form स्म, and स्मसे is the old Vedic archetype of स्महे.

You will thus see that when the original Sanskrit forms were forgotten, new ones corresponding to them were constructed in the Pali, not only by the use of false analogies, but also by taking one form distinctively expressive of the sense of a particuiar mood or tense as a base, and appending first only the personal terminations of the Present, as in the case of the Potential; and secondly, the forms of the root अस्. You will hereafter find that the modern vernaculars have resorted to one at least of these two modes of reconstruction; and similarly, the beginnings in the Pali of a mode of constructing new case-forms widely prevalent in the modern dialects was brought to your notice before; so that the spirit or turn of mind which has been in operation in the formation of the vernacular speech of the country, has been the same since very remote times.

The terminations with an initial consonant are in the general tenses appended through the intervention of the vowel इ; but in some cases there are forms directly corrupted from Sanskrit; as दक्खति Sanskrit द्रक्ष्यति, मोक्खति=मोक्ष्यति. The temporal augment अ is often omitted, as गमा or अगमा, गमी or अगमी, गमिस्सा or अगमिस्सा. The several varieties of the Aorist, and the many special forms of the Perfect, have for the most part gone out of use. The Passive is formed by the addition of य as in Sanskrit, sometimes with the augment इ, sometimes without, in which last case the conjunct consonant is corrupted according to the prevailing rules; as बुज्झियते, पच्चते, लब्भते, करियते. The forms in a good many cases are the same in Sankrit, only phonetically altered; as थीयते, उच्चसे, इज्जते in which cases we see the that the आ of स्था is changed to ई, and

वच् and यज् under Samprasāraṇa. The causal is formed by adding आपे or आपय and ए or आय; as कारापेति or कारापयति and कारेति or कारयति. These forms I have already explained. The Past Passive Participle is formed as in Sanskrit, and in many cases the forms are the same. The Absolutive is formed by using the terminations तून, त्वान, and त्वा. The first is the same as the second, the semivowel व् having only undergone Samprasāraṇa; and they are to be traced to such Vedic forms as इष्ट्वीन, कृत्वान &c., which have disappeared in Classical Sanskrit. The Infinitive is formed by adding तुं as in Sanskrit, or तवे which, I have already observed, is one of the many ways in which the Vedic Infinitive is formed. It has become obsolete in the later Sanskrit.

Now if the Pali grew up naturally in the manner I have described, it could not come to possess the several grammatical forms it exhibits unless they were in use in Sankrit at the time when it branched off. It has, as we have seen, preserved eight of the ten Tenses and Moods, whence it follows that verbal forms of these were then current in the language. Pali therefore represents Middle Sanskrit or the usage that prevailed during the period between the composition of the Brāhmaṇas and Yāska or Pāṇini and must have begun to be formed during that period. We shall hereafter find that latter Prakrits represent the third stage in the development of the Sanskrit that in which a good many of the verbal forms ceased to be used; and thus bear to what I have called classical Sanskrit the same relation that the Pali does to Middle Sanskrit.

* * * *

We will now proceed to consider those valuable specimens of the ancient languages of the country which have been preserved in inscriptions. The most important of these are the edicts of Aśoka, the pious king of Pāṭaliputra in Magadha, the modern Behar, who flourished in the middle of the third century before Christ. These edicts contain the king's religious and moral injunctions to his subjects, and set forth his own ideas, belief, and conduct in these matters. Five different versions of them have been discovered, inscribed on rocks in different parts of the country. There is one at Girnar, near Jungad in Kathiawar, another at Dhauli in

Kattak, and a third at Kapurdigiri or Śahbazgarhi in Afghanistan. These have been published and examined. The Girnar version has been copied several times, but the other two only once, and hence there are a good many imperfections in our existing copies of them. Another version has recently been discovered at Jaugad near Ganjam, in the Northern Circars, and copied by a Madras Civilian. It is unfortunately greatly mutilated, not more than two of the fourteen edicts being found complete, and but a few words left of some. The fifth has recently been discovered by General Cunningham at Khalsi, near Masuri in the Himalayas, and has not yet been published.* Other edicts of the same king are found inscribed on columns which exist at Delhi, Allahabad, and other places. At Dhauli and Ganjam there exist, along with the edicts mentioned above, others which answer to these. Another Inscription of Aśoka has been found at Babhra in Rajputana, which consists of a letter to the Buddhist congregation.

These Inscriptions are in three different dialects, closely related to each other. The Girnar dialect is very much like the Pali. That of the Dhauli, Ganjam, and Khalsi versions presents peculiarities which are found in a later Prakrit called Māgadhī by the grammarians. Such are the substitution of ल् for र्, ए for the ओ of the nominative singular of masculine nouns in अ, सिं the termination of the locative instead of the Pali म्हि, and हकम् for अहम्. The Babhra and the column inscriptions are also in this dialect. The Śahbazgarhi recension admits of some conjuncts such as श्र, and the sibilants श् and ष् which in the others and in Pali are changed to स्. But it is a question whether these are dialectic peculiarities, or are to be attributed to a confusion of the vernacular with Sanskrit. I will now place before you short specimens of these dialects.

Girnar, edict VIII.

अतिकातं अंतरं राजानो विहारयातां अयासु । एत मगया अञानि च एतारिसानि अभिरमकानि अहंसु । सो देवानंपियो पियदसी राजा दसवसाभिसितो संतो अयाय संबोधिं । तेनेसा धंमयाता एतयं होति ब्राम्हणसमणानं दसणे च दाने च थैराणं दसणे

* Published since in Corp. Inso. A sixth version existing at Manshera in the Panjab was discovered after the above was published. I have made use of the latest readings of the versions.

च हिरंणपटिविधाने च जानपदस च जनस हसनं धंमानुसस्टी च धंमपरिपुच्छा च। तदोपया एसा भूयरति भवति देवानंपियस प्रियदसिनो राञो भागे अंञे.

Sanskrit :—

अतिक्रान्तमन्तरं राजानो विहारयात्रां निरयासिषुः। अत्र मृगयान्यानि चैतादृशान्यभिरामकाण्यभूवन्। स देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा दशवर्षाभिषिक्तः सन्नयासीत्संबोधिम्। तेनैषा धर्मयात्रा। अत्रेदं भवति ब्राह्मणश्रमणानां दर्शनं च दानं च स्थविराणां दर्शनं च हिरण्यप्रतिविधानं च जानपदस्य च जनस्य दर्शनं धर्मानुशास्तिश्च धर्मपरिपृच्छा च। तदौपर्यादेषा भूयोरतिर्भवति देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञो भागेन्यस्मिन्।

Translation :—

"Some time ago kings went on pleasure excursions. Hunting and such others were the diversions here. But Priyadarśin, the favourite of the gods, began the search of enlightenment when he had been a crowned monarch for ten years. Hence this excursion (course) of righteousness. It consists of this, *viz.* seeing Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, and bestowing gifts, seeing the religious elders and presenting gold, and seeing country-people and giving instruction in righteousness and in the investigation of the law. Since that time king Priyadarśin has been taking great delight in the glories of the next world."

It is not usual in these inscriptions to mark the double or assimilated consonants. Hence we do not find them here except in the case of double nasals which are indicated by an anusvāra followed by the nasal. There is, as in Pali, no other phonetic change; प्रति we see becomes पटि and भू becomes optionally हू; and राजानो the nominative plural, राञो for रञ्ञो the genitive singular, सन्तो the nominative singular, and all other cases are just like those in that dialect. We have the Aorist forms ending in an anusvāra followed by सु, as in Pali. But there are some differences; एतारिस is एतादिस in Pali as it is in the other recensions of this same inscription, अहंसु is अहेंसु, though अहंसु agrees with the rules of Pali grammar and must have existed in the language; the ऐ of थैराणं is opposed to Pali usage, but the engraver may have committed a mistake; ञेयासु is for निय्यासु, इ being changed to ञ before the conjunct according to the rule we have noticed. बाम्हण is ब्राह्मण in Pali; but the inscription perhaps represents the prevailing usage more correctly; and the अ is lengthened in राञो probably through mistake. There are thus very few cases of real difference, and though they might be considered to point to a

dialectical variety of the nature of those we find in the different versions of the edicts, still the language is in the same stage of growth as the Pali.

The following is the Dhauli version collated with that at Khalsi and completed :—

अतिकंतं अंतलं[1] लाजानो विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु । हिदा मिगविया अंनानि च [2]एदिसानि अभिलामानि [3]हुवंति नं । से देवानं पिये पियदसी लाजा दसवसाभिसिते [4]संते निखामि[5] संबोधिं । तेनता धंमयाता [6]हेता इयं होति समनबा[7]भनानं दसने च दाने च [8] वुढानं दसने च हिलंनपटिविधाने च ।

We here observe the varieties mentioned before, the change of र् to ल and the nominative in ए. We also see निखमिसु for त्रेयासु एदिसनि for एतारिसानि, वुधानं or वुढानं (=वृद्धानां) for थैरानं. and बंभन or बाभन for ब्राह्मण.. So then here we have another dialect.

Kapurdigiri or Śahbazgarhi version:—

अतिक्रंतं अंतरं देवनंप्रिय विहरयत्र नम निक्रमिषु अत्र म्रगय अञनि च हेदिशनि अमिरमनि अभवसु सो देवनंप्रिय प्रियद्रसि रज दशवषभिसितो सतो निक्रमि संबोधि तेनदं धमयत्र अत्र इयं होति श्रमणब्रमणनं द्रशने दनं &c.

Here we have the conjuncts प्रि, त्रा, ब्र, &c., and the three Sanskrit sibilants; and also हेदिशनि for ईदृशानि.

The reason why we have not one same version at all the three places must be that it was the intention of the king to publish the edicts in the dialect of each particular place. The Dhauli-Khalsi dialect is as observed before, used in the column inscriptions, and also in that found at Babhra. The king's predilection for it can be plausibly accounted for only on the supposition that it was his own native tongue. If so, this dialect must have prevailed in Magadha, which country was under his immediate rule, and the capital of which was Pāṭaliputra, where he reigned. And this accounts for the fact that it is used in the inscriptions at Dhauli and Ganjam, since they are situated in the contiguous country. One peculiarity of this language, *viz.* the nominative singular of nouns in अ ending in ए is met with even in the Girnār recension,

1. देवानं पिया Kh. 2. हेडिसानि Kh.
3. हुसु for हुवंति नं Kh. 4. Dh. om. 5. निखमिठा Kh.
6. ततेस for हेता इयं Dh. 7. बंभ Kh. 8. वुधानं Kh.

which may be explained by the supposition that the edicts were drawn up first in the king's dialect but were translated into the dialect of each province, the translation however being not executed carefully enough to expunge all peculiarities of the original draft. It would thus appear that the grammarians of the later languages had more solid grounds than mere fancy for calling that Prakrit which bears close resemblance to this language by the name of Māgadhī. Here then we find specimens of three dialects prevalent in three widely distant provinces; but we should bear in mind that the difference between them is small, while in the languages that are spoken in these countries at the present day it is so great as to make it difficult for the natives of one province to understand those of another.

In the many other ancient monuments existing in the country we often find inscriptions which are principally in two languages, the Sanskrit and the Pali or Prakrit, understanding by this term simply a dialect derived from the Sanskrit. Those in the latter (Pali) are mostly connected with Buddhism; though some Buddhistic inscriptions also, such as those discovered by General Cunningham at Mathura several years ago, are in Sanskrit. In the caves at Kanheri, Nasik, Junnar, Nanaghat, Karla, and some other places in this Presidency, and in the Bhilsa topes, we have Pali or Prakrit inscriptions. Most of these are short, but at Nasik we have long ones, in the caves of Uṣavadāta, and Gotamīputra. The language of these latter is Pali; and but a few forms are peculiar, such as दत्त and कित for which the Pali has दिण्ण and कत, Past Passive Participles of दा and कृ; and बे for the numeral two, the Pali form being द्वे or दुवे. In Uṣavadāta's caves we have one inscription entirely in Sanskrit, the rest are in Pali or Prakrit, but we have an intermixture of Sanskrit words, and the conjuncts प्र, त्र, and क्ष often appear. In these and smaller inscriptions we have such words as बार for द्वार, बारसक for वार्षिक, वरिस for वर्ष, उदिस for उद्दिश्य, while the Pali forms of these words are द्वार, वस्सिक, वस्स, and उद्देसेत्वा. Some of these inscriptions were engraved so late as the third century, when the Pali could hardly have been the vernacular; but it had become the sacred language of the Buddhists; the mendicant priests for whom the caves were intended and even educated lay members of that per-

suasion understood it; and hence it was used in these inscriptions as Sanskrit was in others.

The style of Gotamīputra's charters, abounding as it does in long compounds and elaborate expressions, is very unlike the plain and simple language of Aśoka's edicts. And at the end of these and that of his son, we are told that the officers of these kings who caused the charters to be engraved acted under the command, *i. e.* wrote to the dictation of "respected persons who were the compilers of all such document." It thus appears that the Pali was at that time a sacred and a literary language among the Buddhists. And as to the language of the other inscriptions, which like those of Gotamīputra and his son were not composed by learned men, one can easily understand how ignorant persons, not knowing Sanskrit or Pali well, but still not ignorant enough to know nothing of those languages, would confound together Sanskrit, Pali, and vernacular words. Even in our days we find the phenomenon in the *patrikās* or horoscopes written by our Jośis or astrologers, which are neither in pure Sanskrit nor in pure vernacular, but contain a mixture of them both, and the Sanskrit words and forms in which are incorrectly written.

And an explanation of this nature I have also to give of another variety of language that is found in the writings of the Northern or Nepalese Buddhists. These unlike those of the Ceylonese and Burmese Buddhists are written in Sanskrit, but in such works as the Lalitavistāra or the life of Buddha we find, along with prose passages in pure Sanskrit, a number of verses which contain words or forms which are not Sanskrit. Thus, for instance, we have:—

सर्वशुभकर्महेतोः फलमिदं शृणुतास्य कर्मस्य
पूजारहो भवितुं सर्वजगे अनुबन्धत इममनन्तयशं ॥

You will here see that कर्मस्य, जगे, and यशं are as in the Pali treated like nouns in अ, अर्ह is dissolved into अरह, and there are a few other instances of this process, such as किलेश for क्लेश, हिरि, for श्री, हिरि for ह्री &c.. but that generally the conjunct consonants are retained as they are in Sanskrit, and not assimilated. So also you have चोदिन्ति for चोदयन्ति, मायाय genitive singular of माया, उपजनित्वा शुणिष्यति, निरीक्षथ; Imperative second person plural, शमेथ for शमयत, &c., and even such words as मनाप which are Pali in

every respect. But along with these there are other peculiarities which must be attributed simply to carelessness. For instance, the case terminations are often omitted, a thing never done either in Sanskrit or Pali, as काम सेविति for कामे सेवते, सुगत for सुगते when governed by पूजयितुं, मोक्ष भोष्यति for मोक्षो भविष्यति, &c. Such constructions as क्षान्त्या सोरभ्यसम्पन्नाः for क्षान्तिसोरभ्यसंपन्नाः; शीलसमाधि तथा प्रज्ञमयं for शीलसमाधिप्रज्ञामयं, are often to be met with.

This language has therefore no fixed characteristics at all. We have seen that in such words as कर्म, जग and यश above, the final consonant is dropped, and these as in Pali and Prakrit made nouns in अ. But यशस् is used in the Sanskrit form also, as कीर्तिर्यशश्च; and there are instances in which other final consonants are preserved. Along with such a form as शुणिष्यति noted above, which is constructed on the same principle as the Pali सुणिस्सति, such a Sanskrit one as शृण्वन्ति is found. It therefore appears to me that this is not an independent language; but that the writers of the Gāthās knew the spoken language or Pali, and that they were imperfectly acquainted with Sanskrit, knowing enough of it to see that the assimilation of consonants was a vulgarity, but not acquainted with its grammar. They intended to write in the more polished or literary language, but not knowing it well, often used unconsciously the grammatical forms and the peculiar words of the vernacular. At the time when the Gāthās were written the claims of the Pali to be considered a separate language were probably not recognised, and it constituted the speech of the uninstructed. Those who in this condition of things wished to write, could not think of doing so in that form of speech, and therefore wrote in what they considered the language of educated men; but they knew it imperfectly, and produced such a heterogeneous compound as we have seen.

LECTURE III.

THE PRAKRITS AND THE APABHRAṂŚA.

On the last occasion we examined the language of the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists, and found that a large portion of the words it contains are pure Sanskrit and the rest are Sanskrit words corrupted or transformed according to certain laws of phonetic decay. Then by the law of false analogy the less used and less known declensional and conjugational forms have been in many cases brought over to the type of those more used in Sanskrit and consequently better known. So that in the vocabulary and the grammar, the laws of growth I traced in the opening lecture are in operation, but their range is limited, and the dialect is in what may be called the first stage of departure from Sanskrit. We then examined the language of the Inscriptions of Aśoka and found that it is either the same as Pali or in the same stage of development, and that there existed in those times two or three varieties of speech slightly differing from each other. To-day I propose to examine certain other dialects which exhibit a much greater departure from the parent tongue. These are the so-called Prakrits. For a knowledge of these languages we have not to go beyond India, as in the case of the one we have examined. Prakrit dialects possessed a literature and a portion of it has come down to us.

THE PRAKRITS.

There exist about six treatises on Prakrit grammar, the most ancient of which is Vararuci's Prākṛtaprakāśa. Next comes Hemacandra, a Jaina scholar of Gujarat, who lived in the twelfth century. His work on grammar is known by the name of *Haimavyākaraṇa*, the eight chapter of which he devotes to the grammar of the Prakrits. Hemacandra's treatment of these dialects is fuller than Vararuci's; and his observation was wider. He shows a very intimate knowledge of the existing literature of these languages, both sacred and profane, Jaina or Brahmanical. His work, and especially the last portion, is full of quotations. He must have availed himself of the labours of former scholars, since

he often mentions *Pūrvācāryas*. Hemacandra also wrote a *Koṣa* or thesaurus of the Deśī words existing in these languages. Vararuci gives the grammar of four dialects, which he calls Mahārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, and Paiśācī. The names of the first three themselves would show that they were the languages spoken or used in the provinces from the names of which they are derived, but doubts have been raised as to their genuineness, which will be hereafter considered. The Mahārāṣṭrī is called the principal Prakrit. For instance, Daṇḍin in his Kāvyādarśa says-

"The language prevalent in Mahārāṣṭra they regard as the Prākṛta pre-eminent; it is the ocean of jewels in the shape of good literary works, and the Setubandha and others are written in it[1]."

Vararuci devotes the first nine chapters of his work to the Mahārāṣṭrī, and then a chapter each to the rest. The peculiarities only of the latter dialects and their differences from the Mahārāṣṭrī are given, and in other respects they are to be considered similar to the first. Hemacandra follows the same method; but he does not mention the name Mahārāṣṭrī and speaks of the dialect only as the Prakrit. These grammarians and all others who have written on the subject treat of the grammar of the language etymologically. They take Sanskrit as the original language or *prakṛti* and give rules about the various phonetical and grammatical changes which have reduced Sanskrit to the Prakrit form. The Pali grammarian Kaccāyana treats the dialect not as one derived from Sanskrit as these writers do, but as an independent language, though it is very probable he knew Sanskrit, since he uses Sanskrit grammatical terms, and his Sūtras greatly resemble those in the Kātantra and even Pāṇini. Vararuci and Hemacandra derive Śaurasenī also from the Sanskrit as they do the Mahārāṣṭrī or the principal Prakrit, but make the Śaurasenī the *Prakṛti* or basis of the Māgadhī and the Paiśācī. This appears to be the tradition; whence it would seem that older and more developed language or the language of respectable people was the Śaurasenī, and the other two were the dialects of border countries used by persons in a lower scale of

1. महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः।
सागरः सूक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मयम्॥

society. They have some of the peculiarities of the Śaurasenī, and come nearer to it than to the Mahārāṣṭrī. Hemacandra gives the grammar of two more dialects, the Cūlikā Paiśācī and the Apabhraṁśa, the latter of which was according to Daṇḍin, the language of Ābhīras (cowherds) and others. Another grammarian of the name of Trivikrama gives in his Prākṛtasūtravṛtti the grammar of these six dialects. He lived after Hemacandra, since he mentions him in the introduction to his work, and his book resembles Hemacandra's a good deal. There is another work by Candra called Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā which is a meagre production. Another still of the same nature, the author of which is Lakṣmīdhara, mentions the same six dialects; so that the expression Ṣaḍbhāṣā seems to have become proverbial.

The Mahārāṣṭrī derived its importance from its literature. From the manner in which Daṇḍin speaks of that literature it appears to have been very extensive and valuable. He himself mentions one work, the Setubandha, a poem attributed to Kālidāsa but written by one Pravarasena, whose "fame," Bāṇa says in his Harṣacarita, "reached the other side of the ocean by means of the Setu." I find in a Ms. in the colophon at the end of each āśvāsa or canto, sometimes इअ सिरीपवरसेणविरइए दहमुहवहे (thus in the Daśamukhavadha composed by the prosperous Pravarasena), and sometimes, इअ पवसेनविरइए कालिदासकए दहमुहवहे (thus in the Daśamukhavadha, the work of Kālidāsa, composed by Pravarasena). Some kings of Kaśmīr bore the name of Pravarasena, but there is nothing to show that any one of them was the poet who wrote this work. There is a collection of seven hundred songs, chiefly of an amorous nature, by a poet of the name of Hāla, which is called the Saptaśatī. We have an edition of this in Roman characters by Prof. Weber. Another long poem entitled the Gauḍavadhakāvya by a poet named Vākpatirāja, who lived at the court of Yaśovarman, king of Kanoj, in the early part of the eighth century, was discovered by Dr. Bühler about three years ago. And several other works may turn up, if diligent search is made for them. The Kāvyaprakāśa contains about 75 Prakrit verses quoted to illustrate the rules laid down by the author, and Śārṅgadhara also gives a good many in his Paddhati.

The religious books of the Jainas form another very extensive

branch of Prakrit literature. Prof. Weber thinks the language of these to be later than the Pali and earlier than the Prakrits, so as to occupy a middle position, and calls it Jaina-Māgadhī. But Hemacandra himself, who must have known his religious books well, and was, as I have observed, a great Prakrit scholar, treats it as the principal Prakrit or Mahārāṣṭrī, and in his grammar of this he in several places gives forms of words peculiar to his sacred language, which after the example of his Brahmanic brothers he calls Ārṣa Prākṛta.[1] In giving his first rule about the Māgadhī dialect, *viz.*, that the nom. sing. of Masc. nouns takes the termination ए, he says :—"As to what the fathers have said about the Ārṣa (works) being composed in the Ardha-Māgadhī dialect in such words as these: 'the ancient Sūtra is composed in the Ardha-Māgadhī dialect', they have said so in consequence of the observance of this rule and not of those that follow.[2] Thus if one chooses to call the sacred language of the Jainas Ardha-Māgadhī on account of this Māgadhī peculiarity and a few other archaisms, one may do so; and I shall presently have to observe that the great many dialects which writers on poetics give, differed from each other in such insignificant particulars only. But it is clear that Hemacandra considers the distinction to be slight, and identifies the dialect with the principal Prakrit; and both he and the Jaina fathers refer it to the class of the Prakrits of the grammarians.[3]

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1 आर्षम् । ३ । ऋषीणामिदमार्षम् । आर्षे प्राकृतं बहुलं भवति । तदपि यथास्थानं दर्शयिष्यामः । आर्षे हि सर्वे विधयो विकल्प्यन्ते । He has also said before, that the rules he is going to give even with regard to the ordinary Prakrit should not be considered universal.

2 यदपि पोराणमद्धमागहभासानिययं हवइ सुत्तमित्यादिनार्षस्यार्धमागधभाषानियतत्वमाम्नायि वृद्धैस्तदपि प्रायोस्यैव विधानान्न वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणस्य ।

3 The only specific grounds one can find in Prof. Weber's book in support of the assertion that the Jaina dialect occupies a middle position are these :- 1. That uninitial क्, ग्, च्, ज्, त्, द् and other consonants are dropped in the Mahārāṣṭrī leaving only the vowel, and preserved or softened in the Pali, while in the Jaina books य् is substituted for them; *i. e.*, the different stages of phonetic corruption in this case are, the consonants in their original or softened forms, then य् for them, and lastly their elision. 2. That न् is preserved in the Pali, and changed everywhere to ण् in the Mahārāṣṭrī; while in the Jaina dialect initial न् remains unchanged except in enclytics. 3. That the loc. sing. of nouns in अ ends in ंसिं or ंसि which we find in the

But it is in the dramatic plays that we find these dialects principally used. Writers on Poetics prescribe that a particular dramatic person should speak a particular dialect. Sanskrit is assigned to respectable men of education, and women in holy orders; Śaurasenī, to respectable ladies in their prose speeches, and the Mahārāṣṭrī or the principal Prakrit, in the songs or verses put into their mouths. Śaurasenī is also assigned to inferior characters; and the Māgadhī and Paiśācī to very low persons. The general rule is that a dramatic person should speak the language of the country to which he or she is supposed to belong. Later writers give more minute rules. For instance, the author of the Sāhityadarpaṇa assigns Māgadhī to the attendants in the royal seraglio, Ardhamāgadhī to footmen, royal children, and

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language of the column inscriptions; while it is स्मि and म्हि in the Pali and म्मि in the Prakrit.

Now as to the first, the य् is not prior to the elision, but contemporaneous or subsequent to it, being found even in the modern vernaculars. It was introduced simply to facilitate pronunciation; *i. e.*, it is a strengthened form of the vowel. Thus the Prakrit of पाद foot is पाअ, but in Marathi we have पाय; so राजन् Skr., राअ Pr., राय H.; सोदर Skr., सोअर Pr., सोयरा M., &c. &c. The य् occurs not only in Jaina books, but everywhere, *e. g.* in the Gauḍavadhakāvya (see below); and Hemacandra does tell us in his Sūtra अवर्णो यश्रुतिः that the अ that remains after the elision of a consonant is pronounced like a soft य. With regard to the second, initial न् is found unchanged in the Gauḍavadha in a great many places. Thus in stanza 242 we have the negative particle न, in 241 निवडइ for निपतति, in 245 नाह for नाथ, and in 251 नह for नख. These instances I have found on simply opening the Ms. at random and no great search was necessary. Hemacandra also in his Sūtra वादौ following another, नो णः, says that the initial न् is sometimes changed to ण्, sometimes not. As to the third, the termination सिं may constitute a peculiarity of the language, but it is by no means an index to its higher antiquity, since it occurs in the pronominal locative of the principal Prakrit. There are several peculiarities in the Jaina books, and a good many of them are noticed by our Grammarian, but they do not show an earlier stage of development.

This continues still to be my view, notwithstanding all that has since been published on the subject. Dr. Hoernle, in the introduction to his edition of Caṇḍa's Prākṛtalakṣaṇa makes an elaborate attempt to prove that the dialect, the grammar of which is given in that book, is more ancient than the Prakrit of Vararuci and Hemacandra. But it is not at all difficult to see that he is altogether on a wrong track. He says there is

merchants, Prācyā to the Vidūṣaka and others, Āvantikī to sharpers, warriors, and clever men of the world, Dākṣiṇātyā to gamblers, Śākārī to Śakāras, Śakas, and others, Bāhlikā to celestial persons, Drāviḍī to Draviḍas and others, Ābhīrī to cowherds, Cāṇḍālikī to outcastes, Ābhīrī and Śābarī, also to those who live by selling wood and leaves, and Paiśācī to dealers in charcoal. Hand-maids, if they do not belong to a very low class, should speak Śaurasenī. Some of the modern grammarians also mention as large a number of dialects. But whether these were actually used by writers of dramatic plays in accordance with the rules of Rhetoricians, or, if they were, what constituted the exact difference between these various languages, it is impossible to determine so long as we have not got satisfactory editions of the plays.

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nothing in Hemacandra corresponding to the rule given by Caṇḍa about dropping the final vowel of the first member of a compound when the initial vowel of the second is followed by a consonant, in such words as *dhana*+*āḍhya*, *deva*+*indra*, &c., which in that Prakrit have the forms *dhanaḍḍha*, *devinda*, &c. This change, however, does come under Hemacandra's rule I. 84, which provides for the shortening of a long vowel when followed by a conjunct consonant. The short vowels corresponding to ए and ओ are इ and उ; and among the instances given by Hemacandra, we have *narindo* for *narendra*, *aharuṭṭha* for *adharoṣṭha*, *nāluppala* for *nīlotpala* &c. Dr. Hoernle thinks the changes of *i* to short *e* and of *u* to short *o* are later Prakrit changes. But he will find many instances of them in the Pali, which certainly is an older dialect than any Jaina Prakrit. They are, he says, unknown to Caṇḍa. Caṇḍa's work is a very meagre production, in which very little endeavour is made to classify facts; and thus he must be supposed to include these changes under his very general rule that *one vowel takes the place of another vowel* (II. 4). The instance *giṇhati* incidentally given by him in connection with another rule does not show that in his Prakrit the form *geṇha* did not exist, much less that the change of *i* to *e* was unknown. Then with regard to consonants, Dr. Hoernle says that there are five points in which the "older Prakrit" of Caṇḍa, as he calls it, differs from the Prakrit of Vararuci and Hemacandra. One of these is "the preservation of the dental *n* in every case." For this statement the Doctor quotes the authority of a Sūtra in which we are told by Caṇḍa that ङ and ञ् do not exist in the Prakrit, as compared with another version of that Sūtra which says that ङ्, ञ्, and ञ् do not exist (II. 14). This last version no doubt provides for the change of ञ् in all cases; but the other which denies the non-existence or affirms the existence of ञ् cannot mean that it exists or is unchanged in *all* cases. The denial of non-existence or

Still in those cases in which we have the assistance of the older Prakrit grammarians, the characteristics of each can be made out with fulness and certainty. To illustrate his rules about the Māgadhī, Hemacandra quotes from the speeches of the fisherman and the two policemen in Śakuntalā, of the Kṣapaṇaka from the Mudrārākṣasa, and Rudhirapriyā from the Veṇīsaṁhāra.

The points in which the Māghadhī chiefly differs from the principal Prakrit and Śaurasenī are these :— र् and ह् of these are changed to ल् and श्; स्थ and र्थ of Sanskrit to स्त, and ष्ट to स्ट; and स् is not assimilated as in पस्खलदि from प्रस्खलति, the nom. sing. of masc. nouns ends in ए instead of ओ, which is the Prakrit ending; the gen. sing. of masc. and neut. nouns optionally in आह as कम्माह; and the form of the nom. sing. of the first personal pronoun is हगे.

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affirmation of existence only proves its existence or remaining unchanged in *some* cases. Besides we have a specific rule where we are told that a letter of the ह् class takes the place of the corresponding letter of the त् class (III. 16), thus providing for the change of न् to ण्; and the instance given is धण्णं for धान्यम्. But this rule, the Doctor thinks, holds good in cases, for which however there is no authority whatever, and he gives none. Again, he says that his statement is proved by the uniform spelling of the Prakrit examples with *n* in MSS A and B, which, according to him, contain the older version of the work. I, however, find that the spelling in his edition, which is the spelling of A and B, follows uniformly, with one or two exceptions, in which we must suppose a mistake, the rule laid down by Hemacandra, *viz.*, that initial *n* is optionally changed to *ṇ*, while medial *n* is necessarily so changed. The instances are :— all the case-terminations which are to be traced to the Sanskrit terminations having *n* in them, such as णो, णि, and णं; मुणिणो for मुनीन् (I. 1), गयणओ for गगनतः (I. 16), मणिस्सा A. (I. 21), नाणी (I. 24) for ज्ञानी, सक्कीसाणा for शक्रेशानौ (II. 1), काणं (II. 15), गयणं for गगनम् (II. 21), पीलणं for पीडनम् (II. 24), नाणं for ज्ञानम् (III. 6), जुव्वणं for यौवनम् (III. 15) and रअणं for रत्नं (III. 30). The second point is "the preservation of the medial single surd unaspirate consonants with the only exception of *k*." This simply means the preservation of *c*, *t*, and *p* which according to the other grammarians are *generally* dropped. Caṇḍa agrees with these in dropping not only *k*, but *g*, *j*, and *d*. Whether therefore the preservation of *c*, *t*, and *p*, supposing that Caṇḍa really allows it, marks off his Prakrit as older than that of Hemacandra or Vararuci is more than questionable. But, as a matter of fact in III. 12, he does provide for their change to *j*, *d*, and *b*; and the change of *t* to *d* is a Śaurasenī, *i. e.*, a local change, and does not indicate priority of time. Besides, even

If we apply the test furnished by these rules to the several dialects used by the characters in the Mṛcchakaṭika as it is in existing editions, which play contains a large variety of characters, and consequently of speech, we shall find that the language of the Cāṇḍālas, the Śakāra, his servant Sthāvaraka, and even Kumbhīraka and Vardhamānaka, is Māgadhī, though the rules about स्थ, र्थ, and ष्ट are scarcely observed. There is hardly any dialectic difference in their speeches. But the Sāhityadarpaṇa would lead us to expect his Cāṇḍālikā and Śākārī respectively in the first two cases, and Ardhamāgadhī in the last three. As before observed, some admixture of Māgadhī characteristics constitutes this last dialect. Under this view there are instances of the use of the Ardhamāgadhī, as Lassen remarks, in

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the dropping of these consonants must have been contemplated by him. For in the instances given in the book, they are dropped in all the manuscripts used by Dr. Hoernle, even in A and B, which according to him contain the older version. Thus we have एइ for एति (I. 12), गयणओ-उ or गयणाओ-उ for गगनत: (I, 16), कयं for कृतम् (I. 23 and everywhere else), इहागओ-उ for इहागत: (II. 1.), इच्छिअं for इच्छितम् (II. 3), कायव्वं-ब्बं for कर्तव्यम्; सुइणं for सूचीनाम् (II. 4), नेउरं for नूपुरम् (II. 4), घयं for घृतम्, काउण for कृत्वा, दीसइ for दृश्यते (II. 5), गच्छइ for गच्छति, वइ for पति: (II. 10), सरिआणं or सरियाणं for सरिताम् (II. 11), गइ-ई for गति:, मइ-ई for मति: (II.17), &c. &c. It is very much to be regretted that the Doctor should in all these cases have set aside the readings of his manuscripts and invented his own with the त्, च्, and प् standing in the words, instead of being dropped. This invention or restoration, as he calls it, is based on a singular inference that he deduces from a single word, कृतं given as a Prakrit word in the book. He says it must originally have been कतं, but the copyist, not knowing of such a word being in the later Prakrit which he knew, took it as the Sanskrit कृतं, and wrote accordingly. If, therefore, कतं was the Prakrit word in this case, it must have been so in all those cases in which कयं occurs in the book, and so Dr. Hoernle makes it कतं throughout. But it did not strike him that if the copyist knew Prakrit enough to see that कतं was not a Prakrit word, he must have seen that कृतं also was not a Prakrit word and could not have given it as such. Now the reason why these consonants were not admitted by Caṇḍa, according to the manuscripts A and B, among those that are dropped, but only among those that are softened must be that all these rules are only general and not universal, and there were as many instances of softening as of dropping. Besides, I have already said that Caṇḍa's work is perfunctory,

the Prabodhacandrodaya. The dialect used by Māthura, the keeper of the gambling-house in the Mṛcchakaṭika, is somewhat different. In his speeches, we sometimes find ह् and श् used for र् and स्, and sometimes not. The nom. sing. ends in ओ, as in the Mahārāṣṭrī or Śaurasenī, in some cases, in others it ends in ए as in the Māgadhī, and sometimes in उ as in the Apabhraṁśa; and the gen. sing. sometimes ends in आह as in the Māgadhī. If the text is to be depended on, the Dākṣiṇātyā which Viśvanātha[1] attributes to gamblers may be such a mixed language.

It would thus appear that if all these inferior dialects did exist and were used by dramatic writers, they differed from each other in unimportant particulars, and that most of them belonged to the Māgadhī species, since the MSS. have confounded them with the Māgadhī of the grammarians. Hence we are justified in taking the real number of Prakrit dialects used for literary purposes to be six, viz., those mentioned by Hemacandra, Trivikrama, and Lakṣmīdhara.

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and does not show accuracy of observation and statement. The third point is the preservation of the medial single surd aspirate consonants with the only exception of *kh*; *i. e.*, ह्, ध्, फ्, are preserved. But III. 11 provides for the change of these to ह्, ध्, and भ्, if we look to the sense of the Sūtra and also to some of the instances that are given. The change of ध् to ध् is a Śaurasenī peculiarity. Of the two remaining points one is the insertion of य् to avoid the hiatus caused by the dropping of a consonant, about which I have already spoken, and the other is unimportant.

There is, therefore, no question that the Prakrit, a meagre grammar of which is given in the work edited by Dr. Hoernle, is not older than Hemacandra's.—(1887).

1 Another gambler without a name is introduced in the same scene, whose language Prof. Lassen thinks is Dākṣiṇātyā and Māthura's, Āvantikī. Very few speeches, however, are given to the former, and it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion from them; but so far as they go, there is hardly any difference between his dialect and that of Māthura. The Professor is led to attribute two languages to gamblers by the annotator on the Sāhityadarpaṇa whom he quotes, and who explains धूर्त by अक्षदेविन्. But if the word is to be so understood, दीव्यताम् in the next line is not wanted, and neither योध nor नागरिक. For, supposing the warriors and clever worldly men were gamblers, gambling was not confined to them; whence there is no reason to mention them in particular.

Daṇḍin mentions a work of the name of Bṛhatkathā written in the language of the ghosts, *i. e.*, in the Paiśācī. Dr. Bühler has recently obtained a trace of the work, and arrangements have been made for getting it copied.[1] It is traditionally ascribed to a poet of the name of Guṇāḍhya.

Let us now examine cursorily the principal Prakrit and the Śaurasenī which ranks next to it in literary importance, but, which, as the model of the inferior dialects and as the language used by the higher class of Prakrit-speaking dramatic persons in their prose speeches, is more important than the other. Here, as before, I will place a specimen of each before you :—

[Mahārāṣṭrī]

61. निय[अ]आए चिय[अ] वायाइ अत्ताणो गारवं निवेसेन्ता ।
जे यन्ति पसंसं चिय[अ] जयन्ति इह ते महाकइणो ॥

63. दोग्गच्चंमि वि सोक्खाइं ताण विहवे वि होन्ति दुक्खाइं ।
कव्वपरमत्थरसिया[आ]इं जाण जायन्ति हियया[अआ]इं ॥

67. सोहेइ सुहावेइ य[अ] उवहुज्जन्तो लवो वि लच्छीए ।
देवी सरस्सई उण असमग्गा किंपि विणडेइ ॥

99. अत्थि निय[अ]च्चिय[अ]नीसेसभुवणदुरिया[आ]हिनन्दिय[अ]महिन्दो ।
सिरि जसवम्मो त्ति दिसापडिलग्गगुणो महीनाहो ॥

(Gaüḍavaho).

The Sanskrit of this would be :—

61. निजयैव वाचयात्मनो गौरवं निवेशयन्तः ।
ये यान्ति प्रशंसामेव जयन्तीह ते महाकवयः ॥

63. दौर्गत्येपि सौख्यानि तेषां विभवेपि भवन्ति दुःखानि ।
काव्यपरमार्थरसिकानि येषां जायन्ते हृदयानि ॥

67. शोभयति सुखयति चोपभुज्यमानो लवोपि लक्ष्म्याः ।
देवी सरस्वती पुनरसमग्रा किमपि विडम्बयति ॥

99. अस्ति निवर्तितनिःशेषभुवनदुरिताभिनन्दितमहेन्द्रः ।
श्रीयशोवर्मेति दिशाप्रतिलग्नगुणो महीनाथः ॥

61. " Victorious are the great poets who, establishing their greatness by their own words, do obtatin praise only. "

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1 So Dr. Bühler told me at the time; and on a subsequent occasion I myself thought I had found a trace of the work. But up to this time all our search has proved fruitless. (1887).

63. "Those whose hearts appreciate the true beauty of poetry experience joys even in poverty and sorrows even in prosperity."

67. "Even a small degree of Lakṣmī when enjoyed adorns and delights, but the divine Sarasvatī if imperfect is an unspeakable mockery."

99. "There lives a king named Yaśovarman who delights Indra by removing all the distresses of the world and whose virtues have reached the ends of the quarters."

[Śaurasenī]

कधं अणुगहीदम्हि । इअमालिङ्गामि । दंसणं उण पिअसहीए बाहुप्पीडेण णिरुद्धं ण लम्भीअदि । सहि कठोरकमलपम्हलो अण्णारिसो ज्जेव्व दे अज्ज णिव्वावेदि सरीरफंसो । किं अ मउलिविणिवेसिदञ्जली मह वअणेण विण्णवेहि तं जणं ण मए मन्दभाइणीए विअसन्तपुण्डरीअलच्छीविलासहारिणो मुहचन्दमण्डलस्स दे सच्छन्ददंसणेण संभाविदो चिरं महूसवो लोअणाणं ।

The Sanskrit of this would be :—

कथमनुगृहीतास्मि । इयमालिङ्गामि । दर्शनं पुनः प्रियसख्या बाष्पोत्पीडेन निरुद्धं न लभ्यते । सखि कठोरकमलपक्ष्मलोन्यादृश एव तेय निर्वापयति शरीरस्पर्शः । किं च मौलिविनिवेशिताञ्जलिर्मम वचनेन विज्ञापय तं जनं न मया मन्दभाग्यया विकसत्पुण्डरीकलक्ष्मीविलासहारिणो मुखचन्द्रमण्डलस्य ते स्वच्छन्ददर्शनेन संभावितश्चिरं महोत्सवो लोचनानाम् ।

"What ! thou hast obliged me. Here I embrace. But I do not catch a glimpse of my dear friend, my sight being obstructed by the flow of tears. Friend, the contact of thy body, hairy like a ripened lotus, cools my body in a peculiar manner to-day. Moreover, with thy hands clasped and placed over thy head, do at my request humbly say to that person, 'Unfortunate as I am, I have not feasted my eyes long, by looking freely at the moon of thy face which rivals the blown lotus in beauty ".

In the MS. of the Gaudavadha, from which the first extract is given, अ and आ preceded by अ and इ, are marked as य and या. In MSS. of other works, the य does not appear ; but there can be no question that it represents the later pronunciation correctly, since as already remarked in a note, this य is observed in some of the modern vernaculars. But it is to be pronounced like a strengthened अ or आ

and not like the heavy semi-vowel that I mentioned in my observations on the Pāli.

(I) PHONETIC CHANGES COMMON TO PALI AND PRAKRITS

From these extracts you will observe that phonetic decay has made greater progress in these dialects than in the one we have examined. The changes in the Pali are, with a few exceptions, such as may be attributed to the circumstances and vocal peculiarities of a foreign race. But in the Prakrits the ususal processes of curruption have a wider range of operation; though even here we shall, as we proceed, find it necessary to ascribe a good deal to an ethnological cause.

And first as regards the phonetic transformations which we have noticed in the Pali, I have to observe that Prakrits also exhibit the same with but slight differences. The vowel ऋ is changed to अ as in घअ, तण, मअ, &c. for घृत, तृण, मृग, &c.; to इ as in किवा, हिअअ, किस, &c. for कृपा, हृदय, कृश, &c.; to उ as in पुहई, पाउस, मुद्ध, &c., for पृथिवी, प्रावृष्, वृद्ध, &c. When standing alone, it is more often changed to रि than in Pali; as in रिद्धी and रिच्छ for ऋद्धि and ऋक्ष; रिण or अण, रिजू or उजू, &c., for ऋण, ऋजु, &c., while the Pali forms of these words are इद्धि, अच्छ, अण and उजु.

The diphthongs ऐ and औ are, as in Pali, changed to ए and ओ, as in केलास, वेज्ज, केढव, &c. for कैलास, वैद्य, कैटभ, &c.; and in जोव्वण, कोमुई, कोत्थुह &c., for यौवन, कौमुदी, कौस्तुभ, &c.; but in a good many instances they are dissolved into their elements अइ and अउ, as in दइच्च, भइरव, दइवअ, सइर, &c., for दैत्य, भैरव, दैवत, स्वैर, &c., and पउर, कउसल, सउह, मउली, &c., for पौर, कौशल, सौध, मौलि, &c. This change resembles the dissolution of conjunct consonants into the different members, and like it, is due to a weak or languid way of pronunciation. In ऐ and औ the first element or अ is rapidly pronounced, and the temporal value assigned to it by the authors of the Prātiśākhyas is, you will remember, half a mātrā, while in the Prakrti transformations it is one mātrā.

The long vowels are, as in Pali, shortened when followed by double consonants; and there is the same or even stronger evidence of the existence of short ए and ओ. In Pali short इ and उ followed by a conjunct are in certain cases changed to ए and ओ, and from that fact we inferred that they were short. Here in a

great many more cases, when so followed, short इ is optionally interchangeable with ए, and short उ is necessarily replaced by ओ, as in पिण्ड or पेण्ड, पिट्ठ or पेट्ठ, निद्दा or नेद्दा, &c., and तोण्ड, मोण्ड, पोक्खर, &c., for पिण्ड, पिट्ठ, निद्रा, तुण्ड, मुण्ड, पुष्कर, &c. In several cases ए, not followed by a conjunct, is optionally changed to इ, as in विअणा or वेअणा for वेदना, दिअर or देअर for देवर, &c. The ए in these words must for some reason that we will hereafter consider have been pronounced short and hence interchangeable with इ. Sometimes the consonant following an ए or ओ is doubled, as in तेल्ल, पेम्म, सोत्त, जोव्वन, &c., for तैल, प्रेमन्, स्रोतस्, यौवन, &c., which could only be because those vowels were pronounced short, and the loss of quantity thus occasioned was made up for by rendering the pronunciation heavy and forcible. In other cases the ए was so pronounced by some and not by others; and so we have एक्क or एअ for एक, सेव्वा or सेवा for सेवा, &c. The syllables अय and अव are changed to ए and ओ oftener than in Pali, the अय of the causative and the tenth class becoming ए necessarily throughout, as in कारेइ, हासेइ, कहेइ for कारयति, हासयति, कथयति &c.

All the sibilants are reduced to स् as in the Pali, but in the Māgadhī dialect to श्; शालश, पुलिश for सारस, पुरुष, &c. These dialects do not possess the cerebral ळ्, and therefore we have ल् in the place of the Pali ळ्, and in some cases the original Sanskrit ड्; as in तलाअ, गरुल, कीलइ for the Pali तळाग, गरुळ, कीळति and Sanskrit तडाग, गरुड, क्रीडति, &c., गुल or गुड, णाली or णाडी for the Pali गुळ, नाळी, &c. and पीडेइ, नीड for the Pali पीळेति, नीळ, &c.

There are a good many more examples of the change of dentals to cerebrals than in the Pali, both through the influence of a neighbouring र् or without it. The द् and द्ध् which correspond to त् and थ् are in most cases softened to ड् and ढ्. Thus we have पडि for the Pali पटि, as in पडिमा, पडिहार, for प्रतिमा, प्रतिहार, &c., and पहुडि, पडण, बहेडअ, for प्रभृति, पतन, बिभीतक; डोला or दोला, डम्भ or दम्भ, ढब्भ or दब्भ for दोला, दम्भ, दर्भ, &c.; पढम (Pali पठम), सिढिल, मेढी, ओसढ for प्रथम, शिथिल, मेथि, औषध, &c.

In Pali the dental nasal न् is changed to ण् in but a few instances; but here it is so changed throughout, necessarily when uninitial, and optionally when at the beginning of a word; as कणअ, मअण, वअण, for कनक, मदन, वदन, &c., and णर or नर, णई or नई, णेइ or नेइ, for

नर, नदी, नयति, &c. The opposite process is however observable in the Paiśācī dialect, where not only have we no instances of this change but even the original Sanskrit ण् is changed to न् as in गुन, गन, for गुण, गण, &c.

The conjunct consonants are transformed in the Prakrit in the same way as in the Pali. In the former however, ज्ञ् and न्य् are changed to ण्ण, and not to ञ्ञ् as in the latter, as in णाण, सण्णा, अण्ण, सुण्ण, for ज्ञान, संज्ञा, अन्य, शून्य, &c. To be thus corrupted, ज्ञ् must in the original Sanskrit have been pronounced as if it were composed of ज् and न्; and sometimes the latter must have been so weakly pronounced that the sound of ज् prevailed over it and the whole became ज्ज्, as in ज्ञाण or णाण, सव्वज्ञ or सव्वण्ण, मणोज्ञ or मणोण्ण, for ज्ञान, सर्वज्ञ, मनोज्ञ, &c. In the Paiśācī and the Māgadhī, however, the Pali transformation is retained; as in मञ्ञा, सवञ्ञ, कञ्ञका, अभिमञ्ञ, for संज्ञा, सर्वज्ञ, कन्यका, अभिमन्यु &c.

The conjunct र्य् is sometimes changed to ज्ज् corresponding to the य्य् of the older dialect, and ह्य to ज्झ् in which case the heavy *nāda* of ह् is transferred to the ज् which takes the place of य् as in change of ध्य् to ज्झ्.

In Pali the consonants of ह्य only interchange places; *i. e.* it becomes य्ह्. From this and from the change of the initial uncombined य् to ज्, it appears that very often the Sanskrit य्, was pronounced heavily when the Prakrits arose. The Śaurasenī and the dialects allied with it have, however, both the Pali and the Prakrit corruptions of र्य्.

A dental forming a conjunct with a following व् is in a few cases changed to the corresponding palatal; as in भोच्चा for भुक्त्वा, चच्चर for चत्वर, पिच्छी for पृथ्वी, विज्जं for विद्वान्, बुज्झा for बुद्धा, झअ for ध्वज, झुणी for ध्वनि, सज्झस for साध्वस, &c. This seems to arise from the fact that व् was pronounced so lightly that it lost its distinctive character, and the conjuncts came to be confused with those containing a dental and य् which, you will remember, are changed to a double palatal. In Pali the त्व् is retained in these instances, and the द्व् and ध्व् are changed to द् and द्ध् according to the general rules, and the थ्व् of पृथ्वी becomes थव्. Besides the conjuncts disjoined in Pali by the interposition of a vowel, we have र्ज् and र्ष् also so treated in the Prakrit, sometimes optionally

and sometimes necessarily. Thus आदर्श becomes आअरिस or आअंस, (P. आदास); सुदर्शन, सुदरिसण or सुदंसण, (P. सुदस्सन); वर्ष, वरिस or वास (P. वस्स); परामर्श, परामरिस, (P. परामास); अमर्श, अमरिस, (P. अमस्स).

(II) Phonetic changes in the Prakrits

Having noticed the changes common to the Prakrits with the Pali, we will proceed to consider others distinctive of the former. Most of these were due to the continuous operation of processes which come into play in a living language. The Pali exhibits but few instances of these processes. The changes observable in it are mostly to be traced to one or two vocal peculiarities of the men who spoke it. At the time when the language received the form in which we now find it, the tradition of the original Sanskrit was still distinct; the Pali had not lived an independent life detached from its mother for a long time. But with the Prakrits the case is different. They show a great many more instances of the usual processes, and consequently a much greater departure from the parent tongue. We will begin by noticing what may be called the softening process.

The vowels इ and उ are softened, as we have seen, to short ए and ओ before conjuncts. These latter sounds are, as indicated in the last lecture, more open than the former; that is, do not require the tongue to be raised so high as in the case of इ and उ. They are therefore softer. But since the change principally takes place before doubles it may, I believe, be traced to their influence, as I have already observed. In that case this would be an instance of assimilation. But the change of long ई and ऊ to long ए and ओ is due to softening alone; as in पेऊस for पीयूष, आपेल for आपीड, बहेडअ for बिभीतक, केरिस for कीदृश, and एरिस for ईदृश, नेड for नीड, पेढ for पीठ, तम्बोल for ताम्बूल, तोणीर for तूणीर, थोर for स्थूल, and गलोई for गुडूची. In the same way, इ and उ are in rare cases softened to अ, as in हलद्दा for हरिद्रा, पडंसुअ for प्रतिश्रुत, and जाहिट्ठिल for युधिष्ठिर. अ requires no movement of the tongue or lips, while इ and उ do. It is therefore softer than those two vowels. Both these changes contradict another principle to be hereafter noticed, the operation of which is wide, and they must therefore be considered special or peculiar changes. The manner in which ऋ is softened has been already detailed.

The semivowel य् is often softened to इ, as in बिअण for व्यजन, विलिअ for व्यलीक, थीण for स्त्यान, उव्वीढ for उद्व्यूढ, जीआ for ज्या, &c.

Here the effort necessary to bring the middle of the tongue closer to the palate is economized, while the position of the organs in other respects is the same. The य of the conjunct र्य is sometimes softened in this way to इ and sometimes to इअ. In the former case the resulting इ is transferred to the previous syllable and forms ए with the अ contained in it; as in पेरन्त for पर्यन्त, अच्छेर for आश्चर्य, बम्भचेर for ब्रह्मचर्य, सुन्देर for सौन्दर्य, &c. Similarly व is changed to उ as in झुणी for ध्वनि, वीसुं for विष्वक्, गउओ for गवय, सुवइ for स्वपिति दु for द्वि, &c.

The surds are softened into sonants. The pronunciation of these requires, as you will remember, less exertion than that of the former. For, sonants such as ग्, घ्, द्, ध्, &c., are pronounced by means of *nāda*, or vocal sound which is produced when the glottis is in its natural condition and the chords vibrate, and the surds क्, ख्, त्, थ्, &c. are uttered by sending forth simple breath or *śvāsa*, to produce which it is necessary to stretch the glottis. This effort is saved by changing the surds to sonants. Thus क् is changed to ग् as in मरगअ for मरकत and गेन्दुअ for कन्दुक ; ट् to ड् as in नड, भड, and घड, for नट, भट, and घट, and in पडि for प्रति and the other instances given above ; ठ् to ढ् as in मढ, सढ, कमढ, कुढार, and पढ, for मठ, शठ, कमठ, कुठार, and पठ; and त and थ to द and ध as in एद for एत, नाध for नाथ &c. (in Śaur.). The cerebral, and ढ् resulting from the original dentals त् and थ् are also similarly softened to ड् and ढ् as in पडि for प्रति (पटि in Pali), पहुडि for प्रभृति, बहेडअ for बिभीतक, हरडई for हरीतकी, मडअ for मृतक, &c., and सिढिल for शिथिल, पुढवी for पृथिवी, पढम for प्रथम, &c. The sonant answering to प् is ब् but this is further softened to व्, as in कूव, कवाल, कुणव, तवइ, &c., for कूप, कपाल, कुणप, तपति, &c.

An original ड् is softed to ळ्, in which case there is a saving of two efforts. The complete contact necessary for the pronunciation of ड् being avoided, we have ळ्. This sound is similar to ल् in the fact that the breath before the break of the contact or close approach is allowed to pass out by the sides of the tongue, but is more difficult or harder because its position being higher up, the tongue has to be raised higher than in pronouncing ल्, the position of which is near the root of the upper teeth. This additional exertion is saved by proceeding from ड्, at once to ळ्. We have thus गरुळ, तळाअ, कीळइ, दाळिम, शुळ, नाळी, for गरुड़, तड़ाग,

क्रीडति, दाडिम, गुड, नाडी &c. In the Pali, however, you will remember and probably in some unwritten Prakrits also, the cerebral character of the letter was preserved, and we have ळ instead of ल.

Sometimes ड़ is softened to र only. The position of this is lower than that of ड़, and the contact is incomplete. It is therefore softer than ड़ but harder than ल. This last sound is produced lower still, but a light close approach is formed, and the breath is allowed to escape by the sides of the tongue; while in uttering र, the tongue is kept in its position with greater force, and the breath is allowed to vibrate. This change is principally to be met with in the case of the ड़ resulting from an original द् in such words as एआरह, बारह, तेरह, &c., for एकादश, द्वादश, त्रयोदश, &c., the द् of which must first have become ड़. In कलम्ब, दोहल, and पलित्त, for कदम्ब, दोहद, and प्रदीप्त, we have instances of an original द् passing into ल.

An original र् is changed to ल which, as just observed, is softer than र, as in हलद्दी, दलिद्द, मुहल, इङ्गाल, &c., for हरिद्रा, दरिद्र, मुखर, अङ्गार, &c. When the र् forming the first member of a conjunct is softened in this way, and the following member is weak or is itself capable of becoming ल, the whole conjunct becomes ल; as पर्यस्त becomes पल्लट्ट-त्थ; पर्याण, पल्लाण; आर्द्र, अल्ल or ओल्ल; मर्द, मल्ल, &c. The sibilant स्, which is the only one we have in the Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī, is sometimes softened to ह, that is, the simple heavy breath somewhat compressed at the dental position is made uncompressed heavy vocal sound; as in दिवह, पाहाण, दह, एआरह, बारह &c., for दिवस, पाषाण, दश, एकादश, द्वादश, &c.

Another phenomenon characteristic of the Prakrits is the dropping away of single uninitial consonants. The क् is dropped, as in सअड, कुम्भआर, for शकट, कुम्भकार, &c.; ग् as in नअ, नअर, साअर, for नग, नगर, सागर, &c.; च् as in वअण, सूई, for वचन, सूचि, &c.; ज् as in रअअ, राआ, गअ, for रजत, राजा, गज, &c.; त् as in विआण, पआवई, गअ, for वितान, प्रजापति, गत, &c.; द् as in मअण, पाअ, कअल, for मदन, पाद, कदल, &c.; प् followed by any vowel except अ, as in रिऊ, कई, विउल, for रिपु, कपि, विपुल, &c.; य् as in वाउणा, णअण, for वायुना, नयन, &c.; व् as in जीअ, दिअह, for जीव, दिवस, &c. The vowel अ or आ that remains after the elision is, when preceded by अ or आ, pronounced like a light य्. We find it written in mss. also, as in सयढ, तित्थयरो, नयर, &c.

In the same way, the mute element of the aspirates is dropped, except in the case of the palatals and of ष, the ह or the heavy *nāda* or vocal sound being alone preserved. Thus we have मुह, लिह, सही, for मुख, लिख, सखी, &c., मेह, माह, पाहुण, for मेघ, माघ, प्राघुण, &c.; नाह, मिहुण, कहा, for नाथ, मिथुन, कथा, &c.; बाहेर, वहू, साहु, for बधिर वधू, साधु, &c.; लाह, सोहग्ग, सोहा, for लाभ, सौभाग्य, शोभा, &c.

The range of the operation of these processes is very wide, and the number of words transformed in accordance with them is very large. Now, the principle which is at the bottom of this elision of consonants is the same as that which brings about softening, viz., economy of exertion. But in a growing language which knows of no accidents in the course of its history, there is another principle which counteracts this, viz., the necessity of pronouncing words in the manner to be understood by others. Hence a wholesale elision is impossible; and the natural course is to soften sounds away, until finally they are elided. This of course must be a very slow process. But in the Prakrit, and especially the Mahārāṣṭrī, we do not find it to be slow.

Elision seems to be a distinguishing characteristic which strikes one very forcibly on reading a Prakrit passage. It is too regular, systematic, and far-reaching, to have been the product of a long course of softening. In fact, because it is so systematic and general, some writers have doubted whether the Prakrits were genuine dialects, and have expressed their belief that they are the creation of Pandits. But we shall find that the modern vernaculars retain the words shorn of their elements by the Prakrits in this way; and that these latter dialects were the immediate parents of those we now speak in Northern India. If this general mutilation of words was brought about by a natural decay, we must suppose the process to have gone on for a great many centuries. The Prakrit vocables that have descended to the modern vernaculars have not, since the period when the Prakrits arose about fourteen centuries ago, suffered at all so much as Sanskrit words in passing into the Prakrits. We have not dropped away any of the elements of Prakrit vocables, though we may have re-arranged them in some cases. If, then, fourteen centuries have not been sufficient to make words lose any of their elements by the action of natural causes, the process by which Sanskrit

words were mutilated and became Prakrit must, if it was natural and ordinary, have been in operation for a considerably longer period, a supposition which appears extremely improbable. And it is questionable whether a language which has not been exposed to accidents in the course of its history suffers so much, even after the lapse of any conceivable time. The Teutonic languages, though they have been going through an independent course of development, since the period when the ancestors of the modern English and Germans separated from the ancestors of the Hindus in pre-historic ages, have preserved the elements of old Aryan vocables which the Prakrits lost. They may have transformed the words, but have not mutilated them to any great extent. The English words *father, mother, brother, foot*, and others, have all the elements of the old पितृ, मातृ. भ्रातृ, पद् (पाद), and others; while the Prakrit पिआ or पीउ, माआ, माइ or माउ, भाआ or भाउ, and पाअ, and the modern vernacular पिउ, माउ, मा, माई, भाई, भाउ, and पा or पाय, have lost all except the first consonantal sound.

The elision of consonants on a large scale in the Prakrits is therefore to be accounted for in another way than by attributing it to a natural process of decay. The Prakrit words must be taken to represent the pronunciation of the corresponding Sanskrit words by an alien race. The vocal organs of the people of that race were unused to the utterance of Sanskrit sounds and in this respect, they were in the condition of children, making their first attempts at articulate speech, and elided uninitial consonantal sounds and assimilated cojunct consonants as these do. When a child or a barbarous foreigner listens to an elderly or more civlized person, he has not the patience to attend to all the sounds composing a word and to reproduce them carefully, or has not acquired the habit of doing so. The first letter alone makes a strong impression on his ear, and this he faithfully reproduces; and as to the rest, he realizes their quantity by pronouncing the vowels, but his tongue being untrained, the peculiar movements necessary for uttering the consonantal sounds he cannot go through, and avoids. In going over the Pali we had to attribute the assimilation of conjuncts and other peculiarities observable in that dialect to such a cause; and now the elision in the Prakrits that we

have been considering must, I believe, be accounted for in the same way.

But what could be the historical events which led to the wholesale assimilation of consonants in the first place and to the similar elision of uninitial consonants in addition to the assimilation, in the next? I would put forward the following hypothesis. It would appear that when the Aryas moved from the land of the five rivers and settled in the country known afterwards as Brahmāvarta and Kuruksetra,—that is the country about Thāneśvar,—they formed a consolidated community, in which an aboriginal or alien race was incorporated and the language represented by the Pali was the language of this race. When, however, the consolidated community spread eastwards and southwards, they met other alien races, and the dialect, spoken by the lowest class of the consolidated community, was learnt by these new alien races, and the words which were in the Pali stage, were further corrupted into the forms which we find in Prakrits. The dialects of the Aśoka edicts do not show instances of the Prakrit rule of elision, though some peculiarities of one or two later dialects are discernable in them. Does this necessarily show that the Prakrits had not developed in the time of Aśoka? I think not. The dialects of the edicts represent the spoken language of the more cultured portion of the consolidated community, and not that used by the races, which were newly incorporated with the community, and formed a class lower in the scale, though the Prakrits must have begun to be developed about the time of Aśoka. In the Nasik cave inscriptions of about the second century of the Christian era, we observe some instances of the Prakrit peculiarity of elision, whence it would appear that the Prakrits had then come into existence, though they were still regarded as vulgar and were neglected, the principal inscriptions being in the Pali which had then become a learned language. The conclusion we came to in the last lecture, that the Pali represents middle Sanskrit in a vernacular form, while the Prakrits correspond to the last or classical stage, is in harmony with this view.

Another process which transforms the words of a language is assimilation. We have already discussed the assimilation of the

members of a conjunct and of the dipthongal sounds ऐ and औ, and will now consider the application of the process to the different syllables composing a word. The अ of the second syllable of ईषत्, वेतस्, and कृपण, is changed to इ, because the vowel in the first is इ or ए, the ऋ of कृपण being changed to इ; and we have ईसि, वेडिस, and किविण. Similarly, the अ of मरिच and वल्ली, and the इ of इक्षु are changed to इ, ए, and उ through the influence of the following इ, ई, and उ; and the forms are मिरिअ, वेल्ली, and उच्छु.

Sometimes, when य् as a member of a conjunct is changed to a palatal, it influences the preceding vowel and brings it over to its own position, as in सेज्जा for शय्या, मज्झिम for मध्यम, गेज्झ for ग्राह्य, &c. An original palatal also produces similar effect, as in जिमइ or जेमइ for जमति.

In the words पुढम for प्रथम, पोम्म for पद्म, and ओप्पेइ for अर्पयति, the adjoining vowel is changed to उ to make it go easily with the labial प. You will observe that it is अ that yields so readily to the influence of an adjoining letter, because in pronouncing it no movement of the tongue is necessary. It is sounded by letting off *nāda* or intonated breath, without offering any obstruction to it; and this current gives rise to the different vowels when it is obstructed in various degrees by various movements of the tongue and the lips; so that if the organic position of the previous consonant remains a little longer, or if the following is begun a little earlier, the अ current assumes the form that that position gives it. An aspirate or an aspirated mute existing in a word influences an adjoining vowel or a consonant; that is, the heavy breath that is necessary for the utterance of the aspirate mingles itself with the other sounds also. Thus कासित becomes खासिअ; परुष, फरुस; परिघ, फलिह; परिखा, फलिहा; पनस, फणस; and बिसिनी, भिसिणी, in which instances क्, प्, and ब् are changed to ख्, फ्, and भ्. In other cases the heavy breath is transferred to an adjoining vowel which becomes ह्; as in फलिह for स्फटिक, निहस for निकष, विहत्थी for वितस्ति, वसही for वसति, भरह for भरत, in which cases, by the dropping of the mute, we should have, but for this heavy breath, फलिअ, निअस, विअत्थी, वसई, and भरअ. The words सटा and शकट become सढा and सअड, the ड् resulting from the transference of the heavy breath being softened to ढ्.

Another kind of assimilation must be noticed here. The vowels are open sounds and the consonants close. These being used together, the openness of the former has a tendency to diminish to assimilate them to the latter, and the closeness of the latter has a similar tendency to yield to the openness of the former. This latter change involves economy and is the same as softening; ऋ and ऌ for instance become more and more like vowels, when they are changed to र् and ल्, and thence to ल and र; while the latter ultimately does become the vowel उ. But, the former does not involve softening in itself but rather hardening, since ए or इ, and ओ or उ, to which अ is sometimes changed, occasion motions of the tongue and the lips, which the latter does not. But in this change, there is an ease of pronunciation, such as is involved in assimilation. Immediately after one closing of the passage of the breath, it is easier to make a shorter opening for it such as इ and उ require, before another closing, than a longer one, such as the pronunciation of ए and ओ requires, or a complete one, such as is necessary for अ. This last vowel therefore has a tendency to pass off into ए and इ, or ओ and उ. But whether the shorter opening is to be made at the middle of the palate or at the lips, that is, whether अ is to be changed to ए and इ, or ओ and उ, depends on the vocal habits of a people. Some are accustomed to open their lips and round them, others not. Similarly, whether the opening shall be the least possible or a little more, that is, whether अ is to be changed to ए or ओ first, and then to इ or उ, or at once to इ or उ, depends upon habit. And the ease of pronunciation involved in this kind of assimilation is also relative. Some people may feel the muscular effort required for इ and उ to be more intolerable than the wider or complete opening, and prefer ए and ओ or even अ, as in the instances given under vowel softening, and in others occurring in some of the modern vernaculars. The Prakrits change अ to इ in virtue of this law of assimilation, as in पिक्क for पक्क, इङ्गाल for अङ्गार, मुइङ्ग for मृदङ्ग, सिविण for स्वप्न, and णिडाल for ललाट; and to ए in गेन्दुअ for कन्दुक, एत्थ for अत्र, देक्ख for द्रक्ष् &c.

Opposed to this process of assimilation is dissimilation. When the same vowel occurs in two successive syllables, it is felt to be burdensome, and hence a dissimilar vowel is substituted for it in

one of the two. We have thus बहेडअ for बिभीतक, साढिल for शिथिल, पुहवी for पृथवी, मउल, मउड and मउर for मुकुल, मुकुट and मुकुर, भिउडी for भ्रुकुटी, पुरिस for पुरुष, निउर or नेउर for नूपुर, दुअल्ल for दुकूल, सोअमल्ल for सौकुमार्य, अगरु for अगुरु, गलोइ for गुडूची, and गरुअ for गुरुक.

The words अड़ुदी and हरडई for इङ्गुदी and हरीतकी must also be considered as instances of the same law, though another syllable intervenes between the two containing the same vowel. Instances of this process must necessarily be few, since there are not many words containing the same vowel in successive syllables. But we have got so many here, that the substitution of a dissimilar vowel in such cases may be considered a general characteristic of the Prakrits. It will also be seen that in these instances, अ is substituted for इ throughout, and for उ mostly; so that these may also be considered as instances in which the most open sound अ was preferred by the Prakrit speakers to इ or उ, as involving less exertion.

The first अ of समृद्धि, प्रसिद्धि, प्रकट, प्रतिपद्, सदृक्ष, &c., is lengthened optionally; and we have समिद्धि or सामिद्धि, पसिद्धि or पासिद्धि, प-पाअड, प-पाडिव, स-सारिच्छ, &c. On the other hand, the आ of यथा, तथा, उत्खात, संस्थापित, प्राकृत, हालिक, कुमार &c. is optionally shortened; and these words become जह-हा, तह-हा, उक्खअ-क्खाअ, संठविअ-ठाविअ, पअड-पाअड, हलिअ-हालिअ, कुमर-मार &c.

The ई of पानीय, अलीक, जीवति गभीर, द्वितीय, तृतीय, &c., is necessarily shortened, and we have पाणिअ, अलिअ, जिवइ, गहिर, दुइअ, तइअ, &c.

Changes of this nature seem to be due to some kind of accent with which the words must have been pronounced. When one of the syllables of a word is accented, the whole vocal weight of that word gravitates towards that syllable. It is sounded with greater force and pitch and with a jerk which are apt to cause a wider opening between the organs of speech than is necessary. Hence the less open vowels अ, इ, and उ have a tendency to become more open, *i e.*, आ, ए, and ओ. Similarly the force and the jerk tend to prolong the time occupied by the utterance of the vowel, that is, to lengthen it. And long vowels occurring in the unaccented syllables often become short, since they are uttered hurriedly or carelessly. Supposing प्रतिपद् was pronounced with the accent on प्र, that would be a reason why the

अ should become आ in the course of time; and if द्वितीय was pronounced with the accent on य, we can understand why the ती should become short.

But the real nature of the old Sanskrit accents, notwithstanding the labours of the grammarians, is little understood. How words were actually pronounced in this respect it is difficult to say. If the *udātta* was really the acute accent, it falls in some of the above words on syllables, by being on which, it could not have operated in the manner indicated above. The supposition that the *svarita* was the acute accent fails equally. But perhaps the old accents went out of use very early, and others took up their place. Whatever may have been the case, the changes we have been considering seem to have risen from an accent of some sort.

The ए of वेदना, चपेटा, देवर, and केसर is optionally changed to इ; for, supposing that the accent fell on the second or third syllable, the force necessary to pronounce it could not be successfully exerted if the mouth had to be previously opened wide for sounding ए. It is thus reduced to the close vowel इ; and so we have विअणा, चविडा, दिअर and किसर. The dropping of initial vowels as in रण्ण for अरण्य, and लाबू for अलाबू, must also be traced to those vowels being unaccented. The accent on the penultimate vowel, which is very general in the vernaculars, as will be noticed in the next lecture, had probably its beginning in these Prakrits, and of this fact these six words are instances. This penultimate accent seems to have had a wider range in the later stage of these dialects represented by the Apabhraṁśa.

There are several instances in these dialects of the interchange of consonants. The word स्नुषा becomes सुण्हा, while regularly it ought to be ण्हुसा; ण्ह and स् thus interchange places. Similarly, करेणू is transformed to कणेरू, वाराणसी to वाणारसी, अचलपुर to अलचपुर, आलान to आणाल, लघु to हलु (लहु also being used), महाराष्ट्र to मरहट्ठ, &c. In the case of विच्छुअ for वृश्चिक, we have an interchange of vowels, for the उ resulting from ऋ is transferred to श्च, and its इ to च. In ordinary life we often find that a man, speaking hastily, makes the sounds of a word thus interchange places. When several people happen to do so in the case of particular words, the new transformations come in the course of time to be regarded as the true words and acquire a recognized position.

The Prakrits sometimes change a labial to the nasal of its class as in नीम for नीप, आमेल for आपीड, कमन्ध for कबन्ध, नीमी for नीवि, समर for शबर, and सिमिण for स्वप्न. These are optional changes; the forms of the words with व or ब instead of म also existing. Though the change involves softening, since a portion of the breath is sent through the nose and the force of the contact weakened, it must be attributed to a tendency to speak through the nose.

Similarly, the Prakrits introduced an *anusvāra* into words which did not originally contain it; where also the breath was discharged through the mouth as well as nose. In this manner, वक्र became वंक; अश्रु, अंसु; श्मश्रु, मंसु; स्पर्श, फंस; पुच्छ, पुंछ; मूर्धा, मुंढा; बुध्न, बुंध; दर्शन, दंसण; वृश्चिक, विंछुअ; मार्जार, मंजार; प्रतिश्रुत्, पडंसुआ, &c.

The last syllable of the absolutive termination ऊण and of the case endings एण and एसु is also sometimes nasalised, as in काऊणं or काऊण for कृत्वा, and वच्छेणं or ण and वच्छेसुं or सु for वृक्षेण and वृक्षेषु.

On the other hand, the existing *anusvāra* of a few words is dropped, probably from a feeling that its existence in those words was due to a mistake and from a desire to correct it. Thus we have मास or मंस for मांस, कास or कंस for कांस्य, पासु or पंसु for पांसु, दाणि or दाणिं for इदानीं, and णं or ण as the termination of the gen. pl. The letter ल् is, in a few cases optionally, sometimes necessarily, transformed into ण्, as in णाहल or लाहल, णङ्गल or लङ्गुल, णङ्गूल or लङ्गूल, and णडाल or णिडाल, for लाहल, लाङ्गल, लाङ्गूल, and ललाट. In the last instance ट् is softened and made to exchange its place with the second ल्, and the अ of ण becomes इ optionally. This also points to the Prakrit characteristic of speaking through the nose.

The remarks I have hitherto made apply to the Mahārāṣṭrī or the principal Prakrit. The Śaurasenī differs from it in but a few particulars. It does not drop त् and थ्, but softens them into द् and ध्, as in पूरिद, मारुदि, तधा, नाध, &c., for पूरित, मारुति, तथा, नाथ, &c. The conjunct न्त is often changed to न्द्, as in निच्चिन्दो, अन्देउर for निश्चिन्त, अन्तःपुर, &c.

In addition to these peculiarities, in the Māgadhī the र् and स् of the principal Prakrit are represented by ल् and श् as in नल, कल, शालश, पुलिश, for नर, कर, सारस, पुरुष, &c. The म् of a conjunct is not

assimilated but preserved, and the ष् changed to स्, as in पस्खलदि हस्ती for प्रस्खलति हस्ती, शुष्क दालु for शुष्क दारु, कस्ट, for कष्ट &c. The double द् and the conjunct ष्ट are changed to स्ट्, and स्थ् and र्थ to स्त; द् and र् being thus softened to द् and त्. Thus we have भस्टालिका for भट्टारिका, सुस्टु, for सुष्टु. उवस्तिद for उपस्थित, शस्तवाह for सार्थवाह, &c. The consonant ज् whether original, or derived, as in the Prakrit corruptions of य or र्य, was pronounced lightly, that is softened to य्, as in याणादि for जानाति, अय्य for अद्य &c. The conjuncts ज्ञ्, न्य्, and ण्य् are, as before mentioned, changed to ञ्ञ्, as in Pali; and च्छ् to श्च्, as in गश्च, पुश्च for गच्छं, पृच्छ, &c. The क्ष् of प्रेक्ष् and चक्ष् is changed to स्क्, as in पेस्कदि for प्रेक्षते and आचस्कदि for आचक्षते.

In the Paiśācī, the changes of single consonants that we have noticed in the case of the Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī do not take place; that is, the consonants are not dropped or softened, nor are they transformed by the process of assimilation. The dentals are not changed to cerebrals, but the original Sanskrit cerebrals are optionally changed to dentals, as in कुतुम्बक or कुटुम्बक for कुटुम्बक; and an original ण् to न् throughout, as in गुनगन for गुणगण. The sonant द् is hardened to त्, as in तामोतर for दामोदर, पतेस for प्रदेश, &c. The sibilants are changed to स् as in Pali and the principal Prakrit, and ज्ञ् and न्य् to ञ्ञ् as in the former.

In the Cūlikā Paiśācī, the sonants are throughout changed to surds, as in नकर, मक्कन, मेख, वक्ख, राचा, चीमूत, &c., for नगर, मार्गण, मेघ, व्याघ्र, राजा, जीमूत, &c.

Phonetically, the Paiśācī appears to be in nearly the same condition as the Pali, but the hardening of sonants is peculiar, and may be compared to the change of Sanskrit sonants to surds in the Teutonic languages, as in *foot* for पद्, *tooth* for दन्त, *know* for ज्ञा, &c. Such changes involve no economy whatever; and like the change of dentals to cerebrals, they must be attributed to certain peculiarities of the vocal organs. Even in the operation of the usual processes we have, as you will have seen, found very wide scope for the play of similar special aptitudes. The characteristic of the dialect we have been considering, of not changing dentals to cerebrals as the Pali and the Prakrits do, and even the dentalizing of cerebrals, would appear to be truly Aryan. Perhaps then, this was the language of an Aryan tribe that had remained

longer in the original seat of the race, and was connected with the ancestors of Teutons, so as to develop a phonetic peculiarity resembling theirs, and emigrated to India at a very late period and settled on the borders. Or it might be, that the tribe came to India along with the others; but living in the mountainous countries on the border, in a sort of rude independence, it developed this peculiarity of pronunciation, which to my mind betokens a rude and uncontrollable force of breath. Since, under this supposition, they could not have come in very close contact with their more civilized brethren of the plains, their language did not undergo some of those phonetic modifications, which Sanskrit underwent in the mouths of the aboriginal races. And in a Sanskrit verse quoted by Mr. Ellis in his preface to Campbell's Grammar of the Telugu language, the countries where the Paiśācī is said to have prevailed are such border countries as Gāndhāra or Afghanistan, Nepal, Bāhlika or Balk, &c. [1]

III THE GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRITS

We will now proceed to examine the Grammar of the Prakrits. As in the Pali, the dual and the dative case are wanting. The termination of the instr. pl. is हि, the other Pali भि having disappeared. The ablative pl. which was lost in the older dialect is made up by adding तो, Skr. तस्, to the हि of the instr. pl., which was used in Pali for the abl., and to सु, the termination of the locative, and using हिन्तो and सुन्तो as the terminations for all nouns. This तो in the from of दो and दु is also used to form the abl. sing. of all nouns. This is according to Vararuci. But Hemacandra gives दो and दु as the Śaurasenī terminations and ओ and उ as those in the principal Prakrit, which is according to the usual phonetic rules. The grammarian gives तो as an additional termination for both numbers, and ओ and उ to the plural also, and हिन्तो to the singular.[2] In Prakrit, sometimes consonants are doubled even when there is no conjunct in the original

1 Names of other countries in Central or Southern India also occur; but the reading of the verse is evidently corrupt.

2 I shall in all my observations on the Prakrits follow Hemacandra, since he is full and explicit. Vararuci is indistinct in several cases, and his rules on that account have been misunderstood by all writers who have followed him; and he is incomplete.

Sanskrit. Hence we have त्तो; and the reason why this and दो and दु or ओ and उ are extended to the plural is that in Skr. the expression made up of a noun and this termination has both senses; as ग्रामतः may mean *from a village* or *villages*. The gen. sing. स्स from the स्य of Sanskrit nouns in अ is generalized as in Pali and applied to all masc. and neut. nouns; and the pl. is formed by the old Skr. term. नाम्, Prakritized to णं, as in the older dialect. The Pali pronominal abl. स्मा or स्हा has disappeared and the loc. स्मि or स्हि has assumed the form of म्मि and is used for all nouns of the masc. and neut. genders as in the other language. The voc. pl. is as in Skr. and Pali the same as the nom. pl.

Masculine Nouns in अ

The nom., acc., and instr. cases of nouns in अ are the same as in Pali; but here the nom. pl. form वच्छा is optionally transferred to the acc. pl. also, thus giving another instance of the strong tendency to confuse the nom. and acc. that I have spoken of. The dat. sing. in आय like that in Pali, is preserved in solitary instances in which it has the sense of "for the sake of". The abl. sing., besides the general forms mentioned above, has the old one ending in आ, as in Pali, and a new one in आहि which is used in the plural also. This आहि is used in Sanskrit in the words दक्षिणाहि and उत्तराहि,[1] which have an ablative signification. It must in its origin be considered the same as the instr. termination भिस्. The loc. sing. besides the general form has, as in Pali, the old one in ए. The voc. sing. has also the two Pali forms देव, देवा, and another देवो the same as the nom. sing.

Masculine Nouns in इ and उ

The nom. pl. has a form made up according to the analogy of neuter nouns or nouns ending in इन्; as अग्गिणो and साहुणो. This does not exist in the Pali, the analogy being there extended to the gen. and loc. sing. only. The Prakrit has also the two Pali forms अग्गी and अग्गयो, which latter is transformed into अग्गओ and अग्गउ; and साहु and साहवो, the latter appearing also in the form of साहओ and साहउ. The acc. pl. has also the neuter form अग्गिणो or साहुणो in addition to the Pali अग्गी or साहू. Besides the general forms mentioned above, the abl. has in the sing. the neuter form अग्गिणो or साहुणो also. The Pali loc. sing. अग्गिणि does not appear.

1 Prof. Lassen derives them differently.

The other forms of these nouns are like those in the older dialect. The voc. sing. is अग्गि or साहु as in Pali and अग्गी or साहू. We here see the analogy of neuter nouns or nouns ending in इन् extended to all vowel cases except the loc. sing.

Masculine Nouns in ऋ

Two bases, one ending in आर as in भत्तार from भर्तृ and the other in उ as भत्तु, are used, the former throughout all the cases and the latter in all except the sing. of the nom. and acc. The first is declined like nouns in अ, and the second like those in उ as साहु. The nom. sing. has also the old form भत्ता. In the Pali, you will remember, the first base is used in the plural of four cases, and the second in the gen. sing. only ; while the singulars of three cases have the old Sanskrit forms. Here the two bases have been extended much further and one old form only, that of the nom. sing., remains. Nouns expressive of relationship such as पितृ, भ्रातृ and जामातृ are declined similarly, the final syllable आर being shortened to अर as it is in Sanskrit and Pali in those cases where the base is used. The voc. sing. is भत्त, and of the latter class of nouns it ends in अ or अरं, as पिअ or पिअरं.

Masculine Nouns in अन्, अत् (present participle), वत्, मत् &c.

राजन् has four bases. The old one राजन् with the old Sanskrit forms only phonetically corrupted (ज्ञ् becoming ण्ण्) is used in all the singulars except that of the loc. and in the nom. pl.; as राआ, राआणो, राआणं, रण्णा, रण्णो and रण्णो. In Pali it is used in the loc. sing. and gen. pl. also. The second राज, Prakritised into राअ, is used in both numbers of all cases except the nom. sing., and in Pali in all except the nom. sing. and pl. and the acc. pl. It is declined like a noun in अ; as राआ nom. pl., राअं acc. sing., राआ-राऐ acc. pl., राएण instr. sing., &c. The third, राजिन्, is employed in the gen. sing., in the older dialect; but here, as राइन, in all cases and numbers except the nom. sing. It is declined like an ordinary Sanskrit noun in इन्; as राइणो nom. and acc. pl., राइणं acc. sing., राइणा instr. sing., &c. The fourth is राजान, Pr. राआण, used in all cases and both numbers. Vararuci, however, does not give this, and omits the others in some of the cases. This base is unknown to Pali, but occurs in the word आत्मन् in the form of अत्ताण, and is used in the plurals of the instr. and loc., while here it is extended

to all cases. This noun and such others ending in अन् are in the Prakrit declined like राजन्; the base in आण is general to all and used throughout, but the others occur in certain cases only. The voc. sing. of राजन् is राअं or राअ in the Śaurasenī, the former of which does not occur in the Mahārāṣṭrī.

The base of the present participles ends in अन्त and they are declined like nouns in अ. The Pali, you will remember, uses the old base in some of the cases and has the old forms; but here they have disappeared. Similarly वत् and मत् become वन्त and मन्त throughout, i. e., end in अ. Other final consonants are dropped and in feminine nouns sometimes आ is added.

Feminine and Neuter Nouns

The Prakrit feminine declension differs from the Pali in little more than a phonetic corruption of the terminations.

The य of the instr., abl., gen. and loc. of nouns in आ, and the या of those in इ or ई, are weakened into ए or इ or dropped, leaving only अ and आ. In the latter class of nouns this आ is further optionally shortened to अ. Thus we have मालाए-इ-अ and नईए-इ-आ-अ, &c.

The optional loc. forms in यं are lost; and the यो of the nom. plurals मालायो and नदियो leaves only the vowel ओ which is again shortened to उ. The abl. forms in दो-दु or ओ-उ are of course new. Fem. nouns in ऋ substitute आ for the final and are declined like nouns in आ; as, णणन्दा, णणन्दाओ, &c. मातृ, however, has another base मातरा when it signifies a "goddess." In the Pali four bases are used, the old one, मातर, declined like masc. nouns in अ, मातु, and माता. This last is used in the gen. pl. only along with मातराण, and मातूनं.

The nom. and acc. of neuter nouns in अ are in the Prakrit the same as in Skr. only phonetically corrupted, as वणं sing., वणा-ईँ-ई-णि pl.; while the sing. of those in इ and उ have an anusvāra optionally attached to them, as दहि or दहिं sing., दहीईँ-इ-णिं, pl. The optional Pali plurals in आ and ए are lost. Sanskrit neuter nouns in अन् and अस् become nouns in अ, and are masculine.

Pronouns

The nom. pl. in ए is preserved, as in सव्वे, जे &c. The gen. pl. has सिं for its termination formed by adding a light इ to the साम् of

Sanskrit, which, according to the usual rules, should be corrupted to सं, and is also fromed upon the model of the corresponding nouns; as सव्वेसिं or सव्वाण-णं, जेसिं or जाण-णं, &c. The Pali has सं, and its double gen. सानं is wanting. The loc. sing. has the termination स्सिं, a form not existing in the older dialect, in addition to the म्मि used for nouns, both of which are to be traced to the Skr. स्मिन्, as in सव्वस्सिं or सव्वम्मि, जस्सिं or जम्मि, &c. This स्सिं is further changed to हिं as in सव्वाहिं, जाहिं, &c., or better, this latter may be traced to the Pali म्हि. Another loc. sing. term. is त्थ which reperesents त्र, as सव्वत्थ, जत्थ &c. The abl. sing. स्मात् is optionally used after किम्, यद्, and तद् only, in the form of म्हा, as कम्हा, जम्हा, and तम्हा; in Pali it is necessarily used after all pronouns. In other respects pronouns are declined like the corresponding nouns; as सव्वं, सव्वे acc., सव्वेण, सव्वेहिं instr., सव्वत्तो-दो-दु, सव्वाहिन्तो-सुन्तो abl. The instr. sing. is optionally formed like that of nouns in इ in the case of some; as इमिणा, जिणा &c.

You will thus observe, that except in the nom. pl., there is no distinction between the two declensions; the peculiar pronominal forms I have mentioned being only optional. Of the fem. of तद्, यद्, and किम्, the gen. sing. is optionally तिस्सा or तीसे &c., where the base is ती &c. The other forms are like those of nouns in ई, as तीआ-ई-ए &c. This base is used throughout along with the other in आ. In Pali it is used in the gen. and loc. sing. only along with the other, and the gen. forms are तिस्सा and तिस्साय, the latter of which is, as I have said, a double genitive. This the Prakrit has preserved in the form of तीसे, originally तिस्से, where the ए represents the य of the older dialect, as it does in the feminine nouns. The other base of किम् and तद् has also its genitive singular in स, as तास, formed by transferring the masc. termination; or it is to be traced to तस्सा. The genitive plural forms of the masc., such as तेसिं and ताण, are also sometimes used in a feminine sense. The loc. sing. of किम्, यद्, and तद् is optionally formed by extending the masc. termination हिं to the base in आ, as ताहिं &c. These peculiarities are only optional; so that the feminine pronouns are declined like nouns in आ or ई. Thus we have जा, जाओ-उ, जीओ-उ nom., जं, जाओ-उ, जीओ-उ acc., जिणा, जाहिं, जीहिं instr., जादो-दु, जीदो-दु, जाहिन्तो-सुन्तो, जीहिन्तो-सुन्तो, &c. abl. जस्सा, जिस्सा, जीसे, जासं, जासिं, जोसिं, जाण, जीसिं, जीणं gen., जाहिं, जासु, जीसु loc.

The optional instr., abl., gen., and loc. singulars are जाए-इ-अ and जीए-इ-आ-अ.

The pronoun अ in the form of ण exists as in the Pali; इदम् has two bases, इम, which is used throughout, as इमो, इमे nom., इमं, इमे acc., इमेण-मिणा, इमेहि, instr. &c; and अ from which we have optionally अअं nom. sing., अस्स and आस्सि, gen. and loc. sing., and एहिं and एसु instr., and loc. plural, and आहिं instr. pl. of the feminine. इमो, इमस्स, इमस्सिं &c. are also in use. The base अ is used in the Pali in the instr. sing., gen pl. and abl. sing. also.

The demonstrative अदम् has one base only, अमु, which is declined like nouns in उ; as अमू, अमुणो nom., अमुं अमुणो acc., अमुणा, अमूहिं instr., &c.

The pronoun of the second person has, according to Vararuci, five bases त, तुम् or तुम, तुज्झ, तुम्ह, तुम्म, वो and भे. The first is derived from the त्व of त्वम्; तुम् or तुम from the same with the व softened to उ; तुज्झ from तुभ्यम् through the intermediate Pali from तुय्हं, the last conjunct of which is changed to ज्झ, by a rule formerly given; तुम्ह is made up by putting together the तु of the singular and the स्म of the plural, as explained in going over the Pali; तुम्म is another form of तुम्ह; वो is the old Sanskrit वस्; and भे seems to be derived from the म्हे of तुम्हे as ब्रम्भण is from ब्राह्मण. Hemacandra adds तुब्भ, to be derived from the Sanskrit तुभ्यम् or from तुम्ह, म्ह being changed to ब्भ; उज्झ, from तुज्झ by the dropping of त्; तुय्ह and उय्ह, other forms of तुभ्यम्; तुव, from त्व by the insertion of उ; तुह, from तुय्हं; उम्ह, by the dropping of the त् of तुम्ह; and उब्भ, by treating तुब्भ in the same way. The Pali has only त, तु, and तुम्ह; and the several old forms it had are lost in the Prakrit.

Nominal terminations are used in a good many cases. Thus we have तं, तुं, तुवं, तुह, and तुमं for the nom. sing., these and तुए and तुमे for the acc. sing., तइ, तए, तुमइ, तुमए, तुमे, तुमाइ, and also तुमं, भे, ते, दे, and दि for the instr. sing. The form तुमं properly belongs to the nom. and acc. cases and ते to the gen., दे and दि being only ते softened; but several cases are here confounded. The abl. sing. has तइत्तो-ओ-उ-दो-दु-हि-हिन्तो, तुवत्तो-ओ &c., तुमत्तो-ओ &c., तुब्भत्तो-ओ &c., तुम्हत्तो-ओ &c., तुज्झत्तो-ओ &c., also तुय्ह, तुब्भ, तुम्ह, and तुज्झ. The gen. sing. has twenty-one forms, *viz.* तइतुं, ते, तुह, तुहं, तुव, तुम, तुमे, तुमो, तुमा, इ, दि, दे, इ, ए, तुब्भ, उब्भ, उय्ह, तुम्ह, तुज्झ, उम्ह,

and उज्झ. The loc. sing. has तुमे, तुमए, तुमाइ, तइ, तए, तुम्मि, तुवम्मि, तुहम्मि, तुब्भम्मि, तुम्हम्मि and तुज्झम्मि. The plurals are as follows:—भे, तुब्भे, उज्झे, तुम्ह, तुव्हे, उव्हे, तुम्हे, तुज्झे nom.; वो, तुब्भे, उज्झे, तुम्हे, तुज्झे, तुव्हे, उव्हे, भे acc.; भे, तुब्भेहिं, तुज्झेहिं, तुम्हेहिं, उज्झेहिं, उम्हेहिं, तुव्हेहिं and उव्हेहिं instr.; तुब्भत्तो-दो-दु-हिन्तो-सुन्तो, तुव्हत्तो-दो &c., उव्हत्तो-दो &c., उम्हत्तो-दो &c., तुम्हत्तो-दो &c., and तुज्झत्तो-दो &c. abl.; भे, तुव्ह, तुब्भ, उब्भ, तुब्भाण-णं; तुवाण-णं, तुमाण-णं, तुहाण-णं, तुम्हाण-णं, तुम्ह, तुज्झ, उम्ह, उज्झ, तुज्झाण-णं, gen.; तुम्ह, तुवेसु, तुम-मेसु, तुह-हेसु, तुब्भ-ब्भा-ब्भेसु, तुम्ह-म्हा-म्हेसु, तुज्झ-ज्झा-ज्झेसु loc.

The points to be observed in these forms are these. The nom. sing. has mostly the same forms as the acc. sing. This is due to the fact that the Sanskrit त्वाम् of the acc. becomes, when the आ is shortened by a Prakrit phonetic rule, त्वं, *i. e.*, the same as the nom. sing. Hence its Prakrit representatives तं, तुं, तुवं and तुमं are the same for both the cases. But a more probable reason, which explains a similar fact in the case of the first personal pronoun also, is that the plurals of the nom. and acc. having by natural processes already explained become exactly alike, the two cases came to be confounded ; and the sing. forms also of the one were used for the other. The forms तइ, तए, तुमइ, तुमए, तुमे, and तुमाइ are common to the instr. and loc. sing. This probably arises from the fact that the Sanskrit त्वया, when the य is softened to ए or इ, becomes तए or तइ, and so does the त्वयि of the loc. ; and when the base त is seen to be interchangeable with तुम in the nom., the terminations ए and इ which are common to the two cases are applied to तुम also. ते and its softened forms दे and दि, and तइ are common to the instr. and gen. sing.; तुव्ह, तुब्भ, तुम्ह, तुज्झ are common to the abl. sing. and the gen. sing. and pl.; and भे to the instr. sing. and pl. and the gen. sing.

Such a confusion of the case-relations must be expected in course of time. Even in Sanskrit the gen. and instr. &c. are used alike in connection with some participles ; and the identification of the abl. and the instr. we have already noticed in the Prakrits. The gen. forms तुव्ह, तुब्भ, तुम्ह, तुज्झ, उब्भ, उम्ह, and उज्झ, all derived from the Sanskrit dat. तुभ्यम् and referred to the gen. when that case was lost, are taken as bases, and the terminations ए of the nom. and acc. pl., हि of the instr. pl., त्तो, दो, दु, ओ and उ of the abl., ण or णं of the gen. pl., and म्मि and सु of the loc. sing. and

pl. are tacked on to them to form these cases. Here the tendency to use the genitive form as a base for the formation of the other cases, a trace of which only we observed in the Pali, is seen more developed.

The pronoun of the first person has, according to Vararuci, the following bases :—हं or अहं and म from the Sanskrit singulars, मम the gen. sing., अम्ह from अस्म and णो from नस्, of which अम्ह is used in the plural. Hèmacandra adds मह and मज्झ from मह्यम्, and मे from म्हे or स्मे. He also gives अम्हि, अम्मि, and म्मि for the nom. and अम्मि for acc. sing. The first is clearly from अस्मि 1st pers. sing. present of अस, often used in Sanskrit as an indeclinable particle; and the others are also corruptions of the same, just as the termination म्मि of the loc. is a corruption of स्मिन्. The singular forms, therefore, are :—अम्मि, म्मि, अम्हि, हं, अहं, अहयं nom.; णे, णं, मि, अम्मि, अम्ह, मम्ह, मं, ममं, मिमं, अहं acc.; मि, मे, ममं, ममए, ममाइ, मइ, मए, मयाइ, णे, instr.; मइत्तो-दो-दु-ओ-उ-हि-हिन्तो, ममत्तो &c., महत्तो &c., मज्झत्तो &c. abl.; मे, मइ, मम, मह, महं, मज्झ, मज्झं, अम्ह, अम्हं gen.; मि, मइ, ममाइ, मए, मे, अम्हम्मि, ममम्मि, महम्मि loc. The plurals are :—अम्ह, अम्हे, अम्हो, मो, वयं, मे nom.; अम्हे, अम्हो, अम्ह, णे acc.; अम्हेहिं, अम्हाहि, अम्ह, अम्हे, णे instr.; ममत्तो, अम्हत्तो, ममाहिन्तो-सुन्तो, अम्हाहिन्तो-सुन्तो, ममेसुन्तो, अम्हेसुन्तो abl.; णे, णो, मज्झ, अम्ह, अम्हं, अम्हो, अम्हाण, ममाण, महाण, मज्झाण gen.; अम्ह-म्हा-म्हेसु-मम-मेसु, मह-हेसु, मज्झ-ज्झेसु loc. Here also the same observations as those made in the case of the last pronoun are applicable.

In the Māgadhī the ओ of the nom. sing. of nouns ending in अ is replaced by ए; as एशे पुलिशे for एष पुरुषः. The स्स of the gen. sing. is sometimes changed to ह and the preceding अ is lengthened; as शोणिदाह कुम्भे for शोणितस्य कुम्भः. The plural of this case is formed by adding आहं, as कम्माहं for कर्मणाम्. The anusvāra represents the ण of the original termination आण, and ह is introduced from the analogy of the sing. The regular forms शोणिदस्स and कम्माणं are also admissible. Such forms as these we shall meet with hereafter; and they belong to a later stage in the decay of our grammar.

IV. The Prakrit Verb

Conjugations.—All the Skr. conjugations, with the exception of the second in the case of a few roots ending in a vowel, have

been brought over to the अ type, *i. e.*, to the first, sixth, and the tenth. Some of the others have left a few traces; as, the fifth and the ninth have preserved their ण in such instances as सुण, किण, जाण, लुण, पुण, धुण,—both conjugations being, as you may remember, confounded in the Pali, the third the root बीह—pres. tense बीहदि—the ह standing for भ; the fourth has preserved its य assimilated in a good many roots such as णच्च, बुज्झ, जुज्झ, तुट्ठ, नस्स &c.; and the seventh has preserved its न् in रुन्ध and others. But you will see that to these forms अ is added and they are made roots ending in अ; while a great many have lost even such traces. In the Pali, you will remember, the conjugational signs added to some of the roots are entire, as the ना of the sixth and the नो of the fifth, and अ is appended to roots of the seventh conjugation only, न् being inserted before the the last consonant. But here the अ takes the place of the ending vowel of the signs of the fifth and other conjugation also, so we have सुण, कीण, and बीह.

Thus in the Prakrit most roots end in अ. There are some ending in other vowels, such as हो and ठा; but the rule of conjugation is the same for all, viz., to add the terminations to the root directly. There can be no consonantal root. Some forms, such as those of अस्, have come down from the parent language only phonetically changed; but these are not formed in the Prakrit. They are really Sanskrit forms in what I have ventured to call a petrified condition. The roots ending in अ change it to ए optionally, *i. e.* they are conjugated according to the model of the first and of the tenth, as is the case to a great extent in the Pali also. The distinction between the special and the general tenses is of course forgotten.

The Prakrits have retained the Present and Future tenses and the Imperative mood entire; while the Potential and the Aorist have left the third person singular only. An isolated form of the Imperfect such as आसि from the root अस् remains.

The terminations of the Present Tense are—3rd pers. sing. दि and दे in Śaur. and इ and ए in the principal Prakrit, pl. न्ति and न्ते; 2nd pers. sing. सि and से, pl. इत्था and ह for which last the Śaur. has ध; 1st pers. sing. मि, pl. मो, ह, and म.

Of these दे, or ए, से and न्ते, of which the last is not given by

Vararuci, are remnants of the old Ātmanepada, and the first two are used after roots ending in अ only. With the exception of the first pers. pl. म and the 2nd pers. pl. इत्था, the terminations can readily be traced to the corresponding Skr. Parasm. The Sanskrit 2nd pers. pl. थ becomes ध in the Śaurasenī and ह in the Mahārāṣṭrī by the phonetic rules already noticed, and मो or its shortened form मु is the Skr. मस्. In these points the primitive and derived languages perfectly agree; but म and इत्था are new terminations and were first used in Pali, the latter however in the form of त्थ. The first is, as I have observed, transferred from the Imperative and other tenses, and त्थ is the Skr. स्थ 2nd pers. pl. of root अस्. To this is prefixed in the Prakrit the usual augment इ, which मो and मु also take optionally. The terminations मो and मु are unknown to the Pali.

Other forms of the first pers. sing. and pl., made up by adding म्हि and म्ह or म्हो, as in करेम्हि, करेम्ह, गच्छम्ह, &c., occur in the plays, though the grammarians have not noticed them. These terminations are evidently the Skr. स्मि, 1st pers. sing., and स्मः or स्म, pl. of अस्.[1] You will remember that a good many verbs are made up in the Pali by adding forms of this root. Hemacandra notices also another termination of the 3rd pers. pl. *viz.* इरे, which is transferred from the Perfect.

The Imperative forms are made up by adding दु Śaur. उ Prakrit, 3rd pers. sing., and न्तु pl.; सु and हि. 2nd pers. sing. and ध Śaur., ह Prakrit, pl.; and मु 1st pers. sing. and मो pl. The original form of the root ending in अ is also used as the second pers. sing. Of these दु, न्तु, हि or अ and सु from स्व Ātm. are both Skr. and Pali; ह (Skr. थ) transferred from the Present is used in Pali; but मु and मो are peculiar to the Prakrit, the Pali using only the termination of its present. Of these मो is transferred from the Prakrit Present, and मु is made up by adding the उ which is peculiar to the Imperative and distinguishes it from the present. The first pers. pl. takes म also sometimes as in the Pali, but it is not noticed by the grammarians.

1. Prof. Lassen traces these to the root अस्, but इत्था to the Skr. थ to which त् is, he says, prefixed because the previous vowel must have been pronounced with some accent. But considering that many forms of अस् are used as terminations it is more natural to take this also as such a form.

The consciousness that the future is made up by prefixing स्य = स्स Pr. & Pali to the terminations of the present has never been lost, and whatever changes these terminations undergo are transferred to the future; so that the Śaurasenī and Māgadhī future differs from the Pali in those respects only in which the Present tenses of the two differ. The मि of the first person sing., however, is optionally changed to an anusvāra; or the anusvāra may be a remnant of the conditional terminations; as हसिस्सं. In the principal Prakrit the स्य is still further corrupted to हि, य being dissolved into इ and स् changed to ह्, as in होहिह for भविष्यति, होहिन्ति भविष्यन्ति, &c. In the first pers. we have, in addition to ta[illegible] स्स which is lengthened as in Skr. and also its other form [illegible] as well as स्सं for the whole as in the Śaurasenī, *i. e.*, होहि[illegible] or होहिस्सं, &c. A beginning in the direction of the हि w[illegible] will remember, made in Pali. We have also a few petrifi[illegible] forms such as दच्छं for द्रक्ष्यामि, मोच्छं for मोक्ष्यामि which are mo[illegible] ditional than future in their origin; and to these as base, are added the terminations of the present and also of the future to form new futures: as दच्छिइ दच्छिहिइ, &c. We have also काह and दाहं from कृ and दा.

The only Potential form left is that of the 3rd pers. sing.; as हसेज्ज or हसेज्जा, होज्ज or होज्जा. The termination is the same as in Pali, the य्य of the 3rd pers. sing. being altered to ज्ज, and the general form of the termination य्या to ज्जा. After bases ending in अ, ज्ज or ज्जा becomes एज्ज or एज्जा, as in Skr. and Pali.[1] This being an isolated form and derived from the Potential, which does not signify any particular time, it is used in the sense of the Present, Future, or Imperative in all numbers and persons; and after roots in अ the terminations सु and हि of the second pers. sing. of the Imperative are added to ज्ज to make up new forms of that mood, as हसेज्जसु, हसेज्जहि; and another form हसेज्जे is also mentioned.[2] This Potential

1 This fact strongly supports my derivation of the forms. Prof. Lassen derives them from the Precative. But the Precative was lost at an early stage, since it does not exist even in the Pali. The ए is not the अय of the 10th conj, as the Prof. thinks, but the ए, which bases ending in अ take in the Pot. in Skr.

2 Prof. Lassen derives these also from the Precative, and against the argument that that mood is rarely used in Skr. itself and was lost in the

form of roots ending in vowels other than अ is used as a base, and the terminations of the two tenses and one mood are attached to it to make up new forms for them; as होज्जइ, होज्जाइ; होज्जउ, होज्जाउ, &c.

The Aorist also has left its 3rd pers. sing. only; the termination to be added to roots ending in a vowel, is सी, ही, or हीअ and ईअ to those ending in a consonant or अ, *i. e.*, such as take the augment इ or change the अ to इ. Of these, सी and ही are derived from the Parasm. सीत् of the fourth form; the first is found in Pali, and ही is only another form of it. The Pali has ई also for the 3rd pers. sing. corresponding to the ईत् affixed to Sanskrit roots that take the augment इ. This is very likely the origin of ईअ also, since we have it after the roots which necessarily admit the augment; but the अ of this and of हीअ is difficult to explain. हीअ must correspond to some such form as सीय or सीत which, the स् being dropped after the augment इ, is reduced to ईअ. These सीय and सीत are forms of the Potential Ātm. of अस्, and they may have been added as terminations to form the Aorist as other forms of अस् are in this and other tenses in the Pali. Or the सी of the Aorist may have been confounded with सीत the pot. of अस् from its resemblance to it.

These are rare and isolated forms, and past time is mostly expressed by the past participle passive which in the case of intransitive and some transitive verbs has also an active sense. The Sanskrit termination त is only phonetically changed to द in the Śaurasenī and to अ in the Prakrit. Roots ending in अ change it to इ before the past participial termination. The past participles of some roots are not newly formed, but the old Skr. forms have come down only phonetically altered. This fact should always be remembered, that there are in all these derived dialects new formations called by Hemacandra साध्यावस्थ, as well as old formations, सिद्धावस्थ. This arises from the fact of the analogies not being made applicable throughout, as they would have been if the languages had been artificial. Contingency or condition is expressed by the present participle, as we do in our modern vernaculars.

Pali states that the Precative is found in the Vernaculars. But I have not found it. The forms करजे, करजो G., करिये, करियो H. I trace to the Prakrit Potential forms spoken of above.

The infinitive is formed as in Skr. by the addition of तुम् changed to उं, the Pali तवे being lost, and the absolutive by affixing the termination ऊण (दूण Śaurasenī) from the Pali तून and the Vedic त्वान or त्वीन. But the termination that is most used in the Śaurasenī is इअ from the Sanskrit य of roots with prepositions prefixed. Hemacandra also gives for the principal Prakrit तूण and तुआण, the origin of which is the same as that of ऊण, त्ता from त्वा, तु by the dissolution of the semi-vowel of त्वा, तुम् by a confusion with the infinitive, and इअ which is used in the Śaurasenī. Of these, however, ऊण is the one that prevails; the others are rare.

The passive is formed by adding ईय and इज्ज, both of which come from the Sanskrit य with the augment इ prefixed as in Pali, the य being transformed to ज्ज in one case and leaving its अ only in the other or being dissolved into इअ. Hemacandra gives a good many roots which preserve the Skr. forms, only phonetically changed, as दीसइ from दृश्यते, वुच्चइ from उच्यते, गम्मइ from गम्यते, लब्भइ from लभ्यते, वज्झइ from बध्यते, &c.

The causal terminations are ए from अय and आवे from आपय. These two are the same as in the Pali, the Sanskrit forms, also existing in the latter, being lost. Hemacandra adds अ and आव, *i. e.*, the ए, answering to अय, is lost. But the Sanskrit vowel changes are preserved even when the अय gives place to अ; as दरिसइ.

The terminations of the absolutive, the infinitive, the potential participle (अव्व from Skr. तव्य), and of the Future take the augment इ which also is transformed into a short ए of the same nature as that which is found before conjunct consonants, as in पेण्ड or पिण्ड. We have thus हसिऊण or हसेऊण, हसिउं or हसेउं, &c.

You will thus have observed a much greater progress in the operation of those principles, which we found at work in the construction of the Pali. Here as before we find that the less known forms are made up on the model of the more known. The number of old forms which still remained in some of the Pali declensions and conjugations has been greatly reduced in the Prakrits, and a further advance been made in the introduction of uniformity and simplicity in the grammar of the language.

It is also worthy of remark, that in a great measure, the same false analogies which are used in the Pali have come down to the Prakrit, and their range extended. Thus the analogy of nouns in इन् or neuter nouns in इ or उ has been carried much further in the declension of masculine nouns ending in इ or उ. Nouns in ऋ, अन् and वत् have adapted themselves more closely to the model of those ending in अ, their Sanskrit nom. case supplying the new अ base; and the अ conjugations have more generally prevailed over the rest. The device of using such case-forms as मम and महम् as bases, and making up the cases by appending the proper terminations has also been more largely availed of. Some of these phenomena may be attributed to the operation of the same invariable laws in the development of either, without being an index to a more intimate connection between the two dialects. But there are individual forms in the two languages which, though they might be different, are yet the same in both. Such, for instance, are वच्छे acc. pl., the loc. sing. ending in the pronominal म्हि or म्मि, the double gen. तिस्साय, the 2nd pers. pl. ending in इत्था of the present tense, and a good many others. The consonantal and vowel changes also, so far as they go in the older language, are the same. We may therefore safely conclude that the Pali represents generally an earlier stage of the same language which afterwards became the Prakrit or Prakrits.

But there are again in the Prakrits such forms as those of the ablative in दो and आहि instead of the old pronominal म्हा, the first pers. pl. of the Pres. in मो or मु instead of the Pali म, the 1st pers. sing. of the Imperative in मु instead of the Pali मि, the Śaurasenī absolutive in इअ corresponding to the Sanskrit य, which does not exist in the older dialect, and others. These Prakrit forms cannot have been developed out of the Pali forms, but must have grown independently from the Sanskrit originals.

In the same way, though the Prakrit sounds are generally the same as, or further developments, of the Pali sounds, there are a good many which could not have grown out of the latter. Thus the रि of the Prakrit words रिद्धि, रिच्छ, रिण, रिजु, &c. cannot have been developed out of the इ or अ of the Pali इद्धि, अच्छ, अण, उजु &c., or the अइ and अउ of such words as दइच्च, भइरव, पउर, कउसल,

&c., from the ए and ओ of the corresponding Pali words, or the ण्ण् for Sanskrit ज्ञ् from the Pali ञ्ञ्, though this latter exists in some of the Prakrit dialects, or the रिस for र्श or र्ष in such words as आअरिस, सुदरिसण, वरिसे, and परामरिस from the स्स or स of the Pali आदास, सुदस्सन, वस्स, and परामस. The Prakrit sounds must in these cases be traced directly to the corresponding Sanskrit sounds.

It therefore appears that the Prakrits had also an independent development, which may be accounted for on the supposition, that they sprang not from the Pali but a sister dialect or dialects; or that, though originally they were the same as the Pali, their subsequent development was influenced by the parent language, and thus, other sounds and forms not existing in the earlier dialect, came in fresh from Sanskrit. But the first supposition is discountenanced by the fact that the resemblance between the Pali and the Prakrits extends even to isolated cases; and the second is supported by the circumstance that in one important particular, the Prakrits resemble the Sanskrit in the last stage of its development, while the Pali differs in that particular from both and agrees with an earlier form of the parent language. We have seen that in later Sanskrit verbal forms, especially of the past tenses were rarely used, and participles were employed instead; and we find that the Prakrits have mostly lost all the Sanskrit tenses and moods except three, and past time is generally expressed by the past participle and contingency by the present; while the Pali has, as we have seen, preserved eight, including all the past tenses and the conditional. Middle Sanskrit bears to later or Classical Sanskrit the same relation, in this respect, that the Pali bears to the Prakrits. The change that came over Sanskrit between the two periods left its impress on what may be called the Vernacular speech. This could not have been the case, unless Sanskrit had continued to influence that form of speech, represented first by the Pali and afterwards by the Prakrits. And it was because it continued so to influence it, that the Prakrits came to have sounds and grammatical forms also derived direct from Sanskrit and not through the Pali. This leads to the conclusion, which will be developed in detail in the last lecture, that when the Pali and the Prakrits came into existence, Sanskrit had not been dead but was as much a living

language as either of the other two, and both were spoken or used for ordinary purposes, one by men of culture and the other by ordinary people.

Sanskrit writers distinguish three elements in the Prakrit vocabulary which they call Tadbhava, Tatsama, and Deśya. Such words as are derived from Sanskrit are called Tadbhava such as दंसण, फस, मग्ग, कण्ण, &c. Tatsamas are those that are the same in Sanskrit and Prakrit as कमल, मण्डल, &c., the phonetic laws of the Prakrits not necessitating a change in them, and Deśyas are such as cannot be derived from Sanskrit and must be referred to another source. A good many words of this nature we find used in Prakrit literature; and there exists a kośa or thesaurus of Deśya words by Hemacandra. A large number of these Deśya words exist in the modern vernaculars, such as :—

अक्का a sister, M.[1] आका, a term of honour used for an elder sister.
अग्घाडो an herb; M. आघाडा.
अवडो a well; M. आड.
उडिद a kind of pulse; M. H. the same.
उड्ढइ sleeps; H. उंघना G. उंघवुं.
कुडं, कुड्डं, कोड्डं, wonder; M. कोड old.
कोट्टं a town; M. कोट a fort.
कोडिम्बो a basin of wood for water; M. कोठंबा.
कोल्लित्त a firebrand; M. कोलित.

कल्लविअं to mix a liquid with a solid substance and stir it up; M. कालवणें.

गोहो a man, a warrior; M. घोव husband.
चोप्पडइ rubs, anoints; M. चोपडणें.

छिण्णो, छिण्णी, छिण्णालो, छिण्णाली } an adulterer or adulteress; M. शिंदळ.

पोआलो an ox; M. पोळ.
पडच्छी a cow that has no milk; M. पाडशी.
पासलं slanting; M. पासलें lying down with the face upwards.
पोट्टं belly; M. पोट, H. G. पेट.
फंसइ deceives; M. फसविणें.

1 M.—Marathi; G.—Gujarati; H.—Hindi.

फुक्का false, vain; M. फुका.

बाउल्ली a doll; M. बाउली.

बप्पो father, a brave man: M. H. G. बाप, M. बाप्या an able-bodied man.

There are a great many words set down as Deśyas, which on close examination will be found to be Tadbhavas. They differ from ordinary Tadbhavas in having undergone great corruption. The following are instances. Some of the words in the above list may also be considered to be of the same nature. Thus फंसइ 'deceives' is a denominative or nominal verb from the word पाश 'a snare;' which in our modern dialects has the form of फांस; whence फंसई is 'to ensnare' or 'entrap.' So also कुडं, कुडुं, कोडुं and the old M. कोड are in all likelihood to be traced to the Skr. कौतुक.

उव्वाडिओ thrown upwards; Skr. उद्वर्तितः.

कन्दोट्ठ a lotus; from Skr. कन्दोत्थ.

कुहुडो humpbacked. This may be traced to Skr. कुब्ज-कुब्भ-कुह; and ड is a termination which is used in a great many nouns.

कुरुच्च disliked, evidently from Skr. कु and रोच्य.

कोणो black; Skr. कृष्ण-कण्ह-कोण्ह-कोण.

उज्जड desolate; from Skr. उज्ज्वल bright, pure, cleared of every thing, desolate.

बइल्ल a bullock; from Skr. बलीवर्द.

छल्ली rind, bark; may be from Skr. शल्य, शल्यक.

छासी whey; may be from Skr. तक्र.

छिवइ touches; from छुप् by a change of vowel.

छिप्प a tail; from Skr. पुच्छ, by the consonants interchanging places, and the palatal छ having its vowel इ.

पडोहर the hind part of a house; from Skr. पृष्ठगृह.

पेयालं, पेज्जल, a measure, a certain quantity, occurs in the Pali and is traced to Skr. प्राय. It may also be connected with प्राज्य.

बोल्लइ speaks; from Skr. ब्रू by the change of र् to ल् and the transference of the vowel to the first consonant—a thing often observable; ब्रू-बुल्ल-बोल्ल.

The Sanskrit etymology of some of the words given by the lexicographers is evident; and one does not know how they came to be regarded as Deśyas. Other words changed their sense in the course of time and so were referred to this class.

पम्हुसइ forgets; from Skr. प्रमुष् to steal,—a thing forgotten is as it were stolen.

बहुमुहो a wicked person: from Skr. बहुमुख, because a wicked person puts on many faces or appearances.

कामकिसोरो an ass;—a son of Kāma or love, devoted to pleasure, is often a donkey.

कुच्छिमई pregnant; Skr. कुक्षि originally 'side,' came to signify 'womb,' and that womb is worthy of the name which bears a child, hence कुक्षिमती *lit* 'having a womb' came to have the signification given.

A good many of the words given by Hemacandra do not occur in the modern Vernaculars, and we have regular Tadbhavas instead; as., इल्ली a tiger, ईस a nail, &c.

The number of Deśya words, if properly examined, would be greatly reduced. Still a Deśi element in the Prakrits and the Vernaculars must be admitted. These words must have come into the dialects from the language of the aborigines whom the Aryas conquered; and some are found in Sanskrit also.

The Apabhraṁśa

The dialect called the Apabhraṁśa by the grammarians presents Indian speech in a further stage of decay, and occupies a middle position between the Prakrit and the modern vernaculars, to some of which, especially to the old Hindi, the Brajabhāṣā, and the Gujarati, it bears striking resemblances, as I shall hereafter show.

As mentioned before, we have the grammar of this dialect from Hemacandra, Trivikrama, and Kramadiśvara; but Vararuci does not mention it. The Apabhraṁśa had a literature of its own. Hemacandra illustrates each of his rules about this dialect by quoting a verse. In the fourth Act of the Vikramorvaśi the Prakrit speeches of the king in his madness are in this dialect. But it is a question whether they existed there originally, since in several

manuscripts on this side of India they do not appear. The metres employed in these and in Hemacandra's quotations are the same as those popularly used in old and modern Hindi or Braj *viz. dohā* or *copai*. Pandit Vrajalal mentions a work of the name of Muñjarāsa, written in the Apabhraṁśa, from which he gives a short extract, and another the hero of which is a king of the name of Prasenajita. He also quotes from another work; but the language of all these appears to be more modern than Hemacandra's Apabhraṁśa, and that of some of the verses makes a very near approach to the Gujarati. As before, I will introduce my remarks on this dialect by a specimen.—

APABHRAMŚA

पत्तहे तेत्तहे बारि घरि लच्छि विसंठुल धाइ ।
पिअ पब्भट्ठव गोरडी निच्चल कहिंवि न ठाइ ॥

जे महु दिण्णा दिअहडा दइएं पवसन्तेण ।
ताण गणान्तिए अङ्गुलिउ जज्जरिआउ नहेण ॥

जीविउ कासु न वल्लहउं धणु पुणु कासु न इट्ठु ।
दोण्णि वि अवसरि निवडिअइं तिणसम गणइ विसिट्ठु ॥

जो गुण गोवइ अप्पणा पयडा करइ परस्सु ।
तसु हउं कलिजुगि दुल्लहहो बलि किज्जउं सुअणस्सु ॥

गङ्ग गमेप्पिणु जो मुअओ जो सिवतित्थ गमेप्पि ।
कीलदि तिदसावासगउ सो जमलोउ जिणेप्पि ॥

The Sanskrit of this would be :—

अत्र तत्र द्वारे गृहे लक्ष्मीर्विसंष्ठुला धावति ।
प्रियप्रभ्रष्टेव गौरी निश्चला क्वापि न तिष्ठति ॥

ये मह्यं दत्ता दिवसा दयितेन प्रवसता ।
तेषां (तान्) गणयन्त्या अङ्गुलयो जर्जरिता नखेन ॥

जीवितं कस्य न वल्लभं धनं पुनः कस्य न इष्टम् ।
द्वे अप्यवसरे निपतिते तृणसमे गणयति विशिष्टः ॥

यो गुणान्गोपायत्यात्मीयान्प्रकटान्करोति परस्य ।
तस्याहं कलियुगे दुर्लभस्य बलिं करोमि सुजनस्य ॥

गङ्गां गत्वा यो मृतो यः शिवतीर्थं गत्वा ।
क्रीडति त्रिदशावासगतः स यमलोकं जित्वा ॥

"The unsteady goddess of wealth runs to this door and that, this house and that; like a fair one separated from her lover she does not remain firm anywhere."

"My fingers have worn away, rubbed against by my nails while counting, again and again, the days named by my lover [as the period of his absence], when he set out on his journey."

"To whom is life not dear and to whom is wealth not an object of desire? But when the occasion comes, a worthy man regards them as straw."

"I worship that good man, so rarely to be met with in this Kali age, who conceals his own merits and gives publicity to those of others."

"He who dies after having gone to the Gaṅgā and to Śiva-tīrtha, triumphs over the power (world) of death and sports in the habitation of the gods."

THE PHONOLOGY OF THE APABHRAṀŚA

The vowel अ of the derivatives of the pronouns यद्, तद्, किम्, and इदम् is changed to इ or ए. In the principal Prikrit we have noticed a tendency to such a change, and one of our instances was एत्थ for अत्र. From the same tendency we have in the Apabhraṁśa जेत्थु for यत्र, तेत्थु for तत्र, and केत्थु for कुत्र, the उ of the latter being replaced by ए in virtue of the analogy of the other pronouns. In the same way तद्वत् "in that manner," which after dropping the final consonant becomes तद्व, is changed to तेम, यद्वत् to जेम, and किम्वत् to केम. This ए is also rendered a more close vowel and changed to इ, and thus we have तिम, जिम, and किम. Thus the bases of these pronouns came to be considered as ते or ति, जे or जि, and के, or कि, and so we have तिध for तथा, जिध for यथा, and किध for कथम्. The mute element being dropped, these forms become तिह, जिह, and किह, and further तेहु, जेहु and केहु. For similar reasons we have तेत्तिअ or तित्तिअ for तावत्क, जेत्तिअ or जित्तिअ for यावत्क, केत्तिअ or कित्तिअ for कियत्क, &c., even in the Prakrits.

The nom. sing. termination of nouns in अ is shortened to उ, and since a great many nouns were pronounced with this final उ and its original sense was forgotten, it was transferred by way of analogy to other words or grammatical forms that did not possess

it before; and thus we have पुणु and विणु for पुनः and त्रिना and जेत्थु, तेत्थु, जेहु, &c., in the above.

The long vowels are sometimes shortened as in the word गज्जल in the last of the above verses.

The consonants क् and ग् are sometimes softened to ग् and घ्, instead of being dropped, त् and थ् to द् and ध्, as in Śaurasenī, and प् and फ्, to ब् and भ. In the principal Prakrit also this is sometimes the case. The labial व् is changed to म् in a few more instances than in the Prakrits as in जाम and ताम for यावत् and तावत्, and जेम or जिम, तेम or तिम, &c. in the above for यद्वत्, तद्वत् &c. The complete contact of the lips necessary for the pronunciation of म् is avoided in a great many cases, and thus we have वँ् for म् as in भवँरु for भ्रमर, कवँलु for कमल, &c. This is the prevailing rule in most of the vernaculars, as we shall hereafter find. The conjunct म्ह is changed to म्भ्; that is, the aspirate ह् has been labialized and assimilated to the preceding म्, as in गिम्भ for Prakrit गिम्ह and Sanskrit ग्रीष्म. A few instances of this change we did find in the Prakrits and we shall find more in the vernaculars.

The Sanskrit conjunct त्व् is changed to प्प्; for as द् was often pronounced as ब्, this ब् instead of merging into the preceding mute, as semi-vowels often do, acquired prominence as य् does, when preceded by a dental; and the द् being assimilated to it, the whole become प्प् as त्य् becomes च्च्, as in पइ for त्वया, प्पण or पण for the abstract termination त्वन, and प्पिण for त्वीन, the suffix of the absolutive. In the Prakrits the त्म of आत्मन् similarly becomes प्प and so we have अप्पा for आत्मा. The letter र्, when the latter member of a conjunct, is sometimes not assimilated, as in ब्रोप्पि, प्राउ for प्रायः, &c., and sometimes it is introduced even when it does not exist in the original, as in धुं for तद्, प्रस्त for पस्त, &c. With these few exceptions, the rules about the assimilation of conjuncts, the elision of consonants, and others hold good generally as in the Prakrits, as you will see from the above extract.

DECLENSION IN THE APABHRAṀŚA

Nouns in अ

The decay of the case terminations is, however, a distinguishing feature of this dialect. The distinction between the nom. and

acc. case forms which we observed lessening at each stage in the growth of our languages is here altogether lost. The ओ of the nom. sing. of masculine nouns in अ is shortened to उ, and used in both the cases, as मुअउ nom. for मृतकः, गउ for गतः, जमलोउ for यमलोकम्; and applied to neuter nouns as well, as कमलु. The nasal of the neuter is preserved only in nouns which are augmented by the addition of क changed to अ; as कमलउं for कमलकम्. The nom. and acc. pl. of the masculine ends in आ; as दिअहडा, पयट्टा &c. in the above. The neuter nouns preserve the Prakrit इं of the plural, as in कमलइं. Sometimes words are used in these two cases without any terminations; as विसंदुल nom. sing., निच्चल nom. sing., गुण acc. pl., गङ्ग acc. sing., तित्थ acc. sing., in the above extract.

The principle observable in the other cases is the same as we have noticed in the older dialects, viz., a gradual reduction of all the declensions to a uniformity. The instrumental singular of nouns in अ has two forms, one in एं as देवें, and the other the old one देवेण. The former is derived from this old form, the final अ being dropped, and the nasal assuming the form of an anusvāra. This new termination is transferred to nouns in इ or उ also, as अग्गिएं. The instrumental pl. is the old one in हिं, but the change of the ending vowel to ए is only optionally made; as गुणेहिं or गुणहिं.

One ablative termination is हे which is appended to all nouns, and the other हु as in वच्छहे गृण्हई फलइं or वच्छहु गृण्हइ, "gathers fruits from trees."

Of course we may trace the first to हिन्तो by supposing it first to be changed to हेन्तो by the usual Prakrit rule, and afterwards to have dropped its second syllable; and हु to something else. But it appears to me that a good many of the terminations having been reduced to हु by natural phonetic changes, the others also had this inserted in them by analogy, just as the nominative termination उ is introduced in words and forms in which it did not exist. This process we shall necessarily have to suppose when we examine the forms of the present tense. Or the हु may have been introduced simply to prevent a hiatus and connect the vowel-termination with the base. And this is rendered probable by Hemacandra's rule, that the ending syllables उं, हुं, हिं, and हं, are to be lightly pronounced, as the य् that is introduced in the

place of a dropped consonant is. The real syllables in these cases are therefore अं, उं, इं, and अं; and this is confirmed by the fact that the remnants of these Apabhraṁśa terminations existing in some of the modern vernaculars are destitute of this ह् and are mere vowel-terminations, as will be seen in a subsequent lecture. Thus, then, हे may be considered as the aspirated form of the ए of the Prakrit feminine ablative, and ह् of the उ of the masculine ablative.[1] The operation of the law of false analogies is very wide. The abl. pl. हुं, as in गिरिसिङ्गहुं, may with Lassen be traced to सुन्तो, the स् being changed to ह् and the syllable तो dropped, as ति is in the case of the 3rd pers. pl. of the present, as we shall see.

The genitive singular सु, and स्सु as in सुअणस्सु and परस्सु in verse 4 above, I trace to the स्स of the Prakrits, the उ being added by analogy as observed before. Lassen traces is to स्व, which, he says, must have been added to these nouns to form the genitive; and the व being softened to उ, it is reduced to सु. But this does not account for the double स्स of the other form; and the addition of such a word as स्व to make up a case-form is altogether unexampled. The suffix हो, as in दुल्लहहो in the same verse, is but another form of सु. The genitive plural हं, as in माणुसहं for मनुष्याणाम्, may with Lassen be derived from the साम् of the Sanskrit pronominal declension. But the transference of this termination to nouns is nowhere seen in the Prakrits; हं is optionally appended to nouns in इ or उ also; and the characteristic ण of the gen. is wanting in this dialect. The more probable explanation, therefore, is that the ण lost its cerebral element and was reduced merely to a nasal अ, or अं with an anusvāra, as is the case in the instrumental singular, and the ह् is added, as observed before, simply to facilitate the pronunciation.

The loc. sing. ends in ए, as in तले, which we see is the old termination, or in इ, as in तलि, which is a shortened form of ए. Kramadīśvara gives also हिं which might be traced to the Pali म्हि, the Sanskrit स्मिन्, or the स्सि of the Prakrit pronominal declension. The language of Jaina works has this स्सि in the case of nouns also. But even here the Prakrit म्मि, may, with reason, be supposed to have changed to ं, and the ह् to be, as before, a mere

1. Kramadīśvara in Lassen's extract gives ह् instead of ह्; but this is an evident misreading.

spiritus lenis. We have this locative इं in the Marathi. The हिं is extended to the plural also of these nouns. The vocative is formed by using हो which is evidently an interjection; as तरुण हो "O young men."

Nouns in इ or उ

There is no distinction between the nom. and acc. sing. and pl., the original base being used without any modification or addition.

The instrumental singular is formed by adding एं or ण, as in the last class of nouns, or simple anusvāra; as अग्गिएं, अग्गिण, अग्गिं. As एण becomes एं by dropping the final vowel, so does the इणा of the Prakrit instrumental here become इं.

The abl. sing. ends in हे as in गिरिहे and तरुहे; and the gen. sing. also according to Kramadīśvara, Hemacandra being silent. These have been transferred from the feminine. Kramadīśvara also gives हो and हं as the terminations of the sing. of these two cases; but there must be some misreading here in Lassen's extract from the author, since हं is a distinctive plural termination. The gen. pl. termination is हुं or हं as in तरुहुं, सउणिहं (शकुनीनाम्). The latter has been traced to the old gen. ण, and the former appears to be only another form of it, with the addition of the usual उ.

The loc. sing. has हि, as in कलिहि; and the pl. has हिं and हुं, as in तरुहिं, and उदुहुं. The first must be considered to be the same as हिं derived from स्सि or म्मि with the anusvāra dropped; or as the इ of Prakrit feminine nouns with the *spiritus lenis* ह्. This explanation seems to be probable, since we have seen other feminine terminations also used for the cases of these nouns. The third is to be traced to the Prakrit सुं. Kramadīśvara in Lassen's extract gives हं for the हुं of the abl. pl., and हं for that of the gen. pl.; but I have to make the same remark here as before. The instr. and abl. plurals are the same as those of nouns in अ; as तरुहिं and तरुहुं. Thus the plural of three cases ends in हुं, derived separately of course, and the plurals of two in हिं.

Feminine nouns

The plurals of the nom. and acc. of feminine nouns preserve the old ओ, or its shortened form उ, as in अङ्गुलिउ जज्जरिआउ in the

second verse, and सुन्दरसव्वङ्गाओ विलासिणीओ. The sing. is the original base, as जज्जरिआ, विलासिणी &c.

The instr. sing. termination is ए, the old one, as in ससिमण्डलचन्दिमए, कन्तिए &c.; the abl. is हे as in वालाहे for वालायाः, which is an aspirated ए; and the genitive हे as in मुद्धडहे for मुग्धायाः (ड being a nominal suffix) may be similarly explained or traced to the से of the gen. sing. fem. of the pronouns, किम्, यद्, and तद्, in the Prakrit. I prefer the former explanation. This हे has been transferred to masculine nouns in इ or उ as we have seen. The abl. and gen. pl. ends in हुं, as in वयसिअहु for वयस्याभ्यः or वयस्यानाम्. The anusvāra of the हुं of the other classes of nouns is here omitted; and if correctly so, the हु of the abl. may be considered an aspirated form of the उ which is the ablative termination in the Prakrit; and that of the genitive may be traced to the सु of the singular of masculine nouns. The instr. pl. and the loc. sing. and pl. take the same terminations as masculine nouns in इ or उ; as महिहिं, महिहि, and महिहिं-हुं. Lassen gives other terminations; but he appears to me not to have interpreted Kramadīśvara correctly. Those I have given are all that I have been able to find.

You will thus see how by the various influences at work, the natural transformation of स् to हँ, the elision of some of the elements, and the aspirated pronunciation of the vowels, most of the old terminations have been reduced to syllables composed of हु and a vowel with or without an anusvāra. Terminations with such weak sounds are not adapted to serve the purposes of ordinary intercourse, since they require on the part of the speakers such care in pronunciation to render themselves intelligible to each other as we have not seen displayed in the course of our lingual history. The nominative and accusative throughout, and in certain classes of nouns, the other cases also have come to have the same forms. So that the purpose of expressing the different relations can be no longer performed by these poor remnants of the old declensional system; and a process of reconstruction must take place. It has already begun in the Apabhraṁśa; but we shall find it carried on much further in the vernaculars, which may now be said to have completed their new declensional system.

Pronouns

The abl. sing. of pronouns ends in हां, as जहां, &c., which is to be traced to the Sanskrit स्मात् and the Prakrit म्हा, and the loc. sing. in हिं which has been explained. The gen. sing. of यद्, तद्, and किम् are optionally जासु, तासु, and कासु, made up by adding the usual उ to जास, तास, and कास, which again are other forms of जस्स, तस्स, and कस्स, with one of the consonants dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened as a compensation, a phenomenon to be noticed in going over the vernaculars. In the feminine, these pronouns have जहे, तहे, and कहे optionally for the gen. sing., which are derived from the Prakrit जिसे, तिसे and किसे and the Pali जिस्साय, तिस्साय, and किस्साय. The base, however, in the Apabhraṁśa ends in अ and not ई, or, the more probable explanation is, that this हे is the aspirated form of the ए of feminine nouns.

इदम् has आय for its base; the instr. and gen. singulars, for instance, are आयेण and आयहो. This seems to be taken from the nom. sing. अअ, or अय by the rule of the substitution of य for अं. The neuter nom. and acc. sing. is इसुं.

एहो is nom. and acc. sing. masc. of एतद्, corresponding to एसो, एह fem. to एसा, and by the application of उ to these we have the neuter एहु. एइ is the nom. and acc. pl. answering to एए Prakrit, with the latter ए shortened; and ओइ of अदस which corresponds to the form अमुके, the अमु being changed to अवुं by a rule before mentioned, and afterwards to ओ; and के to ए, shortened to इ. In other respects all these pronouns are declined like the corresponding nouns.

The pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons are thus declined :—

	1st pers.		2nd pers.	
	sing.	*pl.*	*sing.*	*pl.*
Nom.	हउं	अम्हे, अम्हइं	तुहं	तुम्हे-तुम्हइं
Acc.	मइं	— —	तइं	— —
Instr.	—	अम्हेहिं	पइं, तइं	तुम्हेहिं
Abl.	मह-मज्झु	अम्हहं	तउ, तुज्झ, तुध्र	तुम्हहं
Gen.	— —	—	— — —	—
Loc.	मइं	अम्हासु	पइं, तइं	तुम्हासु

Here we have not the wilderness of forms which we observed in the principal Prakrit. The nom. sing. of the 1st per. is हउं

corresponding to अहकम्, the initial अ and the क् being elided and the usual Apabhraṁśa उ added. In the Prakrit अहकम् is represented by अहअं or अहयं. मइं is to be traced to the Sanskrit instr. मया and the loc. मयि, both of which are reduced to the form of मइ in the Prakrit. Here it is extended to the acc. also. The pl. base is अम्ह, which has been explained. The nom. pl. अम्हइं corresponds to such a form as अस्मके nom. pl., not loc. as Lassen says, through अम्हए ; and the gen. pl. has the Apabhraṁśa termination हं. The rest are old. तुह is a base derived, as I said in going over the Prakrits, from तुव्हं and is used in the Prakrit also. पइं and तइं of the acc. instr. and loc. are from त्वया and त्वयि. The second is found in the older dialects, the first is peculiar to this. Of the corruption of त्व to प्प I have already spoken.

The abl. and gen. तउ corresponds to a form त्वक which with the Apabhraṁśic उ is तउ, the क being dropped. Or it may be traced to तव with the व dissolved into उ. तुज्झ is a form found in the Prakrits also and explained by me as a corruption of the dat. तुव्हं in the Pali and Prakrits, derived from the Skr. तुभ्यम्. The dative forms, you will remember, are put under the gen. in the older dialects. The ज्झ of तुज्झ is a peculiar Apabhraṁśic conjunct, formed from ज्झ्. The neuter of तद् is similarly त्तं and ज्जं. The base of the plural is तुम्ह, the same as in the Prakrit ; and the nom. pl. तुम्हइं is to be traced to तुष्मके for युष्मके nom. pl. All the forms are similar to those of the first personal pronoun.

The Verb in the Apabhraṁśa

The Present tense of the Apabhraṁśa verb admits, besides those of the corresponding Prakrit or Śaurasenī tense, the following forms :—1st pers. sing. लहउं, pl, लहहुं ; 2nd pers. sing. लहहि, pl. लहहु ; 3rd pers. sing. लहइ, pl. लहहिं.

It appears that some of these forms have arisen from a confusion of the Present Indicative with the Imperative. The prevailing and distinguishing final of the latter is the vowel उ ; and here we see it is appended to the forms of the 1st pers. sing. and 2nd pers. pl., though it does not occur in those forms in any of the older dialects.

The हु is another characteristic of these paradigms. That of the second pers. sing. we get from the old सि, and that of the pl,

exists in the Prakrit, being derived from the Skr. थ. But the third pers. pl. and the 1st pers. pl. get it simply by an extension of the analogy; or it may have been introduced to prevent a hiatus and thus may, like those of the cases, have been simply a *spiritus lenis*. The हुं of the latter, however, may be traced to म्हो, ओ being shortened to उ, just as म्हा and म्हि of the declensions become हां and हिं. Instead of the 3rd pers. pl. न्ति we have हिं in which, though the ह is due to analogy, the characteristic इ and the nasal are preserved.

You will thus see that in the declensions as well as conjugations the ह् prevails in this dialect. The Imperative second pers. sing. ends in इ, ए or उ. The first two may be traced to the Prakrit and Sankrit हि, ह् being dropped as in the Vernaculars; and the last seems to be substituted for the अ of one of the forms in the original dialects by analogy; or it may be the remnant of सु, changed first to हु, and then to उ. But a better and, I may say, the true explanation of these forms will be given in going over the Vernaculars.

Hemacandra does not give any more forms for the Imperative, but Kramadīśvara gives ऊ for the second person plural which must very likely be हु, the same as in the Present, and हुं for the first pers. pl. which we have in the Present also. In one of the verses quoted by Hemacandra occurs पिअहुं which seems to correspond to पिबन्तु, if the reading is correct. The truth seems to be that the forms of the Imperative were lost, and the sense confounded with that of the Present, but the distinctive forms were those of the second pers. sing.; and in this respect there is an analogy with Hindi and Gujarati which resemble the Apabhraṁśa the most.

The Future has the Prakrit and Śaurasenī forms in हि and स्स; but one स् of this latter is dropped, and then the terminations of the Apabhraṁśa Present are added.

The terminations of the absolutive are इ, इउ, अवि, इवि, एवि, एविणु, एप्पि, एप्पिणु. इ is the same as the Śaurasenī इअ from the Skr. य, इउ is the same, with the usual उ added to it, or is to be traced to the तुम् or इतुम् which is, as we have seen, confounded in the Prakrit with the absolutive, and the rest are various forms of the

Vedic त्वीन with the Prakrit augment इ or ए. This त्वीन is, by a rule before mentioned, changed to प्पिण, which with उ becomes प्पिणु and by dropping the final न we have प्पि. This, however, may be derived also from such a form as त्वी found in the Vedas. This प्पि or प्पिणु is then softened to वि or विणु, as प् is so softened in many cases. When the augment इ or ए is not prefixed, we have वि in the form of अवि, the अ being the final vowel of the root.

Some of the terminations of the absolutive are also used to form the infinitive, on account of the prevailing confusion between the two. In consequence of this very confusion, recourse is had to other ways of forming the latter which are similar to those existing in the Prakrits; but these will be noticed hereafter.

The termination तव्य of the potential participle assumes the forms of इएव्वउं, एव्वउं, and एव. The first two represent the form with the addition of क; and the इ of इएव्वउं is the usual augment. The अ of the त of तव्य which remains after the consonantal portion is dropped, is by the influence of the preceding इ changed to ए.

In these points which are not noticed here, the Apabhraṁśa follows chiefly the Śaurasenī, and the principal Prakrit also to some extent. Thus in a great measure it represents those dialects in a further stage of decay; but it must be considered to have derived some words or forms independently also. Thus the पइ of the second person pronoun cannot be derived from the Prakrit तइ, nor प्पिण of the absolutive from तूण or ऊण, or पण of abstract nouns from त्तण, but directly from the Sanskrit त्वया, त्वीन, and त्वन. This corruption of त्व must have existed in some of the older dialects too, since, as observed before, we have it in Aśoka's inscriptions; and the Apabhraṁśa derived it as well as a few such peculiarities from them.

LECTURE IV

PHONOLOGY OF THE VERNACULARS OF NORTHERN INDIA

We have now traced the gradual decay of Sanskrit from the form in which it is presented to us in the oldest literary records to that which it assumed in the Apabhraṁśa dialect. We have seen how words lost some of their vocal elements on account of the natural tendency of men to economize effort, as well as in consequence of the fact that the vocal organs of the people, who through historical accidents had to speak that language though it was not theirs, were untrained to utter the sounds of that language, and that they imported into it some sounds to which they themselves were previously accustomed. We have also observed the effects of the operation of the law of analogy in simplifying the grammar of the language—an operation, the range of which, in consequence of the ignorance of those same foreigners, was very extensive. The declensions and conjugations gradually lost their variety, and became reduced to one or two types by the generalization of the rules, originally applicable only to the nouns and verbs frequently used in ordinary intercourse. At the same time the terminations themselves of some of the cases, tenses, and moods came through numberless analogies to have the same or similar forms, and their vocal body gradually became attenuated and in some instances they were altogether dropped. Thus these processes of simplification were carried on much further than was consistent with intelligibility in ordinary intercourse. Hence the necessity arose of inventing new modes of expression for those relations which came to be imperfectly expressed or ceased to be expressed in the old way. As observed in the last lecture, such new expressions are to be met with in the Apabhraṁśa dialect.

If the Prakrits and the Apabhraṁśa which we have examined really represent the speech of the Indian people at certain periods of their past history, we should expect to find a relation of continuity between them and the prevailing speech of modern times. The words and grammatical forms in the modern vernaculars

should either be the same as those existing in those dialects, or should be easily deducible from them by laws which we have observed to be in operation; and if in the Apabhraṁśa the grammatical forms came to be in a condition in which reconstruction was necessary, and if accordingly it was begun, we should find it carried on much further in the vernaculars and that on principles used in the Apabhraṁśa and the other dialects and out of materials existing in them. We will therefore proceed now to the examination of the vernaculars with a view to trace this continuity.

The varieties of speech prevailing in Northern India at the present day are almost innumerable. If even a few peculiarities were to be regarded as giving individuality to a language, the number of dialects spoken in this part of the country would exceed even the proverbial fifty-six. But they may be divided into classes on the principle of resemblance; and generally the dialects spoken in the adjoining provinces are so alike each other that they may be regarded as constituting one class or even one language. Thus we have nine principal languages; and starting from ourselves, and going northwards, first on the western side of the country and then turning to the east and south-east, I may state them as the Marathi, the Gujarati, the Sindhi, including the Kacchi, the Panjabi, the Kashmiri, the Hindi, the Nepali, the Bengali, and the Oriya.

Of these the Kashmiri and the Nepali have not yet been studied, and no grammars or books are available. Hence my observations will not extend to them. Each of these has its dialects; but those of some, such as the Gujarati and the Sindhi, differ from the main language in unimportant particulars. The same is the case with the Marathi, except in some corners of the Maratha country. But in these there are five dialects differing in a great many important particulars from the main Marathi. Thus, the Goanese prevails in Goa; the Malvani, my own native tongue, and the Savantvadi, both of which, notwithstanding some minor differences, may be considered as one, are spoken in the Malvan, Vengorla, and Savantvadi districts. The Chitpavni is used only by the caste of Chitpavan Brahmans in the district about Ratnagiri; the Salsetti is spoken by the original inhabitants of

that island and of Bombay; and the Khandeshi, which is a mixture of Marathi and Gujarati and contains to an appreciable degree a barbarous element, probably from a Bhil source, prevails in Khandesh.

The Hindi has a great many dialects. Two at least may be distinguished among the variety of speech prevalent in Rajputana, the Mewari spoken in Mewar and the adjoining districts, and the Marwari which prevails in Marwar, Jesselmere, and the other provinces. These, as may be inferred from their geographical position, are midway between the Gujarati and the Hindi dialects of the North, displaying some of the peculiar characteristics of both. Further north, we have the Braj prevailing in the country about Mathura; and to the east, the Kanoji. There is not much difference between these. The language of the history of eighty-four Vaiṣṇavas and other books of the Vallabhācāryan sects, which is ordinarily supposed to be the Braj, has grammatical forms identical with those mentioned by a recent grammarian as peculiar to the Kanoji. There is a good deal of confusion as regards this matter, the characteristics of one being found in the printed books together with those belonging to another. Then further north, we have the Garhawali and the Kumaoni spoken in the provinces of Garhawal and Kumaon.

To the east, we have the Avadhi or the dialect of the province of Avadha or Ayodhya, and to the south of this again is the Rewai spoken in the State of Rewa. Further to the east is the Bhojpuri and kindred dialects prevailing in Bihar and the adjacent districts on the confines of Bengal.

The old literature of the Hindi is principally written in two dialects, the Braj, and what is called the Purbi. Sūradāsa's works, Beharilal's Satasai, and others are written in the former; and to these I may add the Vallabhha works I have already mentioned. The Rāmāyaṇa and Tulasidāsa's other works are written in the latter. The chief distinction between the idioms of Sūradāsa and Tulasīdāsa appears to me te be, that the latter uses a great many grammatical forms which are old, and from which those used by the former are derived. In this respect Purbi might be considered to be a very old form of the Braj. But there are a few other

distinctions, though it is questionable whether they are enough to justify the Purbi being considered an independent dialect. The language of Kabīra's Ramainī and Sākhīs presents a few peculiarities found in neither of the above. But the characteristics of Sūradāsa and Tulasīdāsa are also to be found in it; so that if we leave out of consideration the other works of Kabīra, in which there is probably another variety of speech, the dialect used by these Hindi poets may be considered to be the same. This has come to be regarded as the poetic dialect, and most of the other Hindi poets have written in it. Its modern representative is the Braj, in which the commentaries on Tulasīdāsa's, Kabīra's and Behārilāl's works, and on the tenth book of the Bhāgavata that I have seen, are written. This then is the Hindi literary dialect. The language, however, which is used as the medium of instruction in the Government schools in the North-Western Provinces, and in which the books published by the Educational Department are written, is now regarded as the Standard Hindi, and its grammatical structure is identical with that of the Urdu spoken by the Mussalmans. This is rather the dialect in which the Hindus of the different provinces in Northern India communicate with each other, than that which they speak in their own provinces.

The Panjabi has also several dialects; but little is known about them. Oriyi resembles the Bengali in so many respects that one of them may be considered a dialect of the other. The similarity between the Hindi and the Panjabi is also very great.

I will now give short specimens of these dialects.

I Marathi:

कित्येक लोक हुत्सद्दी याणीं पदर पसरोन प्रार्थना आईसाहेबांचीं केली जे तुम्ही अग्निप्रवेश केलिया नंतर संपादिलेलें राज्य लयास आजच जातें प्राण महाराज कांहीं ठेवीत नाहींत हा प्रकार घडतो शाहाजी महाराजांचें व शिवाजी महाराजांचें नांव जगीं नाहींसें होतें सर्वांवर साहेबीं दृष्टि देवून राजयांस वोसंगास घेऊन साहेबीं अग्नि न घेतां मानस कठिण करून राहावें। हें काम करून गेलिया वंशक्षय महाराजांचा वाढिलींच केला ऐसें जगीं प्रसिद्धता दिसतें तेव्हां आई साहेबांस राहविलें।

(From an old Bakhara or Chronicle of Shivaji.)

Some counsellors supplicated the lady-mother in an humble attitude saying: 'If you will burn yourself by fire, the kingdom which has been acquired goes to ruin this very day; and it will

happen that the king will not bear life; the name of Shahaji Maharaj and Shivaji Maharaj will not remain in the world. Therefore, your ladyship, looking to all these things, should make the king sit in your lap (protect), and, not resorting to fire, render your mind firm, and live. If you do this (burn yourself), it will plainly appear to all the world that you destroyed the race of the Mahārāj.' Thus they prevailed on her to live.

II Gujarati :

દમયંતી તો મહા આશ્ચર્ય લાગ્યું અને ભ્રાન્તિ પડી કે આ તે સ્વપ્ન કે સાચું । એવા અનેક વિચાર કરતી ચાલેલે એવામાં એક અશોક વૃક્ષ દીઠો ત્યાં દીન દમયંતી આવીને કહેલે કે ઓ પ્રિયદર્શન અશોક તારા નામનો મહિમા રાખી મારા શોકનો નાશ કરી સત્યનામી થા । પણ કોણ ઉત્તર આપે ।

(From Mr. Mansukharāma's Nala-Damayantī.)

Damayanti felt greatly astonished and was in doubt whether it was a reality or a dream. While moving on, engaged in various such thoughts, she saw an Aśoka tree. Going there she said ; "O lovely Aśoka, having regard to the greatness of thy name, destroy my *Śoka* (sorrow) and deserve that name." But who would answer ?

III Sindhi :

गिरनार कोटमे राइ ड़िआचु नाले हिकिडो पातिशाहु हो । तहिंजे भेणु फकीरखां बुर्यो सांई मूखे पुटु डे । फकीर हुनखे चिओ पुटु तोखे थींदो पर राइ डिआचजो सिरु वढींदो । हुन चिओ उहो पुटु ई बनि पिओ जो मूजे भाउजो सिरु वढे । पर फकीरजो चवणु थिओ सो टरे की न । थोरे घणे ड़िहाड़े माइअ पुटु जण्यो ।

(From the story of Rāi Ḍiaca in Major Stack's Grammar.)

There was a Pāṭiśāha (king) of the name of Rāi Ḍiāca. His sister begged of a Fakir : "Sire, give me a son." The Fakir said to her : "A son will be (born) to thee, but he will cut off the head of Rāi Ḍiāca." She said, "Accursed be (*lit.* fall into a wilderness) the son who should cut off my brother's head." But the Fakir's word cannot prove vain. In a few days the woman gave birth to a son.

IV Panjabi :

तां फेर बाबे नानकजी कहिआ हे पंडतजी तूं सुण ब्राहमणखतरीदा धरम जनेऊतें रहिंदा है या भले करमांते रहिंदा है । सुण पंडत जे जनेऊ पावे अर बुरे करम करे तां उह ब्राहमणखतरी राहिंदा है या चंडाल हुंदा है । जां इह गल्ल स्रीगुरु बाबेजी कही तां जितने

लाक बैठे से सभ हैरान हो गए। तां कहिण लग्गे ऐ स्रीपरमेसुरजी अजां इह बालक है अते कैसीआं बातां करदी है।

(From the Janamasākhī.)

Then again Bābe Nānakjī said: "O Paṇḍit, hear. Is the religious holiness of Brahmans and Kṣatriyas preserved by the sacred thread or by good deeds? Hear, O Paṇḍit, if one who is invested with the sacred thread does wicked deeds, does he remain a Brahman or Kṣatriya or become a Caṇḍāla?" When Śrī Guru Bābejī spoke thus, all the people that were sitting there were astonished. Then they began to exclaim: "O God, he is still but a child, and how wonderfully he speaks!"

V Hindi:

इतना कह उसने बहुतेरे उपाय हाथ निकालनेको किये पर एक भी काम न आया। निदान सांस रुककर पेट फट गया। तो पछाड खाय के गिरा तब उसके शरीरसे लोहू नदीकी भांति वह निकला। तिस समें ग्वालबाल आय आय देखने लगे और श्रीकृष्णचंद आगे जाय बनमें एक कदम की छांहतले खड हुए।

(Premasāgara, chap. 38.)

Having said so much, he made many attempts to throw out his (Kṛṣṇa's) hand, but none was of any use. At last, he was suffocated and his belly burst out. Then he fell down, and blood flowed from his body in torrents. At that time the cow-herd boys came one after another and began to see; and Śrī Kṛṣṇa went forward and stood in the shade of a Kadamba tree in the forest.

VI Braj:

जब सब व्रजवासीनने सुनी जो श्रीदेवदमनको गाय बहोत प्रिग है तब सबनने मिलिके यह विचार कियो जो जाके गाय होय सो सब एक एक तथा दोय दोय भेट करो। और श्रीगिरिराजके आसपास जो चौबीस गाम हैं तिनके पाससौं सब व्रजवासी मिलिके एक एक दोइ दोइ गाय भेट करवाई। और यह ठहरी जो बीस गाममें जाके प्रथम गाय ब्यावै सो बछिया तो देवदमनको भेट करै। ऐसें [सहस्रावधि गाय श्रीजीके भेट भई। तब दूध दही माखन और मठा सब घरकी गायनका आरोगें।

(From the Story of the Manifestation of Govardhananāthjī.)

When all the inhabitants of Vraja heard that Devadamana was greatly fond of cows, they all joined and resolved that all who had cows should each present one or two. And the inhabitants of Vraja joined and caused each of the twenty-four villages

about the mountain (Govardhana) to present one or two cows each. And it was resolved that in the twenty villages he whose cow should first calve should present the calf to Devadamana. In this way thousands of cows were presented to the Prosperous One. Then he used the milk, curds, butter and whey of the cows in his home.

VII Bengali :

तबे शुन्बे ? आर बत्सर जखन आमि पाला ज्वर भुगते छिनु-दिबारात्रि बिछानाय पडे थाकितुम-उठिया दांडाइबार शक्ति छिल ना, से समय स्वामी आसिया उपस्थित हलेन। स्वामी केमन ज्ञान हओया अवधि देखि नाइ, मेये मानुषेर स्वामी न्याय धन नाइ। मने करिलाम दुइ दण्ड काछें बसे कथा कहिले रोगेर यन्त्रणा कम हबे। दिदि बल्‌ले प्रत्यय जाबे ना-तिनि आमार काछे दांडाइयाइ अमनि बलनेन षोल बत्सर हइल तोमाके बिबाह करे गियाछि-तुमि आमार एक स्त्री—टाकार दरकारे तोमार निकटे आसितेछि-शीघ्र जाब-तोमार बापके बल्‌लाम तिनि तो फांकि दिलेन—तोमार हातेर गहना खुलिया दाओ।

(From Peary Chand's Ālāler gharer dulāla—a Kulina Marriage.)

Will you hear, then? That year at the time when I was suffering from intermittent fever, remained lying in bed day and night, and had no strength to rise and stand, my lord (husband) came. I had not seen what sort of a man my husband was since I ceased to be an infant. Nothing is more valuable to a woman than her husband. I had thought that my suffering would become alleviated, if he sat by my side for a few minutes (*lit.* two dandas) and spoke with me. Dear sister, you will not believe me when I say that, as soon as he stood by my side, he said, "It is sixteen years since I married you and went away. You are one of my wives. I come to you, being in need of money, and will go back soon. I spoke to your father; but he put me off. Do pull out the ornament in your arm (round the wrist), and give it to me."

VIII Oriyi :

गोटि ए मशा एक षण्डशृङ्ग उपरे बसि अहङ्कारके आपणाकु भारी बुझि षण्डकु कहिला आहे षण्ड आम्भ बासबारु जेबे तुम्भकु भारी लागे तेबे कह आम्भे अन्य स्थान कु उडि जाउं। ए कथा शुणि वृष कहिला आरे मशा तु जे आम्भ उपरे बसि अच्छु ए कथार टेर शुद्धा पाइ नाहुं

(Fables published by the Calcutta School Book Society.)

A certain gnat sitting on a horn of an ox, and with pride thinking itself heavy, said, "O ox, if in consequence of my sitting you feel heavily weighted, tell me, and I will fly away to another spot." Hearing these words the ox said, "O gnat, I had not even the slightest idea that you were sitting on me."

* * * *

In these extracts there are a great many words which on examination will be found to be derived from Sanskrit through the Prakrits; in other words, the vernacular forms will be found to be the same as, or further developments of, the Prakrit forms.

Thus we have the following :—

(No. I)

किति, Pr. केत्तिअ or कित्तिअ, Skr. कियत् with the termination इक changed to इअ.

या of यार्णी, Pr. अअ or अय in अअं nom. sing., Skr. अयम्.

पसर, Pr. पसर, Skr. प्रसर in प्रसरति.

के of केली, from Pr. कअ or कय, Skr. कृत, ल being a termination often used in the Prakrits.

जे, Pr. जअ or जय, Skr. यकत्, क being a suffix used in the Prakrits generally, and sometimes in Sanskrit also.

तुम्ही, Apabhr. तुम्हइं, Pr. तुम्हे or तुम्हए, Skr. such a form as तुष्मके, by analogy, for यूयम्.

आज, Pr. अज्ज, Skr. अद्य.

जा of जातें, Pr. जा, Skr. या.

कांहीं, Pr. केहिं, Skr. केभिः.

ठेव of ठेवीत, Pr. ठाव, Skr. स्थाप in स्थापयति.

हा, Apabhr. एहो, Pr. एसओ, Skr. एषकः.

घड of घडतो, Pr. घड, Skr. घट in घटते.

नांव, Pr. नाम, Skr. नाम.

जग, Pr. जग, Skr. जगत्.

हो of होते, Pr. हो, Skr. भव in भवति.

वर, Pr. उवरि, Skr. उपरि.

दे of देवून, Pr. दि as in दिण्ण, Skr. दत्त.

वोसंग or ओसंग, Pr. उच्छङ्ग, Skr. उत्सङ्ग. The छ of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi &c., is in Marathi changed to स.

घे of घेऊन and घेतां, Pr. घे as in घेत्तूण, Skr. गृह as in गृहीत्वा.

न, Pr. and Skr. same.

कर of करून, Pr. कर as in करइ, Skr. करोति.
काम, Pr. कम्म, Skr. कर्म.
गे of गेलिया, Pr. गअ or गय, Skr. गत.
वाडिल, Pr. वड्ड, Sk. वृद्ध, इल being a Prakrit suffix.
ऐसें, Apabhr. अइस, Pr. ईदिस, Skr. ईदृश.
दिस of दिसतें, Pr. दिस in दीसइ, Skr. दृश्यते.

(No. II)

तों, Apabhr. तउ, Pr. ताव, Skr. तावत्.
लाग, Pr. लग्ग, Skr. लग्न.
अने, Pr. अने ?, Skr. अन्य.
पड, Pr. पड, Skr. पत् in पतति.
ते, from such Pr. and Skr. forms as ते, तं, तेण or तेन &c.
के, Pr. कय or कअ, Skr. कक for the crude किमकद्.
साचुं, Apabhr. सच्चउं, Pr. सच्चअं, Skr. सत्यकम्.
एवो sing. of एवा, Apabhr. एहु or एहउ and अइसो, Pr. इदिसो, Skr. ईदृश.
कर as in No. I.
चाल, Pr. चल, Skr. चल.
दीठो, Apabhr. दिट्ठउ, Pr. दिट्ठओ, Skr. दृष्टकः.
त्यां, Pr. ताहिं, Skr. तस्मिन्.
आव, from Pr. आअओ, or Skr. आगतः.
कह, Pr. कह, Skr. कथ as in कथयति.
छे, Pr. आच्छइ, Skr. आस्ते.

तार of तारा, Apabhr. तुहार for तुहआर, तुह being the Skr. तुभ्यम् and आर, कार.

नाम, Pr. नाम, Skr. नाम.
राख, Pr. रक्ख, Skr. रक्ष.

मार of मारा, Apabhr. महार for महआर, मह being the Pr. of Skr. मह्यम् and आर for कार.

था, Pr. था, Skr. स्था.
पण, Pr. पुणो, Skr. पुनः.
कोण, Pr. कउण, Skr. कः पुनः.
आप, Pr. अप्प, Skr. अर्प.

(No. III)

ना of नाले, Pr. and Skr. नाम, ल being suffix.
हो, Apabhr. हूअउ, Pr. हूअओ, Skr. भूतः (भूतकः).
तहिं of तहिंजे, Pr. तेसिं, Skr. तेषाम्.
भेणु, Pr. भइणी, Skr. भगिनी.

साईं, Pr. सामी, Skr. स्वामी.

मू of मूखे, Apabhr. मह्, Pr. मह, Skr. मह्यम्.

पुद्ध, Pr. पुत्तो, Skr. पुत्रः.

तो of तोखे, Apabhr. तउ, Pr. तुह, Skr. तुभ्यम्.

ढे, Pr. दा, Skr. दा.

राइ, Pr. राअ-राय-राआ, Skr. राजा.

सिर of सिरु, Pr. सिरं, Skr. शिरस्.

वह, Pr. वड्ढ, Skr. वर्ध.

भाउ, Pr. भाउओ, Skr. भ्रातृकः.

चवण, from Pr. चव for Skr. वच.

थिअ, Pr. थिअ, Skr. स्थित.

सो, Pr. सो, Skr. सः.

की, Pr. कहिं, Skr. कस्मिन्.

माइ, Pr. माइआ, Skr. मातृका.

थोरे, थो from Pr. थोअ, Skr. स्तोक, and र or ड, a suffix.

डिहाड, Apabhr. दिअहड, ड being a termination often used, Pr. दिअह, Skr. दिवस.

जण, Pr. जण, Skr. जन of जनयति.

(No. IV)

तां, Pr. ताहिं, Skr. तस्मिन्.

कह, as in No. II.

तूं, Pr. तुं, Skr. त्वम्.

सुण, Pr. सुण as in सुणइ, Skr. शृण as in शृणोति.

जनेउ Pr. जण्णोवीअ, Skr. यज्ञोपवीत.

है, from अस, Pr. and Skr.

भला, Apabhr. भल्लउ, Pr. भल्लओ, Skr. भद्रकः, *i. e.* भद्र with suffix क.

जे, Pr. जे or जए, Skr. ये or यके.

पाव in पावे, Pr. पाव, Skr. प्राप as in प्राप्नोति.

अर, Pr. अवर, Skr. अपर.

कर, as in Nos. I and II.

हु of हुंदा, as in No. I.

जां, Pr. जाहिं, Skr. यस्मिन्.

इह, Apabhr. एह, Pr. एस, Skr. एष.

जित of जितने, Pr. जित्तिअ, Skr. यावत् with suffix इक.

बैठा, Pr. उवइट्ठओ, Skr. उपविष्टकः, *i. e.* उपविष्ट with suffix क.

सें, *plural* from Pr. सो, Skr. सः.

सभ, Pr. सव्व, Skr. सर्व.

गआ, Pr. गअओ, Skr. गतकः *i. e.* गत with क.
लग्ग, Pr. लग्ग, Skr. लग्न.
अज of अजां, Pr. अज्ज, Skr. अद्य.
कैस of कैसा, Apabhr. कइस, Pr. कीदिस, Skr. कीदृश.
बात, Pr. वत्त, Skr. वृत्त.

(No. V)

इत of इतना, Pr. इत्तिअ, Skr. इयत् with इक.
कह, as in Nos. II and IV.
हाथ, Pr. हत्थ, Skr. हस्त.
किय of किये, Pr. किअ, Skr. कृत.
भी, Pr. वि, Skr. अपि.
काम, as in No. I.
न, Pr. Skr. same.
आय of आया, Pr. आअअ, Skr. आगत.
गय of गया, Pr. गअ, Skr. गत.
तो as in No. II.
खा of खाय, Pr. खाअ, Skr. खाद्.
लोहु, Pr. लोहिअ, Skr. लोहित.
वह, Pr. Skr. same.
तिस, Pr. तस्स, Skr. तस्य.
ग्वाल, Pr. गोआल or गोवाल, Skr. गोपाल.
बाल, Pr. Skr. same.
देख, Pr. देक्ख, Skr. द्रक्ष or दृक्ष.
लग of लगे, as लाग in No. II and लग्ग in No. IV.
औ, Pr. उअ, Skr. उत.
आग of आगे, Pr. अग्ग, Skr. अग्र.
जा as in No. I.
छांह, Pr. छाआ, Skr. छाया.
हुअ of हुए, as हो in No. 3.

(No. VI)

सब, Pr. सव्व, Skr. सर्व.
सुन of सुनी, Pr. सुण, Skr. शृणु.
गाय or गाइ, Pr. गावी, Skr. गाव as in गावस् &c.
मिल of मिलिके, Pr. Skr. same.
किय as in No. V.
जो, Pr. जओ, Skr. यकः *i. e.* य with the suffix क or अक.
हो of होय or होइ, as in No. I.

सो, Pr. सो or सओ, Skr. सः or सकः *i. e.* स with क or अक.
दोय or दोइ, Pr. दुवे or दो, Skr. द्वे or द्वौ.
कर as in Nos. I, II and IV.
और, Pr. अवर, Skr. अपर.
चौबीस, Pr. चउबीसा, Skr. चतुर्विंशति.
गाम, Pr. गाम, Skr. ग्राम.
है as in No. IV.
तिन of तिनके, Pr. ताण, Skr. तानाम्, by analogy, for तेषाम्.
पास, Pr. पस्स, Skr. पार्श्व.
यह, Apabhr. एह, Pr. एस, Skr. एष.
ठहर of ठहरी, Pr. ठिर, Skr. स्थिर.
बीस, Pr. बीसा, Skr. विंशति.
ब्या of ब्यावै, Pr. and Skr. वी.
बछ of बछिया, Pr. वच्छ, Skr. वत्स.
तो as in Nos. II and IV.
ऐसें as in No. I.
भूअ of भई, Pr. भूअ, Skr. भूत.
दूध, Pr. दुद्ध, Skr. दुग्ध.
दही, Pr. दहि, Skr. दधि.
माखन, Pr. मक्खण, Skr. म्रक्षण.
मठ of मठा, Pr. मत्थ, Skr. मथ्य.
घर, Pr. घर, Skr. गृह.

(No. VII)

सुन of सुन्बे or सुनिबे, as सुण and सुन in Nos. 4 and 6.
आर, Pr. अवर, Skr. अपर.
आमि, Apabhr. अम्हइ, Pr. अम्हे, Skr. such a form as अस्मके or अस्मे for वयम्.
पाला, Pr. पल्लाअ, Skr. पर्याय.
पड of पड़े or पडिया, as in No. II.
उठ of उठिया, Pr. उट्ठा, Skr. उत्था.
आछे in छिल, छिनु &c., Pr. आच्छइ, Skr. आस्ते.
से, Pr. सो, Skr. सः.
आस of आसिया, Pr. आगच्छ or आअच्छ, Skr. आगच्छ.
हो of हलेन or होलेन, as in Nos. I, IV and VI.
देख of देखि as in No. IV
नाइ, Pr. नाइ, Skr. नहि.
मन, Pr. मन, Skr. मनः.
दुइ, Pr. दुवे, Skr. द्वे.

काच्छ of काच्छे, Pr. कच्छा, Skr. कक्षा.
बस of बसे, Pr. उवइस, Skr. उपविश.
कह, as in Nos. I, IV, and VI.
बल or बोल, Pr. बोल्लु, Skr. ब्रू.
तिनि, Pr. ताण, Skr. तानास्, by analogy for तेषाम्.
षोल, Pr. सोलह, Skr. षोडश.
तोमा of तोमाके, Apabhr. तुम्हहं, Pr. तुम्हाणं, Skr. तुष्माणं, by analogy, for युष्माकम्,
कर as in Nos. I, II, IV and VI.
गे or गय of गियाछि as in Nos. I and V.
जा of जाब, as in Nos. I and V.
हात, Pr. हत्थ, Skr. हस्त.
तो as in Nos. II, V, and VI.
दि as दे in No. I.

(No. VIII)

माशा, Pr. मसअ, Skr. मशक.
बस of बसि, as in No. VII.
आपणा, Pr. अप्पण, Skr. आत्मन् as in आत्मना &c.
बुझ of बुझि, Pr. बुज्झ, Skr. बुध्य as in बुध्यति.
कह as Nos. II, IV, V and VI.
आम्भे, Apabhr. अम्हइ, Pr. अम्हे, Skr. such a form as अस्मके or अस्मे, for वयम्, as in No. VII.
तुम्भ as तुम्ही in No. I.
लाग as in No. II, and as लग्ग and लग in Nos. IV and V.
उड of उडि, Pr. उड्ड, Skr. उड्ड as in उड्डयते.
जा as in Nos. I, V, and VII.
शुण as in Nos. IV, VI, and VII.
तु, as तूं in No. IV.
पाअ of पाइ, as पाव in No. IV.
जे as in No. I.
ए, Apabhr. एह, Pr. एह, Skr. एष, as इह in No. IV, and यह in No. VI.

You will find that in the Marathi passage there are about 58 different words of which 26 or a few less than a half are derived from the Sanskrit through the Prakrits; in the Gujarati there are 42 out of which 23 or a few more than a half are of the latter description; in the Sindhi the proportion is 38 to 21, or somewhat greater than a half; in the Panjabi 44 to 23 or a half; in the High

Hindi 48 to 23 or a little less than a half; in the Braj 45 to 29, *i. e.* about two-thirds; in the Bengali 71 to 27, *i. e.*, about two-fifths; and in the Oriya 32 to 15 or a little less than a half. I have not taken into consideration other words which do come to us undoubtedly through the Prakrits, but the etymology of which is not so obvious. These would increase the proportion and bring it to more than one-half in most of the cases. In this list there are three or four words such as नाम, and वह, which may be called old Tatsama, since they exist unchanged in the Prakrits, and the rest may be called old Tadbhavas.

Now in these passages you will also have seen a large number of words such as प्रार्थना, अग्निप्रवेश, आश्चर्य, स्वप्न, बालक, शरीर, नदी, प्रिय, प्रथम, ज्वर, दिवारात्रि, शृङ्ग, स्थान &c., which are exactly the same as in Sanskrit. They could not have existed in those forms in the Prakrits, and hence it is clear that they were introduced long after the Prakrit period; and the tendency now-a-days in our languages is to introduce more of such words. These may be called modern Tatsamas. But some of these have undergone a corruption since they were adopted. Thus कर्म is pronounced as करम; धर्म, धरम; क्षत्रिय, खतरी; कार्य, कारज; and कृपा, कर्पा or कुर्पा; while the Prakrit corruptions of these are कम्म, धम्म, खत्तिअ, कज्ज, and किवा. Such words therefore are modern Tadbhavas.

At the end of my observations on the Prakrits in the last lecture, I gave a list of vocables existing in those dialects which are called Deśyas by native grammarians, and showed that several of them existed in our vernaculars also. We observe from the above passages, which contain such words as मुत्सद्दी, साहेब, and पातिशाह, that there are in the modern dialects words of an Arabic or Persian origin also. Thus we may distinguish these elements in the vocabulary of the vernaculars of Northern India :—1. Old Tadbhava, 2. Old Tatsama, 3. Modern Tadbhava, 4. Modern Tatsama, 5. Deśya, 6. Arabic, and 7. Persian.

In its nature the old Tatsama element is but a small quantity and the main skeleton of our languages is made up of the old Tadbhava. It forms the principal constituent of the speech of the middle classes. The higher classes, however, use the Modern Tatsama and Tadbhava element to a much larger extent; and

the language spoken by learned men is heavily loaded with pure Sanskrit words. This element has succeeded in driving out a very appreciable portion of the first in some of the languages. The Bengali contains the largest number of pure Sanskrit words, and hence one who knows Sanskrit can master the language in but a few weeks. The old Tadbhava element is reduced to the smallest minimum in what is called Sādhu bhāṣā or the speech of the educated. According to the extent of the modern Tatsama or Tadbhava element, the other languages may be arranged in the following order :—Oriya, Marathi, Hindi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Sindhi.

It must, however, be remarked that the modern Tatsamas appear in a pure or correct Sanskrit form only in the written language. The Bengalis in actually pronouncing these words corrupt them in a manner which renders them unrecognizable as Sanskrit words; and often in the same way as the old Prakrit speakers did. Thus आत्मा is pronounced अत्ता, ईश्वर इस्सर, मोक्ष मोक्ख, &c. The same is the case more or less with the speakers of the other languages, so that the pure Sanskrit words that we meet with in the written modern vernaculars, may be considered modern Tadbhavas and in rare cases Prakrit Tadbhavas. The educated classes, however, in Maharashtra and Gujarat, and to a certain extent in the Hindi provinces, pronounce the Sanskrit words correctly. The Sindi, however, contains but a few pure Sanskrit words; hence it is rich in the old Tadbhava element, while it draws largely upon the Persian and Arabic.

This foreign element is used in our dialects, principally in political matters. Persian and Arabic words are also used in the concerns of ordinary life, but their number is limited. The higher classes and learned men very rarely use them; while that element enters largely into the speech of the Mahomedans in the different provinces and the Parsis. And the Mahomedans in the Hindi area use such a large number of these words that their language is by some considered an independent dialect and called Urdu, but it differs from the High Hindi in nothing further than in the use of these foreign words.

But though the vocabulary of our languages is thus composite,

the grammar is in every way the same that they have inherited from the Prakrits. Here there is no mixture of different elements. A good many of the forms now in use have been constructed since the Prakrit period; but, as I hope to show you, they are simply combinations or adaptations of existing Prakrit forms. Thus we will divide our examination of the vernaculars into three branches. (I) In the first we will trace out the Sanskrit words which were transformed in the Pali and the Prakrits in the various ways we have noticed, and discover the operation of the same or other laws in their further transformation, if they have undergone any, as also in the transformation of other words which remained unchanged in the Prakrits or were imported from Sanskrit at a later period. (II) In the second we will trace out the Prakrit or Apabhramśa grammatical forms: (III) and in the third, examine the new or reconstructed forms and find out the principles upon which they have been made up.

The phonetic changes which the words of a living language undergo involve, as a general rule, economy of exertion in its widest sense; but there are some which do not, or which require increased effort. Economy may sometimes be effected in more ways than one. For instance, the assimilation of vowels to consonants may be effected by changing अ to आ and thence to उ, or to ए and इ. Some people have a predilection for the former, others for the latter. Again, one mode of change may be economical to some and another opposed to it to others. Thus the assimilation involved in the less open vowels इ and उ is of importance to some, but of little consequence to others; and they prefer the economy arising from the change of these vowels to अ, since this does not require any movement of the tongue or the lips. Here then we have two kinds of peculiarities. Again, if an ordinary change has a very comprehensive range or is almost universal in a language, and if other ordinary changes do not keep pace with it, and are to be found only in a limited number of instances, that ordinary change must be considered to be due to a peculiar vocal habit or incapacity. The assimilation of conjuncts and of the diphthongs in the Pali and the Prakrits, and the elision of uninitial consonants in the latter, are changes of this nature. And finally, there is all the greater reason

for attributing changes that involve no economy or necessitate greater exertion, such as the change of dentals to cerebrals or of sonants to surds, to vocal peculiarities. These several kinds of peculiarities give distinct individualities, so far as the external forms of words are concerned, to languages derived from one and the same primitive language. Thus then, some phonetic changes are special or peculiar, and others ordinary.

We will now take up in order the instances observable in the Pali and the Prakrits of these two kinds of changes and trace them in the vernaculars, and also endeavour to find out whether these dialects have preserved any of the Pali and Prakrit peculiarities or developed new ones.

And first as regards vowels. The following are some of the instances with the vernacular forms of the words in which Sanskrit ऋ is changed to अ, इ, or उ in the Prakrits :—

[Table 1 : Skr. ऋ changed to अ]

Skr. क्रान्तिः skin, Pr. कत्ति, M. कात in कातडें.

Skr. घृष्टः rubbed away, slender, Pr. घट्टो, G. and H. घट as a verbal base in घटवु and घटना.

Skr. मृदु soft, Pr. मऊ, M. and G. मऊ.

Skr. वृषभः bull, Pr. वसहो, H. बसह.

Skr. कृष्णः proper name, Pr. कण्हो, M. G. H. कान्ह or कान्हा.

Skr. तृणम् straw, Pr. तणं, M. तण.

[Table 2 : Skr. ऋ changed to इ]

Skr. कृपा pity, Pr. किवा, M. कींव.

Skr. हृदयम् heart, Pr. हिअअं, H. B. O. हिय or हिया, old M. हियं, Mod. M. हिय्या, S. हिओ, हिआउं, G. हइया, P. हियाउं.

Skr. मृष्टम् sweet, Pr. मिट्ठ, P. मिट्ठा, H. मीठा, B. O. मिठा, G. मीडुं S. मिठो.

Skr.
- दृष्टः seen, Pr. दिट्ठो, G. दीठो, S. डीठो.
- दृष्टिः sight, Pr. दिट्ठी, M. H. दीठ or दीठी.
- दृश्य of दृश्यते is seen, Pr. दिस्सइ, M. दिस in दिसणें, P. दिस in दिसणा, S. डिस in डिसणु, O दिश in दिशिवार.

Skr. शृगालः jackal, Pr. सिआलो, G. B. शियाल, H. सियार.

Skr. घृणा pity, disgust, Pr. घिणा, H. घिन, P. घिण.

Skr. शृङ्गम् horn, Pr. सिङ्ग, M. B. O. शिंग, G. H. सींग, P. सिंग, S. सिङु.

Skr. कृषिः husbandry, Pr. किसी, H. S. किस in किसान and किसाण.

Skr. तृषा thirst, Pr. तिसा, P. तिहा, S. टिह.

Skr. गृध्रः a vulture, Pr. गिद्धो, S. गिद्धु, M. G. H. गीध, M. गिधड or गिधाड; also, B. गिधर, ड and र being the same termination, S. गिझ.

Skr. मृत्युः death, Pr. मिच्चू, H. मीच.

Skr. घृतम् ghee, Pr. घिअं, O. घिअ, G. H. P. B. घी, S. गिहु.

Skr. बृहस्पतिः name of a deity, Pr. बिहप्फई, H. बिफै.

Skr. मातृगृहम् mother's house, Pr. माइघर, or माइहरं, M. माहेर, G. महीरुं or महियर.

Skr. पितृगृहम् father's house, Pr. पिइघर, or पिइहर, H. पीहर, G. पीयर.

[Table 3: Skr. ऋ changed to उ.]

Skr. पृच्छ to ask, Pr. पुच्छ, P. पुच्छ in पुछणा, S. पुछ in पुछणु, H. G. पूछ in पूछना-दुं, M. पुस in पुसणें.

Skr. वृष्टः rained, Pr. वुट्ठो, P. वुट्ठा, S. वुठो, G. वुठ in वुठवुं.

Skr. प्रावृष् rain, Pr. पाउसो, M. पाऊस, H. पावस.

Skr. ऋजु straight, Pr. उज्जू, M. उजू.

Skr. पितृकः father, Pr. पिउओ, S. P. पिउ[1].

Skr. मातृष्वसृका mother's sister, Pr. माउसिआ, H. मौसी, M. मावशी. The others have मासी, probably by dropping उ.

Skr. भृङ्गः a bee, Pr. भुङ्गो, M. भुंगा.

The word घृतम् has घअं in the Prakrits according to the grammarians, but घिअं also must have existed; so also भृङ्ग has भिङ्गो.

Some of the above words have two forms in the Prakrits, but since one of them does not occur in any of the vernaculars, it has been omitted. There are other words having two or even three

1 Mr. Beams considers the उ of the S. पिउ, भाउ, &c., to be the nom. sing. termination and not a transformation of the Sanskrit ऋ. But he is evidently wrong, since this उ appears in the oblique cases also, as पिउजो, भाउजो, &c.; while the nom. sing. उ does not, as in देहजो, gen. sing. of देहु "a country." The words have उ even in those language, such as the P. and M., which have discarded the nom. sing. उ and it appears even in the feminine word माउ which cannot take the masculine termination उ.

Prakrit forms, one of which occurs in one of the vernaculars, and the other or others in another. Thus :—

[Table 4: Skr ऋ: its different changes.]

Skr. तृणम् straw, Pr. { Pali तिणं, H. तिन in तिनका. Pr. तणं, M. तण, P. तुण in तुणका.

Skr. कृतम् done, Pr. { किदो or किओ, G. कीदो, H. किया, P. कीता S. कियो or कितो. कओ, S. कयो, M. के for कय or कअ in केला, B. के or कै in केल*, O. कला.

Skr. मृत: dead, Pr. { मुओ, G. S. मुओ, H. मुआ. मओ, M. मे for मय in मेला.

Skr. वृद्ध: old, Pr. { बुड्ढो, G. बुड्ढो, S. बुढो, H. P. बुड्ढा, O. बुढा, B. बुड़ा. वड्ढो, S. वड्ढो, H. P. बड़ा, B.O. बड, M. dial., व्हड in the sense of "large", G. वड्डो, M. G. S. वड in वडिल and वडेरो, meaning " elder."

Skr. पृष्ठम् back, Pr. { पट्ठ, M. पाठ, G. पाठ, as in पाठुं, a carbuncle. पिट्ठ, P. पिट्ठ, G. H. पीठ, O. पिठ, B. पिठ or पिट. पुट्ठ, G. पूठ, P. पुठि.

Skr. मृत्तिका earth, Pr. { मत्तिआ or मट्टिआ, M. माती, H. मट्टी or माटी, G. B. O. माटी. मिट्टिआ, G. H. P. मिट्टी, S. मिटी.

Skr. मातृका mother, Pr. ..... { माइआ, G. S. P. H. माइ or माई, G. H. माए, O. B. माई and माइया contracted to मेये, meaning 'a woman' generally. माउआ, S. P. H. माउ or माऊ. M. माय and G. P. H. B. O. मा are from Pr. माआ, Skr. माता.

Skr. भ्रातृक: brother, Pr..... { भाइओ, G. S. P. H. B. O. भाइ or भाई, भाउओ, M. S. P. भाउ or भाऊ.

As the Pali and the Prakrit alphabet, on account of these changes, has no ऋ, so do the vernacular alphabets not possess it. Sanskrit words containing the vowel have, however, been recently imported into the languages; but since even in those words, it is not correctly pronounced except by a few learned men, it cannot be said really to exist in vernacular speech, notwithstanding the use of those words. The usual modern pronunciation of the vowel is र, रि, रु, or अर.

* चारि भाग कैल वेदव्याससे कारण B. Mahābhārata.

Another characteristic change we noticed in the Prakrits is the softening of इ and उ to ए and ओ before double consonants. A good many words so changed have descended to the vernaculars. Thus:—

[Table 5: Skr. इ and उ softened before conjuncts]

Skr सिन्दूरः red lead, Pr. सिन्दूरो or सेन्दूरो, M. शेंदूर, H. सेंदूर, G. B. सिंदूर, S. सिंधुरु.

Skr. शिग्रुः a kind of tree, Pr. शेग्गू or शिग्गू, M. शेगूल or शेगट.

Skr. पिण्डः a ball, a bundle, Pr. पिण्डो or पेण्डो, M. पेंडा-पेंडी, H. P. पिंडा, G. पिंडो, S. पिंडो or पिंडी.

Skr. पुस्तकम् a volume, Pr. पोत्थओ, H. P. पोथा and पोथी, M. G. पोथी, S. पोथु and पोथी, O. पोथी, B. पुथी or पुती.

Skr. मुद्गरः a mallet, Pr. मोग्गरो, M. H. मोगरा, G. मोगर, S. मुडिरो, B. O. मुग्गर.

Skr. मूल्यम् value, Pr. मोल्लं, H. M. मोल, O. मूल, G. मूल.

Skr. मुस्ता a kind of grass, Pr. मोत्था, M. मोथा in नागरमोथा, H. P. मोथा, S. G. मोथ, O. मुथा.

Skr. मुक्तः free, Pr. मोक्को, M. P. मोक in मोकळा, G. मोकं in मोकळुं, S. मोकल, O. मुकुळा.

Skr. कुक्षिः a side of the belly or abdomen, Pr. कोक्खी, H. कोख, P. कुक्ख or कोख, G. कुख, S. कुखि, M. कूस, from Pr. कुच्छी.

Skr. गुच्छः a bunch, Pr. गोच्छो, B. गुचि, गुछि, or गोछा, O. गोछ, M. घोंस, H. P. गुच्छा, G. गुच्छो, S. छुगो (by transposition) or गोश.

Skr. कुष्ठम् white leprosy, Pr. कोट्ठं, M. कोड, H. G. कोढ, S. कोढु, B. कोठ, कुठ, or कुड, O. कोढ or कुठ.

Skr. कूर्परः elbow, Pr. कोप्परो, M. कोंपर, G. कोपरियुं.

Skr. शुण्डा the trunk of an elephant, Pr. सोण्डा, M. सोंड, P. सुंड, H. सूंड or सूंढ, G. सूंढ, S. सूंढि, B. O. शूंड, O. शोंड?

Skr. तुण्ड, mouth, Pr. तोण्ड, M. तोंड.

Skr. कुण्डम् a puddle, Pr. कोण्डं, M. कोंड, G. कुंडी, कुंडुं.

Skr. मुग्ध foolish, Pr. मोद्ध or मोग्ग, H. P. मोधू, S. भौंदू, मौंगो, M. भोंदू?

Skr. तुन्द a pot-belly, Pr. तोन्द, H. P. तोंद, M. दोंद, G. दुंद.

The G. ओचरवुं 'to pronounce' from Skr. and Pr. उच्चार, ओळंगवुं 'to transgress' from Skr. Pr. उल्लङ्घ, G. ओकवुं, M. ओकणें, H. ओकना 'to vomit' from Pr. उग्गिर, Skr. उद्गिर, are also later instances of the operation of the same law.

The change of इ to ए is, according to the grammarians, optional in the Prakrits and that of उ to ओ necessary. But in both cases we find two forms in the vernaculars. Still the prevailing forms in the latter are those in ओ, while those in उ are rare, and mostly to be found in Bengali and Oriya, which languages, and more especially the first, have a predilection for उ, in which case it is possible they may have changed the Prakrit ओ to उ.

In the Pali and Prakrits, the ए and ओ in these cases are short; but the vernaculars, having dropped one of the following double consonants, have, according to a general rule to be noticed hereafter, lengthened the vowels. When instead of a double consonant, there is a conjunct of a nasal and a mute as in सेन्दूर and तोण्ड, the nasal consonant is reduced to a simple anusvāra or nasal sound, so as to give to the conjunct the character of a simple consonant, and the ए or ओ is pronounced long as in सेंदूर and तोंड. In this manner, though the Prakrit short ए and ओ are, in the instances in which we possess an evidence of their existence, lengthened, I think in some of the vernaculars at least we have these vowels. For in a good many instances in Marathi and Gujarati ए and ओ are pronounced short. There is a rule which in Marathi is almost universal, and in Gujarati often observable, in virtue of which the accent or the whole weight of the sound of a word falls on the final आ or एं of nouns in the former, and the final ओ or ऊं in the latter; and the preceding vowels are rendered short while in the original Sanskrit and in Hindi they are long. Thus :—

[Table 6 : Treatment of long vowels in Prakrit and Modern Vernaculars]

Skr. कीटकः a worm, Pr. कीडओ, H. कीडा, M. किडा.
Skr. कीलकः a nail, Pr. कीलओ, H. कीला, M. खिळा.
Skr. कूपकः a well, Pr. कूवओ, H. कूआ, G. कुवो.
Skr. चित्रकः leopard, Pr. चितओ, H. चीता, M. चिता, G. चितो.
Skr. चूडकः a bangle, Pr. चूडओ, H. चूडा, M. चुडा, G. चुडो.
Skr. चूर्णकः lime, Pr. चुण्णओ, H. चूना, M. चुना, G. चुनो.

And many more instances might be given. Similarly in Marathi the preceding long vowels are shortened when the terminations of the oblique cases are applied, as in भिकेस, पिकास, किडीस,

पिठास, उनास, भुकेस, गुळास, &c., dative singulars of भीक 'beggary,' पीक 'crop,' कीड 'a worm,' पीठ 'flour,' ऊन 'sun,' भूक 'hunger,' गूळ 'molasses,' &c. If so, then by a necessary law of Marathi speech, the ए and ओ of गेला 'gone,' केला 'done,' मेळा 'a gathering,' जेवढा 'as much,' पेढा 'sweetmeat,' घोडा 'a horse,' कोळसा 'charcoal,' गोफा 'the ankle,' जोडा 'a pair,' &c., and of शेणास 'to cowdung,' शेतास 'to a field,' पेठेस 'to a market,' लेंकरास 'to a child,' गोतास 'to a race,' चोरास 'to a thief,' पोरास 'to a boy,' &c., must be short. And if the Marathi speaker will compare his pronunciation of मेळ, शेत, शेण, गोत, पोर, &c., with that of मेळा, शेतास, शेणास, गोतास, पोरास, &c., he will find that the quantity of ए and ओ in these latter words is shorter than in the former. Similarly, in Gujarati the first ए and ओ of केवी 'how large,' घेलो 'a mad man,' छेडो 'end,' मेडो 'an upper storey,' मेळो 'a gathering,' खोळो 'lap,' घोडो 'a horse,' चोखा *pl.* 'rice,' पोळो 'broad,' पोणा *pl.* 'three-quarters,' मोगरो 'jessamine,' कोळसो 'charcoal,' &c., must be short. In Gujarati the penultimate vowel of a monosyllabic root is, as in Hindi, shortened in the causal, as in लागवुं 'to adhere,' लगाडवुं 'to cause to adhere,' 'join,' धाववुं 'to run,' धवाडवुं 'to cause to run,' सीखवुं 'to learn,' सिखावबुं 'to teach,' शीवबुं 'to sew,' शिवाडबुं 'to cause to sew,' बीहबुं 'to fear,' बिहवाडबुं 'to terrify,' &c. But in Hindi the short vowels that take the place of ए and ओ are इ and उ, as in दिखाना 'to show' from देखना 'to see,' धुलाना 'to cause to wash' from धोना 'to wash,' &c. But in Gujarati the ए and ओ are not changed to इ and उ but remain, as in देखाडवुं 'to show,' लेवाडवुं 'to cause to take' from लेवबुं 'to take,' धोवाडवुं 'to cause to wash' from धोवबुं 'to wash,' जोवाडवुं 'to show' from जोवबुं 'to see,' &c., which they cannot do by the general rule if they are long. They must therefore be pronounced short. And as a matter of fact, it will be found that the Gujarati people in these and several other cases, give a short sound to these vowels. In the Malvani dialect of Marathi ओ is very often pronounced like the English *o* in *pot*, and ए like *e* in *pet*. In Bengali the ओ to which अ is converted in ordinary speech is also broad and short, and we have reason to believe that both ए and ओ when they really occur in words, are often pronounced short in that and the Bhojpuri and other dialects of Bihar and Mithilā.

It may be urged against one of the arguments I have used, that if the ए and ओ in शेतास and गोतास are short, the first आ in

हातास 'to the hand,' कानास 'to the ear,' &c., must also be short, and consequently these vowels must be changed to अ. But अ is not necessarily the short form of आ, or आ the long form of अ. For in pronouncing आ the lips and the upper and lower parts of the mouth are much more widely apart from each other than in pronouncing अ; so that the difference between the two is not simply of quantity but of quality also. The first आ of such words as हातास and मातला 'maddened,' is therefore short आ; that is, in pronouncing it, the vocal organs are in the same condition as in pronouncing long आ, but the time occupied is shorter than in the case of the latter. The अ that we have got in Sanskrit is short, but in most of the vernaculars we have a long अ which takes longer time to pronounce than the Sanskrit अ, while the condition of the vocal organs is the same. The final अ of words is silent in the vernaculars, but at the same time the vowel of the preceding syllable is lengthened. Thus गुण 'virtue' is, as a Sanskrit word, pronounced *gu-ṇa*, but in Marathi and Gujarati it is *gūṇ*; and in Hindi *gūn*; Sanskrit गुड *gu-ḍa* 'molasses' is in Marathi *gūḷ*; Sanskrit तिल *ti-la* 'sesamum' is in Marathi and Gujarati *tīḷ* and Hindi *tīl*. In the same way, the word रथ is in Sanskrit pronounced *ra-tha*, but when in vernacular pronunciation it becomes *rath*, the *a* is not the short अ, but अ pronounced long, as if the word were *ra-ath* without a pause between the two *as*. The long अ and the short are found side by side in such a word as मदन, which as pronounced in Sanskrit is *madana* with three consonants each followed by the Sanskrit or short अ. In the modern languages, however, the first syllable has its अ as in Sanskrit, but that of the second is lengthened, and in the last it is dropped, and the word thus becomes *madaaṇ*.

This peculiarity of softening इ and उ to ए and ओ has been preserved by the vernaculars. It is not necessary that a conjunct consonant should follow. Thus:—

[Table 7 : change of इ and उ short ए and ओ in Modern Vernaculars.]

Hindustani

बिराना or बेराना to mock, from Skr. विडम्बन.
बिहान or बेहान morning, from Skr. विभानम्, Pr. विहाणं.

नवता invitation, from Pr. निमन्त, Skr. निमन्त्र.

सोहर pleasing, from Skr. सुखकर, Pr. सुहअर.

सुहावन or सोहावन agreeable, from Pr. सुहावन for such a Sanskrit form as सुखापन.

मोहरा or मुहरा front or van-guard the first part of which is from Pr. मुह, Skr. मुख;

उखल or ओखल a wooden mortar, from Skr. उलूखल.

Gujarati

मोह in मोहडुं face, from Pr. मुह, Skr. मुख.

भोय ground, the M. and H. form being भुई.

ओर in ओरडा, Pr. उवरओ, Skr. उपरकः or अपवरकः; गोर a family priest from Skr. Pr. गुरु.

Marathi

मेहुण a couple, from Pr. मिहुण, Skr. मिथुन; वेडावणें to mock, Skr. विडम्बन; शेंडी the lock of hair on the head, from Pr. शिहण्डिआ, Skr. शिखण्डिका; मोहरे or म्होरे in front, of which मोह is from मुह as above; ओवरी (dial.) from Pr. उवरओ as above; तिरडा or तेरडा a kind of flower.

Panjabi

विह or वेह poison, from Pr. विस, Skr. विष; पिउ or पेउ father, for Pr. पिउओ, Skr. पितृकः; नेउंदा invitation, from Pr. निमन्त, Skr. निमन्त्र; मोहर van-guard, as above; ओडक end, from Pr. उदक्क, Skr. उदर्क.

Bengali

दोयार door, for Pr. दुआर; छोरा a razor, for Pr. छुरओ, Skr. क्षुरकः; B. O. मोच mustache, for मुछ, Pr. मस्सू, Skr. श्मश्रु; शोन or शुन to hear, for Pr. सुण; शियाल or शेयाल a jackal, for Pr. सिआलो, Skr. शृगालः.

The ए and ओ, to which इ and उ are thus reduced must be short, since there is no reason here why the quantity should be increased.

Of the instances in which long ई and ऊ are softened to long ए and ओ in the Prakrits, the vernaculars have retained the following:—

[Table 8: change of ई and ऊ to long ए and ओ]

Skr. बिभीतक myrobalan, Pr. बहेडओ, M. बेहडा, G. बेहडुं, H. P. बहेडा, S. बहेडो,

Skr. ताम्बूल betel leaf, Pr. तम्बोल, H. P. तम्बोल, M. तांबोळ, in तांबोळी a seller of betel leaves, G. तंबोळ in तंबोळी.

Skr. स्थूल, Pr. थोर, M. थोर.

More modern instances of this change are :—

[Table 9 : the same changes in more modern words]

H. लीमु or लेमु, B. लेबु, a lemon.

H. मूछ or मोछ mustache, Pr. मस्सु or मसु.

G. पेठे in that manner, from Skr. पीठिकया.

G. वेरवुं to scatter, from Pr. विहर, Skr. विकिर.

G. खेचवुं to pull, for H. खींचना.

O. भोक hunger, for the भूक or भूख of the others.

Of the few instances in which इ is softened to अ in the Prakrits, the vernaculars have retained हलद्दा in the M. G. हळद, H. हलदी, O. हळदी and P. हळ्हदी or हळदी. Though पडंसुआ does not occur, still पड which stands for प्रति in this word is preserved in several words, as M. पडसाद 'echo,' for Skr. प्रतिशब्द, पडजीभ 'the uvula' for Skr. प्रतिजिह्वा, पडछाया or पडसावली, H. परछाई for Skr. प्रतिच्छाया &c. No more instances of this change are given by the grammarians, but, as observed in the last lecture, the substitution of अ for इ or उ in one of the two or more places in which it occurs in some words indicates a tendency in the Prakrits towards this change. The vernaculars have got more instances. Thus:—

[Table 10 : इ changed to अ]

M. G. S. पारख examination, test, H. P. B. O. परख, Skr. परीक्षा, Pr. परिक्खा; also the verb पारखणें.

M. H. P. G. निरखणें-ना-णा-वुं to see closely, Skr. निरीक्षण, Pr. निरिक्खण.

M. H. G. विखरणें-ना-वुं, P. विक्खरना to scatter, Skr. विष्किर, Pr. विक्खिर, (S. विखेरणुं).

H. बहलना to divert, amuse, Skr. विहर.

H. भभूत holy ashes, Skr. विभूति.

H. बहन, also बहिन, sister, Skr. भगिनी, Pr. भइणी; also बहरा or बहिरा, Skr. बधिर, Pr. बहिर.

H. पहरना or पहिरना, S. पराहणुं, B. परण, to wear, Pr. परिहाण, Skr. परिधान.

M. G. पण but, also. Pr. पुणो, Skr. पुनः.

M. H. जथा an herd, Skr. यूथकः.

P. पंडत a learned man, Skr. पण्डित.

P. सगन an omen, Skr. शकुन.

But in Gujarati the tendency has operated very widely, as will be seen from the following :—

[Table 11 : The same : उ or ऋ or इ changed to अ in Gujarati]

G.	Skr. or Pr.	M. or H.
लखवुं to write....	लिख	H. लिखना.
बगडवुं to be spoilt.....	विघट	M. बिघडणें, H. बिगडना.
मळवुं to be got	मिल	M. मिळणें, H. मिलना.
वक्रो sale	विक्रय	M. विक्रा, H. बिक्रा.
कठण difficult	कठिन	M. कठिण, H. कठिन.
वकासवुं to yawn	विकास	H. विकसना.
तळसी a kind of plant...	तुलसी	M. तुळशी, H. तुलसी.
माणस a man	मनुष्य	M. माणूस, H. मानूस.
नरो mere	Pr. णवरि / Apabhr. निरु	H. निरा.
अजवाळो light	उज्ज्वाल	M. उजेड or उजवड (dial.) / H. उजियाला.
मडवुं a corpse	मृत with ट	M. मुडदा.
वसमुं difficult	विषम	M. H. विषम.
गळवु to swallow	गिल	M. गिळणें.
समणुं a dream	Pr. सिमिण, Skr. स्वप्न,	H. सपना, M. सपन or स्वप्न.
पंडे one's self, bodily...	पिण्ड body	M. पिण्ड.
मस pretext	मिष	H. मिस, M. मिष.
चंता thought, anxiety...	चिन्ता	M. चिन्ता
गण virtue, quality.....	गुण	M. गुण, H. गुन.
मकण name of Krsna, of a man	मुकुन्द	M. मुकुंद.
परशोत्तम	पुरुषोत्तम	M. पुरुषोत्तम.

And there are many other instances, such as फरवुं 'to walk,' टकवुं 'to last,' and मरडवुं 'to twist,' the Marathi forms of which are फिरणें, टिकणें, and मुरडणें. Thus Sanskrit, Prakrit, and even foreign words such as मालूम 'known,' which becomes मालम, change their इ or उ to अ. The Gujarati people have thus got a habit of careless pronunciation. After forming the contact necessary for

pronouncing a consonant, they emit the breath without compressing it at the palatal or labial position, and thus save the trouble of raising the middle of the tongue to the palate, or of rounding the lips.

Under the head of assimilation, the first characteristic vowel change observable in the Pali and the Prakrits which we have to notice, is that of the Sanskrit ऐ and औ to ए and ओ. Most of the nouns having ऐ and औ are in Sanskrit attributives formed from other nouns, and as these are formed in other ways in our language we cannot expect to find many instances of them. Still there are a good many, and enough to show that our vernaculars have inherited these Pali and Prakrit transformations of the Sanskrit ऐ and औ. Thus :–

[Table 12 : ऐ and औ changed to ए and ओ.]

Skr. गैरिक red chalk, Pr. गेरिअ, M. H. गेरू.

Skr. कैवर्त pilot, Pr. केवट्ट, H. केवट.

Skr. तैल oil, Pr. तेल्ल, M. G. H. तेल.

Skr. वैवाहिक parties to a marriage, Pr. वेवाहिअ, G. वेवइ, B. वेहाइ, M. (dial.) वेइ.

Sk. शैवल moss, Pr. सेवल, M. शेवळ, G. शेवाळ, H. शेवाल, B. शेयाला.

Skr. सैन्धव rock-salt, Pr. सेन्धव, H. P. सेंधा, M. सेंधे in सेंधेलोण, S. सेंधोलूण.

Skr. वैदिकः learned in the Vedas, Pr. वेदिओ, G. वेदिओ.

Skr. सौभाग्य good fortune, husband's love, Pr. सोहग्ग, H. B. O. सोहाग, –S. P. shorten the ओ to उ, and H. also, optionally.

Skr. पौत्र son's son, Pr. पोत्त, P. पोत or पोत्ता, H. पोता, S. पोटो.

Skr. मौक्तिकम् a pearl, Pr. मोत्तिअं, M. मोतीं G. S. P. H. मोती.

Skr. वैद्यः, Pr. वेज्जो, S. वेजु.

Skr. गौरः, Pr. गोरो M. H. गोरा, S. गोरो.

The Sanskrit syllables अय and अव are, you will remember, often changed to ए and ओ in the Pali and the Prakrits. The following instances of this change have come down to the vernaculars :–

[Table 13 : अय and अव changed to ए and ओ]

M. ने to carry, H. ले, Pr. ने, Skr. नय.

M. G. तेतीस thirty-three, H. तेंतीस, P. तेती, B. तोत्रिश, O. तेतीश, Pr. तेत्तीसा, Skr. त्रयस्त्रिंशत्.

M. केळें a plantain, G. केळुं, H. केला &c., Pr. केलं for कयलं, Skr. कदलम्.

M. लोण salt, Pr. लोण, Skr. लवण; H. ओस dew, Pr. ओस्साय, Skr. अवश्याय.

M. ओणवा bent, Pr. ओणअ, Skr. अवनत.

M. G. ओळंबा a plumb, Pr. ओलम्बअ, Skr. अवलम्बकः.

M. बोर jujube fruit, Pr. बोर for बयर or बअर, Skr. बदर.

The Pali and the Prakrits on account of these changes lost the Sanskrit diphthongs ऐ and औ. But several of the vernaculars have got them back by combining the vowels अ and इ, and अ and उ, short or long, brought together by the elision of consonants in the Prakrits. A hiatus, which requires the intonated breath to be let off twice successively without being stopped or compressed, is mostly felt to be burdensome, and is in consequence avoided in several ways. Where the two vowels can combine into one sound, a diphthong is formed out of them. Thus ऐ and औ are combinations of अइ and अउ. In pronouncing these last, the breath has to be emitted twice, while in sounding the former, the same current is first let off through the position of अ, and afterwards through that of इ and उ. The first part of the diphthong is thus a very short अ, to which half a mātrā, as previously observed, has been allowed by the grammarians. The following are instances of this formation :—

[Table 14 : अ and इ combined into ऐ]

Skr. प्रविष्ट entered, Pr. पइट्ठ, H. old M. पैठा.

Skr. उपविश sit, Pr. उवइस, M. H. बैसणें-ना by the dropping of the initial उ.

Skr. उपविष्ट sat, Pr. उवइट्ठ, H. P. बैठा.

Skr. खदिर name of a tree, Pr. खइर, M. P. H. खैर.

Skr. कपित्थ name of a tree, Pr. कवित्थ, H. कैथ by dropping इ.

Skr. बलीवर्द a bull, Pr. बइल्ल, M. H. P. बैल.

Skr. तादृश like that, Pr. तादिस, Apabhr. तइस, M. H. P. तैसा.

Skr. महिषी a female buffalo, Pr. महीसी, M. ह्मैस, H. भैंस, P. मैंह, or भैंस.

Skr. भगिनी sister, Pr. भइणी, P. M. (dial.) भेण, H. बैन (more commonly बहिन.)

Skr. बृहस्पति a certain god, Pr. बिहप्फई, H. बिफै.

Skr. मलिन dirty, Pr. मइल, H. P. मैल, old M. मैळ.

Skr. पवित्रक holy thread, Pr. पवित्तअ, B. पैता.

In this manner the Hindi, Marathi and Panjabi combine अ and इ or ई into ऐ. Sometimes the ऐ so formed is dropped by the Marathi, and we have optionally बसणें for बैसणें, म्हस for म्हैस, and तसा for तैसा. Bengali, and Oriya have बस for बैस. The former has बैस in addition, so that these languages also seem to have once formed ऐ out of the two vowels.

[Table 15 : अ and उ combined into औ]

Skr. मुकुट a chaplet, Pr. मउड, H. P. मौड़ा, B. O. मउड.

Skr. चतुर्थ fourth, Pr. चउत्थ, M. H. P. चौथा, O. चौथ.

Skr. चतुष्क a square, Pr. चउक्क, M. H. P. चौक. Similarly other compounds of चतुर्; as चौरस, चौकोन, चौमास &c., B. O. S. also have चौ.

Skr. ज्येष्ठपुत्र the son of an elder brother, Pr. जेट्ठउत्त, H. जेठौत.

Skr. मधुमक्षिका a bee, Pr. महुमक्खिआ, H. मौमाखी by dropping इ.

Skr. वधू a girl, a daughter-in-law, Pr. वहू, O. बौ.

When sometimes the Prakrits combined अ and इ or अ and उ, they formed ए and ओ out of them. For, as we have seen, the passage from one position to another in the same breath was impossible to the speakers of the Prakrits and the Pali. Thus we have मोर for मऊर, Skr. मयूर; थेर for थइर, Skr. स्थविर; चोत्थ for चउत्थ, Skr. चतुर्थ; चोग्गुण for चउग्गुण, Skr. चतुर्गुण &c.

Similarly अय and अव form ऐ and औ in the vernaculars. When final अ of य and व is not pronounced, these semi-vowels easily pass into इ and उ which with the previous अ form those diphthongs :—

[Table 16 : अय changed to ऐ]

Skr. मदन god of love, Pr. मअण or मयण, H. मैन.

Skr. रजनी night, Pr. रअणी or रयणी, H. P. रैन.

Skr. नयन the eye, H. नैन, P. नैण.

Skr. भय fear, H. P. भै.

Skr. जय victory, H. P. जै.

Skr. शत a hundred, Pr. सअ or सय, H. P. सै.

Skr. वचन speech, Pr. वअण or वयण, H. बैन.

The Marathi does not follow the Hindi and Panjabi here. For, according to the modern way of pronunciation as observed before, the final अ of words not being pronounced, the vowel of the preceding syllable is lengthened. The अ of the first syllable of भय and जय being thus long, prevents the formation of ऐ; while that of य being so in such words as नयन that semivowel is not reduced to इ, and hence we have no ऐ. But these obstacles are set aside in the Hindi and the Panjabi, the tendency to form the diphthongs being strong. When however, the Marathi was in a state of formation it retained the Prakrit peculiarity and changed the syllable अय to ए, as in शें for शतम्, भे (old) for भय, एं of neuter nouns such as केळें and ताम्बें for the अयं of the Prakrit केलयं and तम्बयं, के and गे of केला and गेला for the Prakrit कय and गय, &c. This change is due to a weakened pronunciation of य. In modern times even य is often sounded like ए. For, in producing these two sounds the middle of the tongue being raised, the forepart falls lower than in sounding इ. When, therefore, in pronouncing य the middle is not raised sufficiently high, the sound becomes ए and not इ, because this requires the forepart also to be raised higher.

Thus in the following instances अव forms औ:—

[Table 17 : अव changed to औ]

Skr. धवल white, Pr. धवल, H. P. धौला, M. धवळा.

Skr. नवाशिक्षित newly learned, Pr. नवासीक्खिअ, H. नौसिख, M. नौशिका or नवाशिका.

Skr. भवन a dwelling, Pr. भवण, H. भौन P. भौण.

Skr. कवल a mouthful, Pr. कवल, H. कौर or कौल.

Skr. नवनीत butter, Pr. नवणीअ, H. नौनी, P. नौणी, M. लोणी from the Pr. नोणीअ.

Skr. नमन bowing, Apabhr. नवंन, H. नौना, P. नौणा, M. नवणें.

Skr. लवन cutting, Pr. लवन, H. लौना.

Skr. कपर्दिका a shell, Pr. कवड्डिआ, H. P. M. कौड़ी, M. कवडी also.

Skr. सपत्नी, a fellow-wife, Pr. सवत्ती. H. सौत, M. सवत.

Skr. भ्रमर a bee, Apabhr. भवंर. H. P. भौंरा, M. भोंवरा from another derivative of भ्रम.

Skr. समर्प to deliver, Apabhr. सवंप्प, H. सौंपना, P. सौंपणा. M. सोंपणें.

Here the Panjabi and the Hindi agree perfectly; but the Marathi is not decided, sometimes changing the syllable to औ but more often for the reasons given in the case of अय, retaining it as it is in the original, the अव, however, being pronounced like अब in some cases, and अव with long final अ in others. Hindi and Panjabi similarly treat आइ or आई and आय, and आउ or आऊ and आव, while the Marathi here completely parts from them. For the आ in these syllables is too strong a sound for the Marathi ear to pass off into the very short अ of half a mātrā. Even the Hindi preserves आय unchanged in a good many cases, as बाय for Pr. वाय, Skr. वात 'wind.'

[Table 18: आइ or आय changed to ऐ in certain Vernaculars only]

Skr. पाद foot, Pr. पाअ or पाय, H. P. पै in पैर foot, पैदल foot-soldiers, पैकड shackles, &c., M. पाय in पायदळ foot-soldiers, पायरी a step.

Skr. कायस्थ name of a caste, Pr. कायत्थ, H. कैथ in कैथी name of the characters prevalent in some parts of Northern India.

Skr. नाविक a boatman, Pr. नाविअ, H. नैया by dropping क् as H. usually does and reducing नाविअ to नाइअ.

Skr. ज्ञातिगृह a woman's family of birth, Pr. नाइहर, H. नैहर.

[Table 19: आऊ or आव changed to औ in certain Vernaculars only].

Skr. भ्रातृजाया brother's wife, Pr. भाउजाआ, H. भौजाई, M. भावजई, S. भाजाई.

Skr. मातृष्वसृका mother's sister, Pr. माउसिआ, H. मौसी, N. मावशी, S. P. मासी.

Skr. वातूल under the influence of wind, mad, Pr. वाऊल, H. P. बौरा, M. बावळा, O. बाउळा, B. बाउडा, S. वंवेरो.

Skr. श्वापद a prey, a beast of chase, Pr. सावज, H. सौजा, M. सावज.

Skr. वामन a dwarf, Apabhr. बावन, H. बौना, P. बौणा, B. बाउनिया.

Skr. पादोन three-quarters, Pr. पाओन or पाऊन, H. पौने, P. पौणिआ.

There are a few instances in Hindi such as पैरना, from Pr. पइर 'to sow' Skr. प्रकिर; पैत 'nature.' Pr. पउत्ति, Skr. प्रकृति; पतोहू 'son's wife' Pr. पुत्तवहू, Skr. पुत्रवधू; भादों 'name of a month', Pr. भद्दवअ,

Skr. मात्रपद &c., in which अइ forms ए, and अउ and अव, ओ; but it will appear that the prevailing rule in that language and in the Panjabi is to change these vowels and semi-vowels into ऐ or औ. The Braj dialect of Hindi is thoroughly consistent in this respect, having ऐ and औ even in its grammatical terminations, as कौ for High H. कों, करै for करे, करौं for करूं, करौ for करो, &c. The Marathi agrees with these dialects perfectly only as respects अ+इ and अ+उ; and the Bengali and Oriya, if we look to the few traces, that they have retained of these Prakrit syllables, seem to agree with the Marathi. But the Gujarati has throughout ए and ओ for the Hindi and Panjabi ऐ and औ; and the Sindhi follows the Gujarati a great way. The Gujarati and Sindhi forms of the words occurring in tables 14–19, are as follows:–

[Table 20: ए, ऐ, ओ and औ in the different Vernaculars]

H.	G.	S.	H.	G.	S.
पैठा	पेठो	पेठो	जै	जे	
बैसना	बेसवुं		से	से in सेंकडा	
बैठा	बेठो		बैन	वेन	वेणु
खैर	खेर		मौडा	मोड	मोडु
बैल	बेल		चौथा	चोथो	चोथो &c.
भैस	भेस	मेंहि	चौक	चोक	चौक, चौपेरो
बैन (P. भेण)	बेन	भेणु, भेण	चौरस	चोरस &c.	
मैल	मेल	मेरो-मैल	धौला	धोळो	धौरो
मैन	मेन		कौडी	कोडी	कोडी
रैन	रेन		सौत	सोक	
नैन	नेन	नेणु	सौंपना	सोंपवुं	सौंपणु
भै	भे		पैदल	पेदल	

H.	G.
भौजाई	भोजाई
पैने	पोणा

The Gujarati has ए or ओ even in words of a foreign origin where the other languages have ऐ or औ; as :–

[Table 21: Gujarati ए or ओ for foreign ऐ or औ]

H.	G.	H.	G.
पैदा करना	पेदा करवुं	मैदान	मेदान
दौलत	दोलत	फौज	फोज

Similarly, though a few Sanskrit words containing ऐ and औ do occur in Gujarati dictionaries, these diphthongs are generally pronounced like ए and ओ as in जेन for जैन 'a follower of the Jaina sect,' વેર for वैर 'enmity', &c. The Gujarati, therefore, like the old Prakrits combines अय and अव and अइ and अउ into ए and ओ, and since it did not receive the diphthongs ऐ and औ from the old Prakrits, its alphabet really does not contain them. As observed before, the syllables अइ and अउ differ from ऐ and औ only in two currents of breath being emitted instead of one, in other respects they are alike, both the vowel sounds being contained in the diphthongs. Those syllables as well as अय and अव should, therefore, naturally pass into those diphthongs as involving the least possible change. If, notwithstanding, the Gujarati people make ए or ओ out of them, and also give those forms to the ऐ and औ of Sanskrit and foreign words, it must be so, because their vocal organs are in this respect in the same condition as those of their Pali and Prakrit ancestors. On the other hand, the Hindi, and especially the Braj form of it, presents the old Aryan tendency of pronouncing the diphthongs in somewhat exaggerated form; while the other dialects take up a position between these two in this respect.

Of the words in which an open vowel is changed to one more close, and an approach towards an assimilation to a consonant is thus effected, the vernaculars have preserved the following:-

[Table 22 : Change of vowels and assimilation of Consonants]

Skr. पक्वम् ripe, Pr. पिक्कं or पक्कं, M. पिकें, G. પાકુ, H. P. पक्का, S. पको, B. पाका, O. पक्का or पाक in पाकला.

Skr. अङ्गारः ember, Pr. इङ्गालो or अङ्गारो, M. (dial.) ईंगळ, इंगळो, M. आंगारा, the rest अंगार.

Skr. ललाटम् forehead, Pr. णिडालं or णडालं, M. निढळ, S. निराडु,

Skr. दत्तम्, Pr. दिण्णं, H. दिन, P. दित्ता.

Skr. कन्दुकः a ball, Pr. गेन्दुओ, H. गेंदा, P. गेंद, M. गेंद.

Skr. अत्र, Pr. एत्थ, M. एथ.

In a great many more instances, अ is thus changed in the vernaculars, and not only before conjuncts as is mostly the case in the Prakrits, but before simple consonants also.

[Table 23 : अ changed to इ in Sindhi]

S.	Skr. or Pr.		M.
कीहाणी a tale	कथानिका—कहानिआ		कहाणी.
मुङ्गिरो a mallet	मुद्गरः—मोग्गरो		मोगर.
सांविरो dark	श्यामलः—सामलो		सांवळा.
पजिरणु to be lit up	प्रज्वलन—पज्जलण		पाजळणें.
पखिराजु a topaz	पुष्कराज		
विसिरणु to forget	विस्मरण—विस्सरण		विसरणें.
विञिणु a fan	व्यजन		विंजणा.
खिण a moment	क्षण—खण		
खिमा forgiveness	क्षमा—खमा		
पघिरणु to melt	प्रगलन		पगळणें.
पिंगुलो lame	पङ्गु with ल		पांगळा.
पिञिरो a cage	पञ्जर		पिंजरा.
पिपिरु the pipal tree	पिप्पल		पिंपळ.
लिलाडु the forehead	ललाट		ललाट.
विरिलो rare	विरलः		विरळ.

H.	P.		Skr. or Pr.
छिन a moment	छिन		क्षणः or खणो
किवाड door	कवाड	कपाटम्—कवाड	M. कवाड
डिम्भ vanity		दम्भः	M. डंभ
गिनना to count	गिणना	गणनम्	M. गणणें
	डिम्भ or दम्भ	दर्भः दब्भो	H. डाभ
पिघलना to melt	पिघलना	प्रगलनम्	M. पगळणें
हिलना to move	हिलना	हलनम् ?	M. हालणें
रींधना to Cook	रिण्हना	रन्धनम्	M. रांधणें
खिमा or छिमा forgiveness	खिमा	क्षमा	
पिंजरा a cage	पिंजरा	पञ्जर	G. पांजरुं
जीमना to eat		जमनम्	G. जमवुं
बिंगा or बांका crooked	बिंगा	वक्र—वंक	M. वांक

M.	Skr. or Pr.	
खिण (dial.)	क्षण—खण	
पिंजरा as above		
मिशी	श्मश्रु—मसू	H. मूछ.

B.	Skr.	
पंजरा as above, O. also		
काछिम tortoise	कच्छप	M. कासव
काहिनी a tale	कथानिका	M. कहाणी

The Sindhi has the largest number of instances, and this change of अ to इ constitutes a peculiarity of that language. The Hindi has got a good many, and the Panjabi follows it in almost all cases. Marathi has but a few stray instances, but sometimes, as in शिवणें 'to touch', H. छूना, Skr. छुप, but Pr. छिव, and in मिशी, इ takes the place of उ also.

The Gujarati has पिगलवुं for प्रगलनम् and ईण्डुं 'an egg', for अण्डकम् but not many more cases. Bengali and Oriya have also but few instances, and even in most of these, and in those of the Marathi as well as in the Hindi पिंजरा and जीमना, the इ may be regarded as arising from the influence of the neighbouring palatal consonant.

The following are instances in which अ, and in one case आ, are changed to ए :—

[Table 24 : अ and आ changed to ए]

H. मेंडुक or मेडुक, P. मेंडुक, G. मेंडक, M. बेडूक. Skr. मण्डूक.

H. सेंवल or सेमल, M. शेवरी or सांवरी, Skr. शाल्मली, Pr. सामरी or सिम्बली.

H. नेवना to bow, P. नेउणा, M. लवणें, Skr. नमन.

H. नेवल a mungoose, P. नेउल, Skr. नकुल, Pr. नउल.

H. जेवना to eat, P. जेउणा, M. जेवणें, G. जमवुं, Skr. जमन.

M. उजेड light, Pr. उज्जाल, Skr. उज्ज्वल.

M. शेण cowdung, G. छाण, Skr. शक्ना instr. sing.

M. ठेवणें to keep, Skr. स्थापन, Pr. ठावण.

G. केहवुं to sell, सेहवुं to endure, रेहवुं to dwell, &c., before ह् followed by अ, for कथ, सह, &c.

But even here the ए of the Marathi शेवरी, शेण, जेवणें, and उजेड, as of the Hindi जेवना, may be attributed to the influence of the preceding palatal.

In the Prakrits there are two instances of the change of अ to उ, viz., चुडं and खुडिओ for Skr. चण्ड 'fierce' and खण्डित 'plucked out'. The latter we have in the vernaculars in the form of खूट M. G., खुटि S. 'deficiency' खोट H., खोड M. 'blemish' and खुडणें or खुटणें M., खुटना H., खुंटवुं G. 'to pluck out', or खुटवुं G. 'to be deficient'. The Bengali changes अ to उ in a good many cases as

[Table 25 : अ changed to उ in Bengali]

B.	Skr. or Pr.	M. or H.
हलुद turmeric	हरिद्रा-हलद्दा	हळद M.
आगुन fire	अग्नि-अगणी	आग M.
बामुन Brahman	ब्राह्मण-बम्हण	बामण.
थुअन to place	स्थापन-ठावण	ठेवणें M.
शिमुल the silk-cotton tree	शाल्मली-सामरी	सेमल H., शेवरी or सांवरी M.
पुकुर a pond	पुष्कर-पोक्खर	पोखर H.
मुग्गर a mallet	मुद्गर-मोग्गर	मोगरा M.

And where the Sanskrit or the sister dialects have ओ, the Bengali has उ as in the following words :-

[Table 26 : Skr. ओ changed to उ in Bengali]

B. चुरि theft, Skr. चोरिका, M. H. चोरी.

B. मुचि a shoemaker, M. H. मोची.

B. पुलि a cake, Skr. पोलिका or पुलिका. M. पाळी.

B. छुडी a girl, G. छोडी.

B. पुडन burning, M. पोळणें.

B. खुदन digging, H. खोदना, M. खोदणें.

B. खुजन searching, H. खोजना.

Thus उ, whether for अ or ओ, is a characteristic of the Bengali. But this characteristic is very likely connected with another which distinguishes the Bengali language, viz., to pronounce the non-final अ in all cases as a short and broad ओ like that in the English word *pot*. I have observed before that the assimilation of vowels to consonants might be effected by narrowing the passage of the breath by an upward movement of the tongue near the palatal position, or by rounding the lips. Which of these modes is resorted to, depends on the peculiar vocal tendencies of a people. Thus then, to change अ to ए or इ is a peculiarity of the Sindhi, the Panjabi, and the Hindi, and to short ओ and उ of the Bengali.

The following Prakrit instances of the assimilation of the different vowels of a word have come down to the vernaculars :—

[Table 27 : Assimilation of different vowels of a word]

M. G. P. वेल a creeper, H. P. बेल, Pr. वेल्ली, Skr. वल्लि, S. वलि, Pr. वल्ली.

M. ऊंस sugarcane, H. ऊख, Pr. उच्छू, Skr. इक्षु. H. has इख also, and P. इक्खु.

H. P. S. सेज a bed, M. G. शेज, Pr. सेज्जा, Skr. शय्या.

M. मिरीं, S. मिरी pepper, Pr. मिरिअं, Skr. मरिचम्.

M. ओपणें to give over, assign, Pr. ओप्प, Skr. अर्प.

There are a few modern instances as in :—

[Table 28 : the Assimilation of vowels

S. मेहि a buffalo, Pr. महिस.

H. इम्ली tamarind tree, Skr. अम्लिका.

H. P. लोहूं blood, Pr. लोहिअ, Skr. लोहित.

H. जुगनू a glow-worm, Pr. जोइङ्गण ?, Skr. ज्योतिरिङ्गण.

H. तिरिच्छ askance, Pr. तिरिच्छ Skr. तिरश्च in तिरश्चः, तिरश्चा &c.

P. उंगळ or उंगळी a finger, Skr. अङ्गुलि.

Examples of the change of अ to इ or ए under the influence of a palatal consonant have been given in Table 24.

Of the words in which one of two similar vowels is made dissimilar or changed to अ in the Prakrits the vernaculars have preserved the following :—

[Table 29 : Dissimilation of vowels]

Skr. बिभीतक, Pr., &c., as in table 8.

Skr. हरीतकी myrobalan, Pr. हरडई, M. हरडी, S. हरीड.

Skr. मुकुटः a crown, Pr. मउडो, H. मौड, G. मोड.

Skr. मुकुलः a bud, Pr. मउलो, P. मौल in मौलना to bud.

Skr. शिथिलम् loose, Pr. साढिलं or सिढिलं, M. सढळ in the sense of 'loose of hand' or 'liberal', H. B. O. ढीला, S. ढिरो or ढरो, G. ढीलुं. In these the first syllable स is elided.

Sindhi has हिलिडो also for सिढिल in which the last two consonants have interchanged places, and स is changed to ह.

Modern instances of this change are :—

[Table 30: Dissimilation of Vowels]

M. उंदीर a rat, G. उंदर, H. B. O. इंदूर, Skr. उन्दुरु.

H. B. चूंची nipple, Skr. चूचुकम्.

H. गेहूं, घेऊं, or गोहूं wheat, P. घेऊं, G. घऊं, M. गहूं or गंव, B. गम, O. गहम, Skr. गोधूम.

P. रेहू a kind of fish, for रोहू, Skr. रोहित.

G. मुगट a crown, S. मुकिटु or मूटिकु, P. मुकट, M. मुगुट, Skr. मुकुट.

H. महुरत an auspicious time, Skr. मुहूर्त.

P. G. कुटंब family, Skr. कुटुम्ब.

P. परोहत priest, Skr. पुरोहित.

H. पतोहू for पुतोहू a son's wife, Pr. पुत्तवहू, Skr. पुत्रवधू.

H. सपूत, Pr. सुपुत्त, Skr. सुपुत्र.

H. P. पुरखा an ancestor, Skr. पुरुष.

M. तुंबळ, Skr. तुमुल.

H. P. जनेऊ, from जण्णोऊअ, Pr. जण्णोवईअ?, Skr. यज्ञोपवीत.

Here, as well as in the Prakrits, one of the two similar vowels is oftener changed to अ than to इ or उ.

In the Prakrits, you will remember, there are a few instances in which the vowels of the different syllables composing a word exchange places, or the close vowel of one is transferred to another. Of these the M. has विंचू 'scorpion', H. and P. बिच्छु, S. विछुं and B. and O. बिछा. There are a good many more modern instances.

[Table 31: Transposition of Vowels]

H. अकेला alone, Pr. एकलअ.

H. उंगली a finger, Skr. अङ्गुली.

H. P. मौत death, from such a Pr. form as मउु, Skr. मृत्यु; the उ being transferred to the preceding syllable, forms औ with अ; G. मोत.

H. हौले slowly, from Pr. हलु, Skr. लघु.

P. कौडा bitter, from Pr. कडुअ, Skr. कटुक.

H. M. S. बूंद, G. P. बुंद, Skr. बिन्दु, the इ transferred to the second

syllable being dropped in virtue of a general law to be presently noticed in the Vernaculars.

H. G. मूछ mustache, S. मुछ, P. मुच्छ, B. O. मोच, Pr. मस्सू, Skr. श्मश्रु.

H. हिरन a deer, Skr. हरिण.

H. सेंध, B. O. सिंध a hole made in a wall by a thief, Skr. संधि.

G. केड the waist, Skr. कटि.

G. पीरसवुं to distribute food, from Skr. परिवेष.

G. बनेवी sister's husband, बने for बेन sister, Pr. भइणी, and वी for वई, Skr. पति.

B. शेल a dart, from Skr. शल्य, the इ arising from the softening of य, being transferred to श.

P. पुर above, Skr. उपरी.

M. ओंजळ a cavity made by joining the hands, from the word अंजुळी existing in old Marathi, and अंजुली existing in H. made up on the analogy of the Skr. अञ्जलि.

M. हिरवा green, from Skr. हरित or हरितक.

M. चोंच a beak, M. (dial.) and B. टोंच, Skr. चंचु.

Of the Prakrit words with a syllable lengthened or shortened through the influence of an accent of some sort, the vernaculars have preserved a few words. Thus :—

[Table 32 : Shortening of syllables through accent]

M. पाडवा the 1st day of the moon's increase, Pr. पाडिवो, Skr. प्रतिपद्. H. has the form with short प, पडिवा.

M. सारिखा like, Pr. सारिच्छो or सारिक्खो ?, Skr. सदृक्षः.

M. हल्या a buffalo used for ploughing, Pr. हलिओ; H. P. हाली one who ploughs, Pr. हालिओ, Skr. हालिक.

H. गहिरा deep, Pr. गहिरो, Skr. गभीरः.

G. कुंवर, H. कुंवर or कुंअर, Pr. कुमरो, Skr. कुमारः.

ACCENT IN MODERN VERNACULARS

In modern vernacular pronunciation, there is a law of accentuation, which has produced important results. The penultimate syllable of a word is, in all our dialects, pronounced with a stress,

the tendency of which is to lengthen that syllable and drop the final vowel. In most of them, this tendency has worked itself out thoroughly. The preceding vowel, however, is not always written long, but still the long or at least the emphasized pronunciation does exist. I have already given instances* in which while the final अ is silent or dropped, the इ or उ of the preceding syllable is lengthened, and have shown that when that syllable has अ, it also is pronounced long though not changed to आ. The final इ or उ of Sanskrit words, recently imported into the languages, have been dropped in virtue of this law of accentuation. Thus :—

[Table 33 : Skr. final इ dropped through accent]

M. H. G. पद्धत method, mode, Skr. पद्धति.

M. H. G. P. गत condition, Skr. गति.

M. G. विपत, H. P. बिपत misery, Skr. विपत्ति.

M. H. P. G. B. रीत manner, Skr. रीति.

M. H. G. P. B. जात species, caste, Skr. जाति.

M. H. कीर्त, H. G. P. कीरत fame, Skr. कीर्त्ति.

M. H. P. G. रास a heap, Skr. राशि.

M. H. P. उपाध injury, annoyance, Skr. उपाधि.

M. H. P. G. नीत morality, Skr. नीति.

H. P. कव a poet, Skr. कवि.

M. G. वस्त, H. P. बस्त a thing, Skr. वस्तु.

H. P. साध a good man, Skr. साधु.

M. G. H. P. मध honey, Skr. मधु.

Bengali and Oriya authors hardly represent the proper vernacular pronunciation. Such words as the above, therefore, do not occur, but probably they do exist. In Sindhi, however, here as well as in other instances to be given, the tendency of this law of accentuation is but partially realised, and such of the above words, as exist in that language, preserve their Sanskrit endings; as राहि or रासि, जाति, रीति &c. Not only does this law characterise the vernacular speech of the day, but it must have been in operation for centuries, since the old Prakrit words, which like the above, have not recently been imported, but have descended

* Pp. 394ff.

to the modern languages from the spoken dialects of ancient times, have also been similarly changed. Thus:—

[Table 34: preceding vowels lengthened through accent]

M. B. भूक. H. G. B. भूख, P. भुक्ख, O. भोक hunger, P. छुहुक्खा, Skr. बुभुक्षा.

M. H. P. G. जीभ, B. O. S. जिभ tongue, Pr. जिब्भा, Skr. जिह्वा.

H. P. सेज, M. G. शेज, S. सेज-सेजा a bed, Pr. सेज्जा, Skr. शय्या.

M. भीक, H. G. भीख, P. भिक्ख or भीख, B. O. भिक alms, Pr. भिक्खा. Skr. भिक्षा.

M. नीज, H. P. नींद, S. निंड sleep, Pr. निद्दा, Skr. निद्रा.

M. सोंड, H. सूंड, G. सूंढ, P. सुंड, B. O. शूंड, S. सूंढि, trunk of an elephant, Pr. सोण्डा, Skr. शुण्डा.

M. G. दाढ, H. डाढ, S. डाठ a jaw, a grinder, Pr. दाढा, Skr. दंष्ट्रा.

H. P. सैन, S. सैण, G. सान a sign, Pr. सण्णा, Skr. संज्ञा.

H. S. साध, B. साद or साध, O. साध wish, longing, Pr. सद्धा, Skr. श्रद्धा.

M. G. धूळ, H. धूल, S. धूडि, B. O. धूला dust, Pr. धूलि Skr. धूलि.

M. H. G. आग, P. आग, or आगन, B. आगुन, S. आगि fire, Pr. अग्गी or अग्गिणी, Skr. अग्नि.

M. H. दीठ sight, Pr. दिट्ठि, Skr. दृष्टि.

M. बहिण or भैण, P. भैण, H. बहिन, बहन, or बैन, G. बेन, S. भेण or भेणु, B. बोन sister, Pr. भइणी, Skr. भगिनी.

M. म्हैस, H. भैंस, G. भेंस, P. मैंह or भैंस, S. मेंहि a buffalo, Pr. महिसी, Skr. महिषी.

H. P. कोख, G. कूख, M. कूस, S. कुखि a side of the abdomen, Pr. कुक्खि, Skr, कुक्षि.

H. B. रैन, G. रेन night, Pr. रयणी, Skr. रजनी.

M. सवत, H. सौत, G. सोक a fellow wife, Pr. सवत्ती, Skr. सपत्नी.

M. खाण, H. खान a mine, Pr. खाणी, Skr. खनि or खानि.

M. H. P. G. B. O. रात, S. राति night, Pr. रत्ती, Skr. रात्रि.

M. G. P. वेल, H. P. बेल, S. वलि a creeping plant, Pr. वेल्ली, Skr. वल्लि.

H. सास, P. सस्स, M. G. सास्, S. ससु mother-in-law, Pr. सस्सू, Skr. श्वश्रू.

M. G. वीज, P. बिज्ज, S. बिजु lightning, Pr. बिज्जु, Skr. विद्युत्.

M. ऊंस, H. ऊख or ईख, P. इक्ख, Pr. उच्छू, Skr. इक्षु.

H. G. आंख, P. अक्ख, S. अखि, B. O. आखि the eye, Pr. अक्खि, Skr. अक्षि.

M. G. B. O. हाड, H. हाड, हड्डु, or हड्डी, P. हड्ड or हड्डी, S. हड्डु or हडी, Pr. अट्ठी, Skr. अस्थि.

M. हत्तीण, H. G. हाथीन, Pr. हत्थिनी, Skr. हस्तिनी.

Here also the Sindhi preserves the old endings in some cases, and has dropped them in others. In this manner, the final आ, इ, ई, उ and ऊ of Sanskrit and Prakrit nouns have been dropped in the vernaculars or changed to a silent अ.

Final ओ is similarly treated. Even in the Apabhraṁśa period, this rule of accentuation must have prevailed, since the ending vowels are similarly shortened in a good many cases. You will remember that the Prakrit ओ of the nominative singular of masculine nouns is mostly shortened to उ in that dialect, and sometimes altogether dropped. The modern vernaculars have thus got a great many masculine nouns ending in the silent अ, such as हात or हाथ 'hand', कान 'ear', दांत 'tooth', धीट 'bold', वड 'the Bunyan tree', &c. But as before, the Sindhi has in all these cases preserved the उ; as हथु, कनु, डंदु, डीदु, बदु, &c.

When the final vowel is preceded by another and not by a consonant as in the words just mentioned and in others given in the above lists, that other vowel being accented by our rule shows a tendency to become long, and the original unaccented final being dropped, the accented vowel becomes final. Thus:—

[Table 35: Penultimate vowels lengthened and made finals through accent]

Skr. मौक्तिकम् a pearl, Pr. मोत्तिअं, M. मोतीं, G. S. P. H. मोती.

Skr. पानयिम् water, Pr. पाणिअं, M. G. पाणीं, H. पानी.

Skr. यूथिका a flowering bush, Pr. जूहिआ, M. H. G. जुही or जुई, H. जूही.

Skr. घोटिका a mare, Pr. घोडिआ, M. G. H. P. घोडी.

Skr. शाटिका a garment, Pr. साडिआ, M. G. H. साडी.

Skr. मृत्तिका earth, Pr. मत्तिआ, मट्टिआ or मिट्टिआ, M. माती, H. मट्टी as in table 4, all ending in ई.

Skr. ताम्बूलिकः a seller of betel-nut, Pr. and Ap. तम्बोलिओ-उ, M. तांबोळी, G. तंबोळी, H. तंबोली.

Skr. तैलिकः a seller of oil, Pr. and Ap. तेल्लिओ-उ, M. तेली.

Skr. हालिकः a peasant, Pr. हालिओ, Ap. हालिउ, H. हाली, S. हारी.

Skr. नापितः a barber, Pr. and Ap. न्हाविओ-उ or नाविओ-उ, M. न्हावी, H. नाई.

Skr. वृश्चिकः a scorpion, Pr. विच्छुओ, Ap. विच्छुउ, M. विंचू, H. P. बिच्छू, S. बिछु, B. O विछा.

Skr. गूदः ordure, Pr. गुओ, गुउ, M. H. G. गू.

Skr. युगम्, Pr. जुअं, M. जूं.

Skr. यूका a louse, Pr. जूआ, H. P. G. जू, M. ऊ.

Skr. वाटिका an enclosure, Pr. वाटिआ or वाडिआ, M. G. H. वाडी, B. वाटी.

Skr. वीटिका a roll of betel leaf, &c., Pr. वीडिआ, M. विडी, G. विडी, H. बीड़ी.

Skr. सूचिकः a tailor, Pr. सूचिओ, Ap. सूचिउ, H. सूजी.

Skr. माक्षिका a fly, Pr. मच्छिआ or मक्खिआ, M. माशी, G. H. माखी, माछी.

Skr. जीवः life, Pr. जीओ, Ap. जीउ, H. जी.

Skr. लोहितम् blood, Pr. लोहिअं, G. लोही, H. P. लोहू.

Skr. जलौका a leech, Pr. जलोआ, M. जळू, H. जलू, G. जळो.

Skr. वालुका sand, Pr. वालुआ, M. G. वाळू, H. बालू.

Skr. पितृकः, मातृका, and भ्रातृकः as in tables 3 and 4.

Thus then the Sanskrit Prakrit penultimate vowels become final in the vernaculars, and being originally accented in consequence of the law we have been considering, retain that accent in most cases, and are thus lengthened. When the penultimate happens to be अ it is lengthened to आ as in the following :—

[Table 36: Penultimate accented अ changed to आ]

Skr. घोटकः a horse Pr. घोडओ, Ap. घोडउ, M. H. P. B. O. घोडा.

Skr. पारदः mercury, Pr. पारओ, Ap. पारउ, M. H. P. B. O. पारा.

Skr. आमलकः a kind of myrobalan, Pr. आमलओ, Ap. आवेलउ, M. आंबळा, H. P. आवला or आमला.

Skr. आम्रातकः hog-plum, Pr. अम्माडओ ?, Ap. अम्बाडउ, M. आंबाडा, H. अंबाडा.

Skr. बिभीतकः beleric myrobalan, Pr. बहेडओ, Ap. बहेडउ, M. बेहडा, H. P. बहेडा.

Skr. पुस्तकम् a volume, Pr. पोत्थओ, Ap. पोत्थउ, H. P. पोथा.

Skr. कण्टकः a thorn, Pr. कण्टओ, Ap. कण्टउ, M. H. B. कांटा.

Skr. गोलकः a ball, Pr. गोलआ, Ap. गोलउ, M. P. गोळा, H. B. गोला.

Skr. श्यालकः brother-in-law, Pr. सालओ, Ap. सालउ, M. P. साळा, H. साला.

Skr. दीपकः a lamp, Pr. दीवओ, Ap. दीवउ, M. दिवा, P. दीवा, H. दिया, B. दीया.

Skr. मञ्चकः a bedstead, Pr. मञ्चओ, Ap. मञ्चउ, M. मांचा.

Skr. मस्तकम् head, Pr. मत्थअं, M. (Goan., Mal., and Chit.) माथां; Pr. मत्थओ, Ap. मत्थउ, by a change of gender, M. H. B. माथा, P. मत्था.

Skr. कटकम् a wristlet, Pr, कडअं, M. (Goan., Mal. and Chit.).

Skr. कीटकः a worm, Pr. कीडओ, Ap. कीडउ, M. किडा, H. P. कीडा, B. कीडा, and the other words given in Table 6.

It may be urged that in modern prcnunciation when the penultimate अ is accented, it does not become आ even though pronounced long, as observed before. How is it then that it becomes आ here? In modern times several new modes of pronunciation have arisen, but as regards the matter in hand, to lengthen अ into आ was the old process. And often when the old processes have disappeared frcm what is considered the standard form of a language, they are found preserved in some dialect of that language. Thus, while in the standard Marathi the penultimate अ is simply pronounced long, it becomes आ in the Goanese and Malvani dialects.

Thus:—

[Table 37: Penultimate आ preserved dialectically]

St. M.	Mal. Goan.
पातळ a garment, or thin.	पाताळ.
कापड cloth.	कापाड.
वतन hereditary property.	वतान.
जतन careful preservation.	जतान.
धोतर garment.	धोतार.
खडप a rock.	खडाप.

In this manner, then, the penultimate अ in consequence of the accent became आ, and the final उ and the अ of the final अं being dropped, itself became final, and has preserved its accent.

An unaccented अ, आ, or उ is, you will have observed from the above instances, dropped after a close or dissimilar vowel. For, if preserved, its effect would be to change the preceding close vowel to the corresponding semi-vowel. But being accented, that vowel resists the influence and in its turn overpowers the unaccented, and consequently weak, vowel. But when it is possible to combine both into one sound the final is sometimes not dropped.

Thus the अ and उ in the above examples are combined into ओ in the Gujarati, the Sindhi, and the Goanese, Malvani, and Chitpavni dialects of the Marathi, and the Marvari, Mevari, Kumaoni, and Garhavali dialects of the Hindi; and we have घोडो, पारो, आंवळो or आंवलो, आंबाडो, बेहडो, कांदो, गोळो, साळो, दिवो, मांचो, and किडो.

When अ follows another अ, the former, you will remember, is generally changed to a light य in the Prakrits. Those dialects tolerated a hiatus when one or both of the vowels were close. But अ or आ followed by अ or आ required two complete openings of the mouth, which could not be borne, and hence a close sound इ was interposed. Thus मत्थअं and कडअं, in the above, became मत्थयं and कडयं, and the य being almost as light as the vowel इ and being unaccented, is dropped in the Malvani and the other dialects; but in the standard Marathi, as formerly observed, the अ and यं are combined into एं, and so we have माथें and कडें.

In the Apabhraṁśa, you will remember, the masculine termination उ is transferred by analogy to neuter nouns, and Hemacandra tells us that neuter nouns having a क at the end do not drop their nasal termination. Thus, we have मत्थउं and कडउं from which by combination we have the Gujarati माथुं and कडुं. Here the nasal sound gives a sort of fixity to the vowel, and hence it does not pass into ओ as in the case of masculine nouns, but absorbs the preceding अ. The ओ, एं and उ thus formed are accented like the आ of the masculine nouns in the Marathi and others, since they contain the accented penultimate.

Similarly, final unaccented इ is not dropped after अ or आ, but is slurred over and the least possible time is allowed to it, in consequence of which it sounds like the consonant य्, and thus forms a sort of diphthong with the preceding अ or आ.

[Table 38 A: Pr. final इ changed to य्]

M. वइ or वय् a hedge, Pr. वइ, Skr. वृति.

M. सइ or सय् remembrance, Pr. सई, Skr. स्मृति.

M. (Mal. and Chit.) नइ or नय, H. नइ, S. नइ, Pr. नइ, Skr. नदी.

M. शेणवइ or य name of a caste, Pr. सेणावइ, Skr. सेनापति.

H. बहनोइ sister's husband, Pr. भइणीवइ, Skr. भगिनीपति.

Sometimes the final vowel इ absorbs the preceding अ; as in

[Table 38 B: Pr. final इ merged in preceding अ]

G. बनेवी for बहनोइ.

M. शेणवी.

M. दळवी for Pr. दलवइ, Skr. दलपति.

You will have seen that the Sanskrit nouns, composed of three or more syllables, given in Table 36, with अ for their penultimate vowel and क or any other similar syllable ending in अ for the final, have dropped one syllable and become nouns ending in आ in Marathi, Hindi, Panjabi, and Bengali, and in Oriya also in some cases, and in ओ in Gujarati, Sindhi, and in the dialects of the Marathi and Hindi spoken of above. Such of them as are neuter have acquired the ending एं or आं in Marathi and in ॅं in Gujarati.

But these are not the only nouns with a final आ and ओ and एं, आं and ॅं in these languages. There are a good many more, both substantives and adjectives, which have these endings. In the Brajabhāṣa also a great many adjectives, nominal and verbal, end in ओ or औ. The Sanskrit words from which they are derived are not composed of three syllables, with क or another syllable like it preceded by an अ, as the final. Thus the substantives H. M. चेला 'a disciple', पुडा 'a parcel', काढा 'a decoction', and the adjectives H. नीला, M. निळा 'blue' H. पीला, M. पिवळा 'yellow', and past participles, H. गया 'gone', मुवा 'dead', M. गेला, मेला, &c., and the corresponding Gujarati, चेलो, पुडो, काढो, नीळो, पीळो, गयो and मुवो, are

derived from the Sanskrit चेटः, पुटः, क्वाथः, नीलः, पीतलः, &c. Similarly such neuter nouns as M. केळें (dial. केळां), G. केळुं, M. सोनें (dial. सोनां), G. सोनूं, are derived from the Skr. कदलम् and सुवर्णम्. How then did they get their आ and ओ and आं, एं and ऊं?

A great many nouns in our languages end in अ, which has now become silent; and these, as I have explained, are derived from the Sanskrit nouns ending in अ, the nominative termination ओ being, because it was unaccented, at first reduced to उ and afterwards dropped in most of them, but preserved in Sindhi. By that same law of accentuation which brought about the elision of this ओ, we have seen, that nouns ending in क or such other syllable preceded by अ come to have आ-ओ and ए-आं-ऊं for their final. By an obvious inference, therefore, those other substantives and adjectives also must have got कः or कम् in the Prakrits and the Apabhraṁśa in the forms of ओ or अं and उ or उं, though in Sanskrit they do not possess them.

The suffix क, though actually found in certain words only in Sanskrit, must have been largely used in the spoken language of ancient times, since Pāṇini and his expositors allow of its being appended to all nouns and even verbs and participles, to indicate littleness,[1] contempt,[2] tenderness,[3] the state of being unknown,[4] resemblance or copy,[5] and a species[6] founded on some of these particularities. Words formed by the addition of such a suffix in such senses cannot, of course, be much used in literary works. They are adapted for colloquial purposes, such as our Marathi राम्या for Rama and गोंया for Govinda are.

Accordingly, in the Prakrits and Apabhraṁśa, which were derived from the spoken languages, we find the practice of adding the suffix to be very common. Thus in the fourth act of the Vikramorvaśī we have लिद्धअं for लिद्धकं formed from the analogy of स्निग्धकम् but properly लीढकम्; सिणिद्धअं for स्निग्धकम्; जुअलअं

1 Pāṇini, V. 3. 85, 86; V. 4. 4.
2 Pāṇini, V. 3. 74, 75.
3 Pāṇini, V. 3. 76, 77.
4 Pāṇini, V. 3. 73.
5 Pāṇini, V. 3. 96, 97.
6 Pāṇini, V. 3. 75, 87, 97.

for युगलकम्; जुआणओ for युवकः; आणत्तओ for आज्ञप्तकः; परिमंथरओ for परिमन्थरकः; काननए for काननके; कुसुमुज्जलए for कुसुमोज्ज्वलके; लालसओ for लालसकः; परवारणओ for परवारणक; लीणओ for लीनकः; गइन्दओ for गजेन्द्रकः and many others. So also in Hemacandra's quotations from Apabhraṁśa works, we have घडिअउ for घटितकः; विप्पिअयारउ for विप्रियकारकः; उड्डावन्तिअए for उड्डापयन्तिकया; दिट्ठउ for दृष्टकः; वल्लहउं for वल्लभकम्; मुअउ for मृतकः &c.

Now the question is, why is it that certain nouns only which have आ and ओ or आं, एं and उं in our vernaculars had क appended to them in the Prakrits and not others? The suffix was used only where some additional sense was intended to be expressed. Hence there were some words to which it was not appended at all, and of those to which it was two forms existed, of which the one augmented had unaugmented sense. And in our modern dialects a good many words have these two forms, and of these that with आ conveys an additional sense, such as is attributed to क by the Sanskrit grammarians.

Thus दांत in Marathi expresses a 'tooth' but दांता a copy of the animal tooth, that is, 'the tooth' of such an instrument as a saw; मेळ signifies 'union' 'agreement,' but मेळा expresses a certain union, viz., a concourse of people in a fair or on some festive occasion; कोंपर signifies 'the elbow,' but कोंपरा any corner, resembling that made by the elbow; दोर means 'a string,' generally, but दोरा a particular string, that is, 'thread' used for sewing; पाट denotes generally 'a strip,' and thence the piece of wood used for sitting on, but पाटा a slab of stone used for pounding spices; फांस signifies 'a noose,' generally, but फांसा a snare for birds or beasts, and also 'a catch,' for fastening anything. In the Hindi, Panjabi and Gujarati बांस or वांस means a bamboo, as does बांङ in Sindhi; but in Marathi वांसा means 'a bambu used as a rafter' and thence a rafter generally, &c. In Marathi and Hindi गाभ signifies 'fœtus' or 'womb,' but गाभा the internal spadix or fruit-receptacle of the plantain-tree or the core or heart of anything. The Panjabi गब्भ and गब्भा also mean 'the womb' and the heart or core of anything respectively.

Thus then क was appended to a word in the Prakrits to denote some additional sense; and both the augmented and unaugmented

forms of it were in use; and these in some cases have descended to the vernaculars. But in the course of time, in consequence of the frequent use of the augmented forms, the things expressed by the unaugmented words came to be thought of with the additional property, to denote which the क was in the first instance affixed. Hence the forms without क went out of use, gradually those with it lost the additional sense. It was not possible to preserve this sense except by a comparison with the signification of the unaugmented forms. But as these disappeared, the comparison was impossible. And in some cases the additional sense was so slight, that in the course of time it gradually dropped away, though the two forms of the word did exist. Thus we have in Marathi चूर or चुरा 'fragments,' घेर or घेरा 'circumference,' खांद or खांदा 'the shoulder,' जोड or जोडा 'a pair,' भूस or भुसा 'chaff,' and others; but there is no preceptible difference in the sense of the two forms, though in the last three cases usage has restricted one of them to one state of things and the other to another. So also one of our dialects has the augmented form, and another the original, the sense being the same. Thus :—

[Table 39: Augmented and unaugmented forms of the same words]

B. बड, H. P. बडा large or great.

M. खेळ, H. P. खेल, B. खेला a play.

H. दहीना, B. डाइन, O. डाहाण right hand.

M. खांब, M. (dial.) खांबो, G. खंभ, H. P. खंभ or खंभा, B. खंबा, O. खंब a pillar.

B. आम, H. आम or आम्ब, P. अंब, M. आंबा, G. आंबो the mango tree.

P. मच्छ, H. B. माछ, M. मासा a fish.

B. भाल, H. P. M. भला good.

It thus appears that originally the suffix क was not necessarily applied to any nouns, but optionally to such as admitted of the additional signification. This additional signification has been preserved in some cases, but lost in others.

The Original and Derivative Accents in the Vernaculars.

You will now have seen, that the Sanskrit and Prakrit final vowels having, for the most part, been dropped by the influence of the accent, the final आ, आं, ई, ईं, ऊ, ऊं, एं and ओं that we have

now got were originally penultimates or have arisen from a combination of the penultimate and final. The accent which originally fell on the penultimate falls now in consequence of this change on these new finals. Thus, these two accents, that on the penultimate when a word ends in the silent अ, and that on the new final, are now to be met with in the vernaculars. The first may be called the original accent, and the second derivative.

The Marathi is of all our dialects the most sensitive to them, and shortens all the other vowels of the word in order to throw the whole force of utterance on the accented syllable. The Sanskrit सूतक 'mourning,' नूतन 'new,' पीतल 'brass,' and the Sanskrit and Prakrit जीवन्त (from जीवन्तः or जीवन्तो) are pronounced as सुतक्, नुतन्, पितळ्, जिवन्त्, &c., with the penultimate अ long and the first vowel short. In this way, in a word composed of three syllables, with the final अ silent, the first syllable must be short in Marathi. When a word is composed of more than three syllables, the अ of the antepenultimate is elided, as in अडचण, शहाणपण, pronounced as अड्चण् शहाणप्ण्, &c.

Similarly, when a word ends in the accented आ and the other vowels, the preceding vowels are shortened as in the following:—

[Table 40 : Accent shortening preceding vowels].

किडा, Skr. कीटकः, Pr. कीडओ, and the others in Table 6.

Also चुरा and भुसा which without the आ are चूर and भूस (See p. 422), विडी, जुई and such others occurring in Table 35.

पिढी a step in the scale of descent, a generation, Skr. पीठिका.

जुवा gambling by means of dice, Skr. द्यूतकः (by a change of gender).

निळा-ळें-ळी blue, Skr. नीलकः-कं-°लिका.

पिवळा-ळें-ळी yellow, Skr. पीतलकः-कं-°लिका.

When, together with the accented final, a word is composed of three or more syllables, or, more generally, when the accented syllable is preceded by two others or more, the अ of that which immediately precedes is silent or elided, as in the case of अड्चण above, and any other vowel in its place is shortened and sometimes dropped. The other vowels are also pronounced short. Thus:—

[Table 41: Elision of अ through Accent.]

शीक *imper. 2nd per. sing.* the original form of the root.	शिकणें *inf.* to learn,	pronounced as शिक्णें.
पूस.....	पुसणें *inf.* 'to ask' ...	पुस्णें.
रूस.....	रुसतो *pres. part.* 'he is angry'	रुस्तो.
शीव.....	शिवला *past part.* 'touched'	शिव्ला.

शीव has similarly शिवणें 'to sew' *inf.*, शिवतो 'he sews,' शिवला 'sewn.'

कर 'do,' *pres. part.* unaugmented करीत, augmented करितो or करतो pronounced as कर्तो.

So also अङ्गुष्ठकः is आंगठा, and श्वशुरकः, सास्रा the penultimate उ being dropped.

When the final is unaccented, it is the penultimate that is emphasized, but when it is accented, the penultimate is slurred over. Thus the accentuation of the penultimate leads to the elision of the final vowel, and the accentuation of the final brings about an elision or shortening of the penultimate.

ACCENT IN HINDI

In Hindi also the accent leads to the elision of the अ of the previous syllable when more than one precede the accented syllable. Thus उबटन 'a cosmetic' is pronounced as उबटंन, मूरखपन as मूरख्पंन, उबटना *inf.* 'to rub the body with a cosmetic,' as उबट्ना करना as करना. The Braj present participle करत is pronounced as करत् since one syllable only precedes the accented penultimate; but the Hindi करता is कर्ता as two syllables precede the accented ता. The accent leads to the shortening of the preceding vowels in some cases. Thus गोपाल 'cowherd,' and पाताल 'the lower regions,' are sometimes pronounced and written as गुपाल and पताल; so does आशिष् become असीस. In such words as उपज 'produce,' उसास 'respiration,' and उबटन 'a cosmetic,' from the Pr. उप्पज्ज, उस्सास, and उब्बट्टण, Skr. उत्पद्य, उच्छ्वास, and उद्वर्तन, it prevents the lengthening of the initial उ, as by the general rule it should be long, since one member of the following double consonant is dropped. The

derived accent also shortens the preceding vowels in such instances as the following:—

[Table 42: Accent in Hindi shortening preceding vowels].

H. दहिना southern, Pr. दाहिणओ, Skr. दक्षिणकः.

H. दिया a lamp, Pr. दीवओ, Skr. दीपकः.

H. जुआ gambling, Pr. जूअओ, Skr. द्यूतकः (by a change of gender).

H. अगला foremost, the first part of which is आग, from Pr. अग्ग, Skr. अग्र.

H. अपना one's own,..... आप from Pr. अप्प, Skr. आत्म.

इकट्ठा together,..... एक.

H. फिरा walked, पिया drunk, सिया sewn, छुआ touched, past participles of फीरना, पीना, सीना, छूना, &c.

In the same way it prevents the lengthening of a preceding vowel in such cases as उपजना 'to be produced,' उठना 'to rise,' उड़ना 'to fly,' the last two being derived from the Prakrit उत्थाण and उड्डयन.

EXCEPTIONS TO THE ABOVE.

But in a great many cases the accent does not affect the preceding close vowels. The Sanskrit words सूतक, पीतल, &c., the first syllable of which is shortened in Marathi, retain it long in the Hindi. The words उपज, उपजना, उसास, and others have their initial vowel optionally lengthened, and in a few cases, such as ऊपर and ऊखल, it is lengthened without any apparent reason. Similarly, the Hindi forms of कीटक and the other words in Table 6 retain the long vowel. It has also बीडी, जूही, and सूजी as in Table 35, and नीला 'blue', पीला 'yellow', सीखा, 'learnt', भीगा 'wet', मीठा 'sweet', पूछा 'asked', मूआ 'dead', सीखना 'to learn', पूछना 'to ask', दूसरा' &c., while in all these cases the Marathi has short इ and उ. Perhaps this weakening of the accent as regards previous ई and ऊ is due to the development of another accent in Hindi on the initial syllable. To such an accent as this might be attributed the almost universal change of अय and अव to ऐ and औ that we have already noticed. The अ of the initial syllable, being accented, draws to itself the य or व of the following and

deprives it of its अ, in which cases the य or व becomes इ or उ, and then the two form ऐ and औ.

THE ACCENT IN GUJARATI

The Gujarati follows the Hindi completely, sometimes shortening the preceding vowels as in कुवो, सुवो, and कुमळो 'delicate', 'tender', and dropping it as in ससरो 'father-in-law', (Skr. श्वशुरकः) and आंगळी 'finger' (Skr. अङ्गुलिका), sometimes preventing their being lengthened, as in उपज, उठघुं, &c., and very often preserving them long, as in पूरो 'full', शीखडुं, शीक्यो, &c.

THE ACCENT IN PANJABI

The Panjabi also keeps the short vowel in such cases as उचार 'utterance', उजाला 'light', though a member of a double is dropped and preserves the long in such cases as दीया or दीवा, जूआ, कीडा, पूरा, पूरी 'a cake', &c. It has even fewer instances of shortening than the Hindi.

THE ACCENT IN SINDHI

The Sindhi has जुआ 'gambling', डिओ 'a lamp,' पितल &c., but has such words as सूतकु 'mourning', कीडो 'a worm', बीडो 'a roll of betel leaves, (Skr. वीटकः), पीतो 'drunk', &c. In a great many words such as सुको 'dried', सुधो 'heard', छुतो 'touched', दुधो 'milked', the vowel of the preceding syllable is short; but that is due not to the accent on the last syllable but to the peculiarity of the Sindhi not to lengthen the preceding vowels even when a member of a double is dropped.

THE ACCENT IN BENGALI AND ORIYA

The Bengali is more like the Marathi in this respect than the Hindi. Thus we have भितर, H. भीतर 'in the interior', शुका dry, H. सूखा; भिजा or भिगा 'wet', H. भीजा or भीगा; किडा 'a worm', H. कीडा; जुता 'shoes', H. जूता; खिला 'a nail', H. कीला; उपजन, 'to be produced', &c. It thus shortens इ and उ in the unaccented syllables like the Marathi.

The Oriya follows the Bengali, having जुडा, Skr. जूटक 'a knot of hair', जुता 'shoes', भिजा 'wet', भितर 'in the interior', &c. All these languages, however, treat the unaccented अ in words of three or more syllables as the Marathi and Hindi do.

THE ACCENT ON VERNACULAR TERMINATIONS

In Marathi the termination of the oblique form of cases and that of the plural of neuter nouns in ए are also accented. The reason why they bear the accent will be considered hereafter. The accent on the causal termination, in consequence of which the preceding vowels are shortened in the Hindi and the Gujarati, has already been mentioned. This also seems to be the same accent that we have been considering. Thus in G. शिवडाव 'make him sew', or धोवडाव 'make him wash', the आ being penultimate bears the accent and the final अ is dropped. Similarly in धोवडाववुं by the general rule, the final vowel being accented the penultimate अ is silent. It is because it is so, and the ववुं forms the conjunct व्वुं, that the आ looks as if emphasized just as the first अ of अहचण and करता is. In the Marathi and other dialects also, there is this accent in the case of the causal, and the preceding ई and ऊ are shortened; as in निजव 'make him sleep', निजवणें 'to make one sleep', from the original नीज 'sleep', in करीव 'cause him to do', करिवणें or करवणें 'to cause one to do', &c. In the standard Hindi the व is dropped, but still the way of pronunciation remains the same as it was when it existed. In दिखाना 'to show,' for instance, the खा is pronounced as it would have been if the word had been दिखावना. And the forms with व exist in the Braj.

ACCENT IN VERNACULAR COMPOUNDS

Compounds in the vernaculars, most of which belong to the Tatpurusa, Karmadhāraya, or Dvandva class have an accent on the penultimate or final of the last word, as in the H. पनसाल 'a place where water is provided for passengers', in which the first word पानी becomes पन, अमराई 'a forest of mango-trees', in which the आ of आम is shortened, घुड़साल 'a stable', in which we have घुड़ for घोड़ा, रनवास 'harem', the रन of which is a shortened form of रानी, and in the G. अधमुई 'half dead', and the M. अधमण 'half a maund'. In the Marathi आमराइ, रानमाणूस, काळमांजर, the आ of the first syllable is short though not changed to अ; and in तिरकांबटे 'an arrow and bow', the first word is तीर with the ई shortened.

An unaccented initial vowel is dropped in the following instances :—

[Table 43 : unaccented initial vowels dropped in vernaculars]

Skr. उपविश sit, Pr. उवइस, M, H. B. O. बैस, G. बेस, S. बिह.
Skr. उपविष्टकः sat, Pr. उवइट्ठओ, H. P. बैठा, G. बैठो, S. बीठो.
Skr. अभ्यन्तर inside, H. भीतर, B. M. (dial.) भितर.
Skr. अरघट्ट, a water-wheel, Pr. अरहट्ट ?, H. रहट, M. रहाट.
Skr. अभ्यञ्जनकम् to soak, M. भिजणें, H. भीजना, G. भिजवुं, B. भिजिबा.
Skr. एकस्थकम् in one place, Pr. एकट्ठअं, H. P. कट्ठा, or इकट्ठा.
Skr. उपरि, above, Pr. उवरि, M. वर.
Skr. उत्मृष्टकः left, Pr. उज्झुट्ठओ, H. जूठा 'what is left after eating'.
Skr. उपाध्याय a preceptor, M. पाध्या, P. पाधे.
Skr. उदूढकः, Pr. उवूढओ a bridegroom, H. P. दूल्हा.

Of the two instances of this change in the Prakrits लाहू a 'pumpkin' exists in Hindi, and रण्ण in the form of रान in M. and P. and of रन in H. Medial ऐ is dropped in Marathi, Bengali, and Oriya in the word बैस, and others enumerated before. It is dropped in the G. माशी for H. मौसी (see p. 391). This elision does not appear to be due to accent since according to our theory it must fall on the ऐ in some at least of the cases. The change is due to the process of softening, since what takes place here is the simple dropping away of the close element of the diphthong.

The Avoiding of the Hiatus in the Vernaculars

We will now briefly notice the manner in which the hiatus caused by two vowels coming together in consequence of the elision of uninitial consonants in the Prakrits is avoided. We have seen that अ and इ and अ and उ are combined into ऐ and औ in some of the dialects, and into ए and ओ in others.[1] Final unaccented अ and आ are dropped when preceded by इ or उ as in the words given in Table No. 35, and unaccented उ preceded by अ is dropped in some of the vernaculars, as in Table No. 36, and combined into ओ or उ in others.[2] Final इ is preserved or changed to य after अ in some cases, and combined with it to form ई in others.[3]

Final accented आ and उ or ऊ are preserved and a hiatus is tolerated; as in H. P. जुआ or जूआ for यूतक, and S. P. पिउ, माउ, and the M. भाऊ for पितृक, मातृका, भ्रातृक, &c.

1 Pp. 400-406. 2 See P. 418. 3 P. 419.

Sometimes य् or व् is inserted in such cases after इ and उ, as in H. दिया for दिआ 'a lamp', and M. जुवा, H. जूवा for द्यूतक.

The syllable अय, formed in the Prakrits by interposing a य् between अ and अ, is changed to ऐ in modern Hindi as in the words in Table No. 16 and to ए in the Gujarati and the Sindhi. This latter was the older process; and hence even in the Prakrits we have केल for कयल, Skr. कदल, and तेरह, तेवीसा, तेत्तीसा for त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशति, त्रयस्त्रिंशत्, &c. And in Hindi also we have ए in बेर 'a plum' from बयर for Skr. बदर, which must have existed in the Prakrits, though the form given by the Grammarians is बोर for बदर.

Though the Marathi does not, like the Hindi or Gujarati, now change अय to ऐ or ए, still as formerly observed, when in a state of formation, it did form ए out of it, as in the instances there given, and in the neuter singular termination एं[1]. The termination नेर occurring at the end of the names of Gujarati and Marathi towns such as चांपानेर, बडनेर, संगमनेर, पिंपळनेर, &c., is derived from Pr. नयर for Skr. नगर 'town.' The syllables अया, arising from अ and आ, are also sometimes changed to ए as in H. अंधेर or अंधेरा, M. अंधेर, Pr. अन्धयार, Skr. अन्धकार. After आ, the य is sometimes changed to ऐ and ए in the Hindi and Gujarati as in the instances in Tables No. 18 and 20, and also in the Marathi in the instance शेळी from Pr. छाअलिआ, Skr. छागलिका; but often आय and अया remain unchanged as in :—

[Table 44 : य् inserted to avoid Hiatus]

H. G. कायर timid, Pr. कायर, Skr. कातर.

H. G. M. घाय a wound or blow, Pr. घाअ or घाय, Skr. घात.

H. वाय wind, Pr. वाअ, or वाय, Skr. वात.

M. पाय the foot, Pr. पाअ or पाय, Skr. पाद.

M. H. G. राय a king, Pr. राआ or राया, Skr. राजा.

H. गया gone, G. गयो, Pr. गअओ, or गयओ, Skr. गतकः.

G. शियाळो the cold season, S. शियारो, Pr. शीअआ(या)लओ, Skr. शीतकालकः.

1 P. 403.

Sometimes the interposed य् is so light that it is dropped and the vowels अ and आ, or आ and अ, and in rare cases, अ and अ, combine and form आ as in :—

[Table 45 A : The interposed य् dropped]

B. पा, and B. G. घा for पाय and घाय in the above.

M. आ of आला, Pr. आअअ, Skr, आगत.

M. कुंभार a potter, Pr. कुंभआर, Skr. कुंभकार, and generally, the termination कार as in सुवर्णकार 'a goldsmith' and others, also M. अंधार for अंधकार.

M. आर a Boa constrictor, Pr. अअर, Skr. अजगर.

G. वानुं a promise, Pr. वअणअं, Skr. वचनकम्.

H. बरात, M. वरात a bridal procession, Skr. वरयात्रा.

In some cases व् is inserted instead of य् to prevent the hiatus, as in :—

[Table 45 B : व् inserted to avoid Hiatus]

M. राव for राअ 'a king'.

H. पाव for पाअ 'the foot'.

M. साव in सावली for छाअ in छाया; कावरा for Pr. काअरअ, Skr. कातरक ; काव in कावळा for Pr. काअ from Skr. काक ; and a few others.

In the principal Prakrit also we find पीवलअ for Skr. पीतलकम् 'yellow', from which we have the Marathi पिवळें, and बोर has been mentioned above.

A medial अ is dropped after इ, ए or उ short or long, as in :—

[Table 45 C: Medial अ dropped after इ, ए or उ]

M. दीर for Pr. दिअर 'husband's brother'.

G. पीळुं, H. पीला 'yellow' for Pr. पीअलअं, Skr. पीतलकम्.

M. शिळें 'stale,' H. सीला 'damp,' 'cool,' Pr. सीअलअं, Skr. शीतलकम्.

M. वेण 'a throe,' Pr. वेअणा, Skr. वेदना; M. जूळ or जुळें 'twins,' Pr. जुअलं or जुअलअं, Skr. युगलम् or युगलकम्. Sometimes with the previous इ, it forms ए ; that is, a vowel, partaking of the character of both, is substituted for them ; as in :—

[Table 45 D : medial अ changed to ए]

S. नेलु 'a fetter,' Pr. निअडो, Skr. निगड:.

H. P. नेडे or नेरे 'near,' Pr. निअडे, Skr. निकटे.

M. शेंडी 'the tuft of hair on the head,' Pr. सिहण्डिआ, Skr. शिखण्डिका, the ह being softened to अ.

H. बेना 'a fan,' Pr. विअणअ, Skr. व्यजनक.

नेडे has the form नीडे also, in which case अ is simply dropped and the vowel rendered long as in the M. दीर.

The long आ is preserved and changes the preceding इ to इय or य as in the H. सियार or स्यार 'jackal' for Pr. सिआल, Skr. सृगाल; याह 'marriage,' for Pr. विआह, Skr. विवाह, &c.

CONSONANTAL CHANGES IN THE VERNACULARS.

We will now proceed to the consideration of consonantal changes; and first of those due to the process of softening. The semivowel य् is often softened to इ. In the Prakrits, व्यजन 'a fan' becomes विअण which is preserved in the H. बेना and स्त्यान is changed to थीण. This word does not occur in the vernaculars, but the Hindi and Marathi have got थिजना and थिजणें 'to congeal' from the verb स्त्यायते, in which या is softened to इ. From व्यजन, or rather such a word as व्यंजन, we have by a similar softening M. बिंजणा, H. बिंजना, G. विजणो, S. बिञिणु. More modern instances are:—

[Table 46 : Pra. य् changed to Verna. इ]

H. P. सलाई, P. सळाई, Pr. सलाया, M. सळई a pencil, probe, Skr. शलाका.

B. शेल a dart, Skr. शल्य; the य, being changed to इ, is transferred to the preceding syllable.

H. P. जनेत a bridal procession, Skr. जन्ययात्रा.

H. झाईं shadow, P. छाईया, Skr. छाया.

H. P. बितीत passed, Skr. व्यतीत.

H. P. बिथा pain, Skr. व्यथा; बिवहार business, performance, Skr व्यवहार.

H. P. कालिआण welfare, Skr. कल्याण, बिदिआ learning, Skr. विद्या.

P. पतीज faith, belief, Skr. प्रत्यय.

H. पर्तिछ visible, Skr. प्रत्यक्ष.

The Panjabi always dissolves a Sanskrit य contained in a conjunct into इ+अ, or sometimes into इ simply, while the Hindi often resorts to the latter change. The other languages do not seem to possess many instances of this process. The change of अव or अया to ए, formerly noticed, is also due to this softening process.

In the Prakrits, व् is dissolved into उ in झुणी for Skr, ध्वनि, सुवइ for स्वपिति, दु for द्वि, तुवर for त्वर, &c. In Hindi we have झुन in the sense of 'a slight resemblance,' a remote *sound* of the property possessed by another. But another derivative from the word exists in the form of धुन or धून in that language, and of धून or धुनक in Marathi. From सुव H. has सो 'to sleep,' P. सौ, G. सुव, and B. and O. शु or शुइ. दु occurs in the forms of दो or दु when the word stands alone or is compounded, as in H. दूना, B. दुना, M. दुणा, &c., for Pr. दुउण, Skr. द्विगुण 'two-fold,' and तुवर by a further dissolution becomes the P. तुरना 'to go,' H. P. तुरंत, G. तरत 'instantly, pr. part., M. तूर्त 'at present'.

More modern instances are :—

[Table 47 : व् changed to उ or ओ]

H. P. परोस to serve food, Skr. परिवेष.

H. P. M. पड़ोसी a neighbour, प्रतिवेशी.

H. अंगोछा a towel, अङ्गवस्त्र.

H. पतोहू son's wife, Pr पुत्तवहू, Skr. पुत्रवधू.

H. P. जनेऊ, Pr. जण्णोवीअं, Skr. यज्ञोपवीत.

The व and वं to which प and म are softened are similarly changed to उ or ओ.

H. P. बहनोई sisters's husband, Pr. बहिनीवई, Skr. भगिनीपति.

H. P. भादो name of a month, Pr. भद्दवअ, Sk. भाद्रपद.

H. P. G. खो-[ना-णा-वुं] to lose, Pr. खव, Skr. क्षप.

H. P. B. छू to touch, Pr. छिव, or छुव, Skr. छुप.

H. अनोखा unexpected, Pr. अणवेक्ख-[अ], Skr. अनपेक्ष-[क].

H. नोता, P. नेउंदा, G. नोतरुं, invitation, A. P. निवंत्त-[उ] or निवंत्र-[उ], Skr. निमन्त्र-[क:]. H. has नेवता also.

H. पुन्यों the full-moon day, Ap. पुण्णवां, Skr. पूर्णिमा.

H. सोंह (of सोंहीं) face to face, Ap. संमुंह, Skr. संमुख.

M. सोंप to entrust, Ap. सवंप्प, Skr. समर्प.

It will be seen that the ओ or उ to which र् is softened often prevails over the preceding and following vowels, as in the words परोस and पडोशी.

The change of अव to औ, formerly noticed, I consider as due to the elision of the final अ of व, consequent upon an accent on the first syllable, though afterwards there is a softening of the व् to उ. But in the above instances the change of र् to ओ or उ is due to a weak pronunciation or softening alone. The diphthong औ requires, as I have several times observed, a passage from one vocal position immediately to another which involves energetic utterance. The Pali, Prakrit, Gujarati, and Sindhi substitute for it, viz. ओ, is due to assimilation. The Hindi औ and the corresponding Gujarati ओ, therefore, are not due to a weakening of the र्, but the ओ in the above instances is, since it is not a substitute for औ and consequently does not arise from an assimilation of the two sounds, involved in that diphthong.

The following are still more modern instances :—

[Table 48 : र् changed to उ].

H. P. परमेसुर God, Skr. परमेश्वर.

M. H. P. सुर or सूर a musical note, Skr. स्वर.

H. P. सुभाउ nature, Skr. स्वभाव.

P. सुआमी master, Skr. स्वामी.

In this manner the Panjabis always pronounce the र् of Sanskrit words and to a smaller extent, the Hindi people. The Marathi has not many instances of this softening of र्.

In the Prakrits there are according to the grammarians but three instances of the change of क् to the sonant ग्. Of these गेन्दुअ for Skr. कन्दुक occurs in the vernaculars.[1] With these exceptions the initial क् remains unchanged and the medial is dropped. But the vernaculars, adopting pure Sanskrit words again and again in the course of their history, have changed them as we have seen or changed the Prakrit words that came down

1 See Table 22.

to them in virtue of the general or special laws which regulate the development of human speech. Thus, though they did not receive more words with a softened क् from the Prakrits, they have now come to possess a good many. Thus:—

[Table 49: Medial क softened to ग्]

M. सगळा, P. सगरा, सगला, or सगल, H. सगल or सगला, G. सगळो all or whole, Skr. सकल or सकलकः.

M. बगळा, H. P. बगला, G. बगलो, S. बगो, B. O. बग, Skr. बक or बककः, a crane.

M. H. P. G. परगट or प्रगट, S. प्रघटु visible, manifest, Skr. प्रकट.

H. P. G. B. काग, S. कांगु a crow, Skr. काकः. H. has कौवा or कौआ from Pr. काअ with the suffix कः, i. e., ओ, M. काव, of कावळा, also.

H. लोग, S. लोगु or लोकु people, the world, Skr. लोकः. The others have लोक.

H. P. साग, S. सागु greens, culinary herbs, Skr. शाकः. The others have शाक.

H. सगुन, P. सगन, G. सगन or शगन, S. सगुणु, B. शगुन an auspicious omen, Skr शकुनः, M. शकुन. S. has सोणु, also from the Pr. सउणो.

H. P. सोग, S. सोगु, grief, Skr. शोकः. The others have शोक.

H. P. बिंगा crooked, Pr. वङ्कअ, Skr. वक्रक. The others have वांक or बांक.

P. सगरांद passage of the sun into a sign, Skr. संक्रान्ति. The others have संक्रांत.

P. संगोच contraction, bashfulness, Skr. संकोच; H. सकोच or सकुच, M. संकोच.

च् is softened to the sonant ज् as in the following:—

[Table 50: च् softened to ज्].

H. सूजी a needle, Skr. सूचि; also 'a tailor' from Skr. सूचिक.

H. G. सूझ-or सूझ-[ना and वुं] to be suggested, Skr. सूच्य.

H. कुंजी a key, Skr. कुञ्चिका.

P. S. पंज five, Skr. पञ्च; P. मंजी a small bedstead, Skr. मञ्चिका. There are not many instances of this process.

The Prakrits change an uninitial द to ह when preceded by a

vowel; and the vernaculars have preserved the words so changed. For instance :—

[Table 51 : Medial ट् softened to ड्].

Skr. घटकः a jar, M. H. घडा, G. S. घडो, H. P. घड़ा.

Skr. घट to happen, to occur, to forge, to fashion, M. S. G. घड-[णें-ण-डुं], H. P. घड़्-[ना].

Skr. घटिका a measure of time, M. G. S. O. B. घडी, H. P. घड़ी.

Skr. घोटकः a horse, M. O. B. घोडा, G. S. घोडो, H. P. घोड़ा.

Skr. तट a bank, M. तड, O. तडा, S. तड़ो in an altered sense.

Skr. कपाट a door, M. कवाड, H. किवाड़, G. कमाड.

Skr. कटु bitter, M. कडु, G. कडवुं, H. कड़ुवा, S. कडो.

Skr. कटि waist, M. कड, G. केड.

Skr. कटकम् a bracelet, M. कडें, H. O. कड़ा, G. कडुं.

Skr. रट् or आरट् to cry, M. रड in रडणें or आरडणें, G. S. रड-[डुं-ण्].

Skr. शाटिका a garment, M. G. साडी, H. P. साड़ी, S. शाड़ही, B. O. शाडी.

Skr. वटः the Banyan tree, M. G. वड, H. P. वड़, S. बड़ु.

Skr. त्रोट in त्रोटयति to snap, तोड in M. तोडणें, G. तोडवुं, H. P. तोड़ना, S. तोड़णु.

Skr. स्फोट in स्फोटयति to break, फोड in M. फोडणें.

Skr. मुकुट or मुकुटक a crown, H. P. मौड़ा, B. O. मउड.

Skr. कुटज a kind of tree, M. कुडा.

Skr. पटोल a kind of cucumber, M. पडवळ, H. परवल, G. परवळ.

Skr. कीटकः a worm, M. किडा, G. किडो, H. कीड़ा.

The instances in which the cerebral ड् resulting from an original त् has been softened in the Prakrits to ड् have been preserved by the vernaculars. The following are some of these :—

[Table 52 : ड् (from original त्) softened to ड्]

पड for Pr. पाडि, Skr. प्रति, in such words as H. G. पड़ोसी a neighbour, M. पडोशी, Skr. प्रतिवेशी.

M. पडसाद, Skr. प्रतिशब्द echo.

M. पडसें, Skr. प्रतिश्याय cold, catarrh.

M. पडछाया reflection.

पडताळा proof,

G. पडसाळ, Skr. प्रतिशाला a penthouse.

G. पडघा, Skr. प्रतिघात echo or resonance.

हरडा or हरडी and बेहडा as in Table 29; M. पुढें forward, so forth, Pr. पहुडि, Skr. प्रभृति.

पड of M. पडणें, G. पडवुं, H. पडना to fall, Pr. पड, Skr. पत.

M. मढें a corpse, from Pr. मडअं, Skr. मृतकम्.

उखाडना to dig out, to root out, from the Skr. उत्खात.

Of the change of त् to द् there are some instances in the Śaurasenī, and corresponding to these, we have a few in the Panjabi, Sindhi and Gujarati, thus :—

[Table 53 : त् softened to द्]

P. जीउंदा 'living', Śaur. pres. part. जीवन्दो, Skr. जीवन्त.

दा of the present participle of roots, as करदा masc. 'doing', आखदा masc. 'saying' &c. A modern instance is सगरांद for the Sanskrit संक्रान्ति.

The Sindhi preserves the Śaurasenī present participial affix न्दो or अन्दो, sometimes changed to इन्दो throughout, as in हलन्दो 'moving', करीन्दो 'doing', हुन्दो 'being', &c. The same change is observable in other words also as in खांदि for Sanskrit क्षान्ति.

The Gujarati has the few instances of the Śaurasenī past passive participle in द as in खादुं 'eaten', पीदुं 'drunk', कीदुं 'done', &c. Marathi has दोंद for Skr. तुन्द 'belly', and Gujarati दुंद.

The labial surd प् is, when uninitial, softened in the Prakrits to व्. The व् is preserved by the Marathi unchanged, but the Hindi softens it in some cases still further to उ as already shown (p. 433), and drops it in a great many more cases, according to a very general rule to be hereafter noticed, while the Gujarati changes it sometimes to म्. The Sindhi and Bengali follow the Hindi to a large extent in this latter respect. Thus :—

[Table 54 : प् softened to व् or उ or म्]

Skr. वापी a well, Pr. वावी, M. वाव, G. H. वाव in वावडी, S. वाह, P. वाउ in वाउडी.

Skr. कूपकः a well, Pr. कूवो, G. कुवो, H. कुआ, S. कुहो for कूओ.

Skr. कपाट a door, Pr. कवाड, M. कवाड, H. किवाड, G. कमाड.

Skr. आप to reach, attain, Pr. पाव, M. पाव (in पावणें), G. पाम-[वुं], H. पा-[ना], S. पाइ-[णु], B. पाओ-[वा].

Skr. प्रस्थाप to send, Pr. पट्ठाव, M. पाठव-[णें], old H. पठव-[ना], H. पठा-[ना], S. पठ-[णु].

Skr. छुप् to touch, Pr. छिव or छुव, M. शिव-[णें], H. P. B. छू-[ना &c.], O. छुं or छुंइ, S. छुअ-[णु] or छुह-[णु].

Skr. ताप to heat, Pr. ताव, M. G. H. ताव-[णें-वुं-ना], S. ताइ [णु].

Skr. नापित a barber, Pr. नाविअ or न्हाविअ, M. न्हावी, G. नावी, H. S. नाई.

Skr. गोपाल-लिक a cowherd, Pr. गोवाल-लिअ, M. गोवळा, M. G. गवळी, G. गोवाळियो, H. गोवाली, ग्वाल (= गोआल), ग्वाली, S. गवारु.

Skr. कच्छप: a tortoise, Pr. कच्छवो, H. कछूआ, S. कछउं, कछू, M. कासव.

Skr. सपत्नी a fellow-wife, Pr. सवत्ती, M. सवत, H. सौत.

Skr. भाद्रपद name of the sixth month, Pr. भद्दवअ, M. भादवा, H. भादो, S. भडो.

The lingual surd aspirate ट्ह is, it will be remembered, changed in the Prakrits to ढ, and the vernaculars, especially the Hindi, have preserved the instances and even added to them, as will be seen from the following :—

[Table 55 : ट्ह changed to ढ]

Skr. पठ to read, Pr. पढ, M. H. P. S. पढ in पढणें-ना-णु. In H. and P., however, the pronunciation of ढ is somewhat different from what it is in M., and in S. it sounds like the conjunct ढ्ह.

Skr. पीठक a stool, Pr. पीढअ, H. पीढा.

Skr. पीठिका a series (of generations), Pr. पीढिआ, H. पीढी, M. पिढी, G. पेढी.

Skr. मठ or मठिका a small temple, Pr. मढ, H. P. मढी, old M. मढ.

Skr. दंष्ट्रा, Pr. दाढा, H. डाढ, M. G. दाढ.

Similarly we have H. लुढना 'to roll' from Skr. लुट्. In the word दाढा, the ढ does not represent ष्ट्र but ड, to which that Skr. conjunct must by the general rules be reduced in the Prakrits. One of

the two ड् is dropped, and the preceding vowel lengthened according to a general rule in the vernaculars to be hereafter noticed. The remaining ड् is softened to ड़्. There are other instances of the same change in our dialects. Thus :—

[Table 56 : ड् changed to ड़्].

वेढ of M. वेढणें, S. वेड़हणु, वेढ of H. वेढना, वेड of B. वेड़न 'to surround' from Skr. वेष्ट through Pr. वेढ. The Gujarati, however, has वींटवुं.

काढ of M. काढणें, G. काढवुं, H. काढना; कढ of S कढणु, B. काड़ 'to draw out,' from Pr. कड्ढ, Skr. कृष्ट.

कूढ of H. कूढना to mourn, from Pr. कुड्ढ, Skr. कुट्ट. Even here the Gujarati has कूटवुं.

H. कोढ, M. G. कोड, S. कोड़्हु white leprosy, from Skr. कुष्ठ through Pr. कोड्ढ.

The ड़् arising from the Sanskrit ठ् is also similarly changed to ड़्. M. सढळ, H. ढीला, &c., from the Skr. शिथिल as in Table 29.

M. कढणें to boil, काढा decoction, कढी curry, कढई a cauldron, G. कढवुं, काढो, &c., H. कढना, काढा, कढी, &c., all from the Skr. root कथ्.

We have noticed the change of ड़् to र् and ल्, and of र् to ल्, in the Prakrits. Not only have the vernaculars preserved the words so changed, but have carried on the process to such an extent that ल् and र् have become mutually interchangeable in some of them, especially the Hindi.

[Table 57 : ड़् changed to ल्]

Skr. तडाग a tank, Pr. तलाअ, M. G. तळाव, M. तळें, H. तलाव, S. B. तलाउ.

Skr. दाडिम pomegranate Pr. दालिम, M. डाळिंब, G. दाळम, H. B. डालिम, H. दालिम.

Skr. गुड molasses, Pr. गुल, . .

Skr. पीड of पीडयति to torment, to twist, Pr. पील, M. पिळणें, G. पीळवुं, H. पिलना, &c.

The numerals with their ड़् changed in the Prakrits to र् through an intermediate ड़् have come down to the vernaculars ;—

[Table 58 : द् of Skr. Numerals changed to र्]

Skr.	Pr.	H.	P.	S.	M.	G.	O.	B.
एकादश	एआरह	ग्यारह	यारां or गिआरां	यारहं or कारहं	अकरा	अग्यार	एगार	एगार
द्वादश	बारह	बारह	बारां	बारहं	बारा	बार	बार	बार
त्रयोदश	तेरह	तेरह	तेरां	तेरहं	तेरा	तेर	तेर	तेर
चतुर्दश	चउद्दह	चौदह	चौदां	चौडहं	चौदा	चौद	चौद	चौद्द
पञ्चदश	पण्णरह	पंद्रह	पंदरां	पंद्रहं-पंध्रां	पंधरा	पंधर	पंधर	पनेर
षोडश	सोलह	सोलह	सोलां	सोरहं	सोळा	सोळ	षोहल	षोल
सप्तदश	सत्तरह	सत्रह	सतारां	सत्रहं	सतरा	सत्तर	सतर	सतेर
अष्टादश	अट्ठारह	अंठारह	अठारां	अडहं	अठरा	अढार	अठर	आठार

The other Prakrit words दोहल and कलम्ब in which the द् of the Sanskrit दोहद and कदम्ब is changed to ल् are preserved in Marathi in the forms of डोहाळा and कळंब. Similarly हरिद्रा and अंगार with the र् so changed appear in the vernaculars as shown before.[1]

The following are later instances :—

[Table 59 : ड् and र् changed to ळ्]

B. कोल, G. खोळो, Skr. क्रोड lap.

B. चुल, Skr. चूडा lock of hair.

H. मरा for Pr. मडअ, Skr. मृतक a corpse.

H. परछाई, Pr. पाडिछाआ, Skr. प्रतिच्छाया.

H. बेराना or बिराना, Skr. विडम्बन mocking.

G. वाळवुं, from Skr. वार to resist.

G. पालवुं from Skr. पार to tide over.

H. बहलना from Skr. विहरण to amuse one's self.

S. निअरु, नेर, or नेलु fetters, from Skr. निगड.

H. P. नेरे, Pr. निअडे, Skr. निकटे near.

Though the change of ळ् to र् does not involve softening, but, must be considered to be due to a predilection for the sound, it would be convenient to notice it here. There is only one instance of this change given by Hemacandra as existing in the Mahārāṣṭrī,

1 See P. 406 and Table 22.

but there are a great many in the vernaculars, so that this appears to be a peculiarly modern process. The Hindi and the Sindhi have, however, of all the vernaculars, the largest number of examples, the rest presenting but a few stray ones. Sometimes both the forms with ल and र are in use, especially in the Hindi.

[Table 60 : ल changed to र in Vernaculars]

Skr. स्थूल, Pr. थोर, M. थोर large, great.

H. G. लंगर, M. G. नांगर, S. लंगरु, Skr. लाङ्गल a plough, or anchor.

H. कौर or कौल, Skr. कवल a morsel ; धूर or धूल, Skr. धूलि dust ; सियार, Skr. शृगाल, a jackal ; सराहना, Pr. सलाह, Skr. श्लाघ् to praise ; दुलार, Skr. दुर्लल a spoilt child ; सिकरी, Skr. शृङ्खला a chain ; बारना, Skr. ज्वाल (*caus.* of ज्वल) to burn ; सांवरो (Braj) for सांवला, Skr. श्यामलक dark.

S. सांवरो, Skr. श्यामलकः dark; पिपिरु, Skr. पिप्पलः a certain tree ; पजिरणु, Skr. प्रज्वल to light or burn ; पघिरणु, Skr. प्रगल to melt ; हरु, Skr. हलः a plough, &c.

G. अटारी, Skr. अट्टालिका a high mansion ; M. शेवरी or सांवरी, Skr. शाल्मली the silk-cotton tree.

[INTERCHANGEABLENESS OF ड, र AND ल]

Notable instances of the interchangeableness of ड, र and ल, are afforded by the causal forms of verbal roots in some of the vernaculars. In Hindi, the causal of roots ending in a vowel is formed by inserting ल between it and the termination आ which is the remnant of the old Prakrit आव preserved in the Braj and other dialects ; as पिलाना caus. of पी 'to drink,' खिलाना of खा 'to eat,' दिलाना of दे 'to give,' धुलाना of धो 'to wash', &c. In Gujarati we have ड for ल as खवाडवुं 'to cause to eat,' देवाडवुं 'to cause to give,' 'न्हवाडवुं,' 'to cause to bathe,' 'wash' &c. Sometimes instead of ड, र is optionally used as in खवरावबुं 'to cause to eat,' बहीवरावबुं 'to threaten,' &c. But in Sindhi र always represents the Hindi ल and the Gujarati ड, as in दिआरणु 'to cause to give,' धुआरणु 'to cause to wash,' वेहारणु 'to cause to sit.'

What the origin is of the ड of these forms, which is more primitive than the ल and र to which it was afterwards changed, will be considered in the next lecture.

Another peculiarly vernacular process, of which Hemacandra gives only one instance, is the transformation of न into ल, in which न is deprived of its nasal element and the complete contact of the vocal organs avoided. Thus :—

[Table 61 : Skr. न initial changed to ल in vernaculars]

Skr. निम्ब a certain tree, Pr. लिम्ब or निम्ब, M. लिंब.

M. लवणें to bow, Skr. नमन ; लोणी butter, Skr. नवनीत ; H. लौटना to return, Skr. निवर्त, Pr. निवट्ट ; G. लील blue, Skr. नील ; P. ललेर, a cocoa-nut, Skr. नारिकेल, H. नारियेल.

But there are more instances of the opposite process in the Prakrits; and these have come down to the vernaculars.

[Table 62 : Skr. initial ल changed to न in vernaculars]

M. G. नांगर a plough or anchor, P. नङ्गल or लङ्गल.

M. निढळ, S. निराड्ु, Pr. निडाल or णडाल, Skr. ललाट forehead.

The H. नून salt, Skr. लवण, is a later instance.

The sibilant स्, whether original or derived from the Sanskrit श् or ष्, is in a few cases changed to ह in the Prakrits. For दिवस 'a day' we have दिवह or दिअह, for पाषाण 'a stone' पहाण, and for दशन् 'ten' दह. These words, so changed, have come down to the vernaculars, and are found in one or other of them. The various forms of the numerals having the word दश at the end have been given above. Of the other words G. has दिह 'a day' and दिहाडो with the suffix डो, P. दिंह and दिहाड़ा, and S. ड़िंहु and ड़िहाडो; and S. पहणु 'a stone'. The Sindhi and the Panjabi have given a wider range to this process, as will be seen from the following :—

[Table 63 : स्, श् or ष् changed to ह in Vernaculars]

S. हुहु or हुहो chaff, Skr. बुस, M. भुसा.

S. बिहु lotus-stalk, Skr. बिस, M. भिसें.

S. मेंहि a buffalo, Skr. महिषी, M. म्हैस.

S. वेहणु to sit, Skr. उपविश, M. बैसणें, G. बेसवुं.

S. वेसाहु trust, Skr. विश्वास.

P. वीह, S. वीह twenty, Skr. विंश-[ति], M. वीस.

P. विह or विस, S. विहु or विखु poison, Skr. विष, M. विस.

P. सहुरा, S. सहुरो, Skr. श्वश्रुर, M. सासरा father-in-law.

P. तिहा thirst, Skr. तृषा.

P. फाहा or फाही, S. फाहो or फाही a snare, noose, Skr. पाश, M. फांस.

Gujaratis, especially of the uneducated classes, pretty freely pronounce स् as ह्, as in हमजवुं, for समजवुं 'to understand', बरह for बरस 'a year', हाचुं for साचुं 'true', &c., but the forms with स् are also in use. The other dialects do not seem to have many instances of this change. The termination स् of verbs of the future tense is in several dialects of the Hindi changed to ह as in करिहै, G. करसे 'he will do'.

The change of म to व seems to be an almost entirely later process of which there are scarcely any instances in the Prakrits. It is seen in full operation in the Apabhraṁśa.

[Table 64 : Skr. म changed to व]

Skr. नाम name, M. नांव, H. नाओं, old H. नाऊं, also नाम, P. नांउं, S. नांउं also नामु and नालो.

Skr. दाम a tying rope, M. दावं, P. दांउ, H. दांव in दांवरी.

Skr. ग्राम a village, M. H. गांव, H. गाम also; S. गांउ, गामु.

Skr. भ्रमण to turn round, M. भोंवणें, P. भौंणा, S. भौंणणु; from the same root, M. भोंवळ, H. भंवर, S. भौंरी.

Skr. नमन, M. लवणें, H. नवना–लौना–नेवना.

Skr. अवनमन to bow down, M. ओणंवणें.

Skr. आचमन to rinse the mouth, M. आंचवणें, H. अंचवना, also अचाना.

Skr. विश्राम rest, M. विसांवा, S. वेसांहि.

Skr. श्यामल dark-complexioned, M. सांवळा, H. सांवला–रा, P. सांवला and सामला, S. सांविलो.

Skr. जामातृक son-in-law, M. जांवई, but H. जमाई, P. जवाइ or जमाइ.

Skr. उद्गमन rising, M. उगवणें, but P. उग्गमणा.

Skr. आमलक a kind of myrobalans, M. P. आंवळा, H. P. आंवला, P. आमला also, S. आंउरो.

Skr. सामन्त a chief, M. H. सावंत.

Skr. चामर *n.* a sort of fly-brush, M. चौरी, H. P. चवंर, S. चंवरु.

Skr. कमल a lotus, H. P. कंवल, M. कमळ, S. कंवलु.

Skr. गमन *caus.* spending, wasting, H. गंवाना, P. गवाउणा, S. गंवाइणु, but M. गमवणें.

Skr. भ्रमर a bee, H. भंवरा or भौंरा, P. भौंर or भौंरा, S. भौंरु.

Skr. पञ्चम fifth, M. पांचवा, H. पांचवां, P. पंजवां, &c., and other ordinals.

Skr. कोमल delicate, tender, M. कोंवळा.

Skr. जमन eating, M. जेवण, H. जेवन, P. जेंउणा.

Skr. कर्दम mud, H. कांदो, G. कादव.

From the fact that the Marathi, Hindi, Sindhi, and Panjabi contain many instances of this change it is to be gathered that though it does not appear in the Prakrits proper, it must have begun very early, before the vernaculars received their distinctive forms and were isolated from each other. Of all the dialects the Marathi alone has preserved the व् of this वं in most cases, the Hindi and the others having dropped it or softened it to उ in good many instances; while the Gujarati changes it back again to म्. Thus, such of the above words as exist in Gujarati have the following forms :—

[Table 65 : वं (Skr. म्) changed to म् in Gujarati]

नाम name.	चमरी a fly-brush
गाम a village.	कमळ a lotus.
भमवुं to turn round, भमरी giddiness, corresponding to M. भोंवळ.	भमरो a bee.
गमावबुं wasting.	पांचमो, सातमो, &c., fifth, seventh, &c.
विसामो rest.	कुमळो delicate, tender.
सामळो a dark-complexioned.	जमवुं eating.
जमाइ son-in-law.	आमळा myrobalans.

The reason why I consider this as a change of वं back to म् and not a preservation of the original Sanskrit and Prakrit म्, is that the Gujarati changes व् to म् in other cases where there is no question as to the व् (or प्) being the original sound. Thus :—

[Table 66 : व् or प् changed to म् in Gujarati]

G. कमाड a door, H. किवाड, M. कवाड, Pr. कवाड, Skr. कपाट.

G. शिसम blackwood, M. शिसवा, Pr. सिंसव, Skr. शिंशप.

G. पामवुं to attain, M. पावणें, Pr. पाव, Skr. प्राप.

G. धाम in दोडधाम running, Skr. धाव्.

Where in Marathi we have व् or ह्, the Gujarati has in some cases म्, as in G. मुक्की 'a blow,' M. बुक्की, G. ठाम 'a place of residence', M. ठाव, derived in some way from Skr. स्थाप.

There are traces of this change in some of the other dialects too :-

[Table 66 A : म् for व्]

S. P. .मिंनत, B. मिनति, corresponding to M. विनंति, H. बिनति, Pr. विण्णत्ति, Skr. विज्ञप्ति 'solicitation'; B. काछिम, Pr. कच्छव, Skr. कच्छप 'a tortoise'; H. धीमर, Skr. धीवर 'a fisherman'; old M. मात, G. वात, Skr. वार्ता 'news'; B. मुछ, H. पुंछ [ना], Skr. प्रोञ्छ् 'to wipe away'.

This phenomenon of the change of व् to म् the vernaculars, and especially the Gujarati, have inherited from the Prakrits. Of the words so changed the Gujarati has preserved समणुं 'a dream,' the Prakrit form being सिमिण or सुमिण, and some of the others, नीम 'kind of tree'. This last is नीप in Sanskrit; but probably there was an intermediate form नीव.

The vernaculars have thrown away the aspiration of hard and soft aspirate mutes in a good many cases. Thus :—

[Table 67 : Disaspiration in the Vernaculars]

M. शीक learn,	Pr. सिक्ख,	H. सीख.	
M. भीक beggary,	Pr. भिक्खा,	H. भीख,	S. बीख.
M. सुकणें to dry,	Pr. सुक्क or सुक्ख,	H. सूखना,	S. सुकणु.
M. भूक hunger,	Pr. बुहुक्खा,	H. भूख,	S. बुख.
M. हात hand,	Pr. हत्थ,	H. हाथ.	
M. हत्ती elephant,	Pr. हत्थी,	H. हाथी.	
G. बीनो afraid,	Pr. भीदो or भीओ,	M. भ्याला.	
G. बडाई greatness,	Pr. वड्ढ,	H. बढाई.	
G. बगाडवुं to spoil,	Pr. विघड,	M. बिघडणें.	
B. पुति a book,	Pr. पोत्थिआ,	H. M. पोथी.	
B. पड to learn,	Pr. पढ,	H. M., &c. पढ.	
B. वाड to grow,	Pr. वड्ढ,	M. वाढ-[णें], H. बाढ-ढब-[ना].	
B. वेड to surround,	Pr वेढ,	M. वेढ-[णें], H. वेढ-[ना], &c.	
B. पातर stone,	Pr. पत्थर,	M. पाथर, H. पत्थर or पाथर.	
B. पिट back,	Pr. पिट्ठ or पट्ठ,	H. पीठ, M. पाठ.	
B. साद wish,	Pr. सद्धा,	S. P. साध.	

B. शुक (in शुकान) to dry, Pr. सुक्ख or सुक्क, H. सूखना.

B. काड (in काडिया) to take out, Pr. कड्ढ, H. M. &c. काढ.

B. पुकुर a pond, Pr. पुक्खरिणी.

And in such forms as पराइले 'worn' from Pr. परिहाण, नाइते 'for bathing' from Pr. न्हा, or नहा and डाइन 'to the right hand,' Pr. दाहिण, the aspirate ह् is dropped, so that the Bengali has, in a large number of instances, thus weakened the pronunciation of aspirated sounds. In the instances given from Marathi, it will be seen that the letters other than those which are softened are aspirates; hence the weakening consists simply in dropping the heavy breath in one of two aspirated sounds, as in the case of the Sindhi बीख and डुख. The aspirates are preserved when occurring singly, which is not the case in Bengali. Hence Bengali utterance is the weakest, and the Hindi and Panjabi the strongest.

The Marathi reduces a Sanskrit or Prakrit क्ष invariably to स, and in this respect differs from all its cognate dialects. Thus :—

[Table 68 : Skr. or Prk. क्ष reduced to स् in Marathi]

Skr. इक्षु sugarcane, Pr. उच्छु, M. ऊस. The H. has ईख or ऊख.

Skr. मत्स्य fish, Pr. मच्छ, H. माछ, M. मासा.

Skr. वत्स a calf, Pr. वच्छ, H. बाछ, M. वास in वासरूं.

Skr. क्षुरिका a knife, Pr. छुरिआ, H. छुरी, M. सुरी.

Skr. माक्षिका a fly, Pr. माच्छिआ, H. माछी, M. माशी.

Skr. पृच्छ to ask, Pr. पुच्छ, H. पुछना, M. पुसणें.

Skr. कच्छप a tortoise, Pr. कच्छव, H. कछुआ, M. कासव.

Skr. कुक्षि a side of the abdomen, Pr. कुच्छि, M. कूस. The H. has कोख.

Skr. क्षेत्र a field, Pr. छेत, M. शेत. But H. has खेत.

Skr. छुप to touch, Pr. छुव, H. छू-[ना], M. शिव-[णें].

Skr. छाया shade, Pr. छाआ, H. छांव, M. सांव-[ली].

Skr. गुच्छ a bunch, Pr. गोच्छ, H. गोच्छा, M. घोंस.

Skr. उत्सङ्ग lap, Pr. ओच्छङ्ग, M. ओसंग.

Skr. छागली a she-goat, Pr. छाअली or छाली, H. छेरी, M. शेळी.

Skr. क्षीण worn out, wasted, Pr. छीण, M. शीण-[णें].

Skr. क्षण a festival, Pr. छण, M. सण.

According to a general rule in Marathi, स् is changed to श when followed by the palatal vowel इ or ए. This change of छ् to स् in this dialect is to be accounted for by the fact that the vocal organs of the Marathas have a predilection for the dento-palatals, च, छ, ज, झ, to which the Sanskrit palatals are in almost all cases reduced by them, except when they are followed by इ, ए, or य्. The Sanskrit छ् therefore becoming the dento-palatal छ् passes into स् which differs from it only in the contact of the vocal organs being somewhat less incomplete. The only instances in the Prakrits in which the change appears to be the same as that we have been considering are ऊसवो for उच्छवो and ऊसुओ for ऊच्छओ.

I have already given instances of the many words with their uninitial consonants dropped which the vernaculars have inherited from the Prakrits, and shown what further changes they have undergone. This process of elision has not been continued by any of the vernaculars unless we consider the disappearance of uninitial ह् (which is very general in Hindi, Sindhi, and Bengali) to be an instance of the process.

[Table 69 : Uninitial ह् dropped in Hindi, Bengali, &c.]

B. H. दिया, S. डिओ lamp, Pr. दीवओ, Skr. दीपकः, M. दिवा.

H. नया, S. नओं new, Pr. नवओ, M. नवा.

H. जी, S. जीउ life, Pr. जीओ, Skr. जीवः, M. जीव.

H. S. नाई, B. नापि a barber, Pr. नाविअ or न्हाविअ, Skr. नापित, M. न्हावी.

H. कछुआ, S. कछुउ a tortoise, Pr. कच्छवओ, Skr. कच्छपकः, M. कांसव.

H. छू-[ना], S. छुअ-[णु], B. छो (छोया s.) to touch, Pr. छिव or छुव, Skr. छुप, M. शिव-[णें].

H. पा-[ना], S. पाइ-[णु], Pr. पाव, Skr. प्राप, M. पाव-[णें].

H. कुआ, S. कुहो for कुओ, B. कुया a well, Pr. कुवओ, Skr. कूपकः, G. कुवो.

H. ग्वाल = गोआल, B. गोयाला a cowherd, Pr. गोवालअ, Skr. गोपालक, M. गोवळा.

H. ब्याह = विआह, S. विहाउ marriage, Skr. विवाह.

H. पठा-[ना], S. पठ-[णु], B. पाठाई-[वा] to send, Pr. पट्ठाव, Skr. प्रस्थाप, M. पाठव.

H. ता-[ना], S. ताइ-[णु] to heat, Pr. ताव, Skr. ताप, M. ताव-[णें].

H. दुआर, B. दोयार door, Pr. दुवार or दुआर, Skr. द्वार.

B. दुइ two, Pr. दुवे, Skr. द्वौ.

B. नय nine, Skr. नव, M. नव, H. नौ.

B. शेयाला moss, Skr. शैवाल, H. शेवाल.

THE इ OF THE CAUSAL TERMINATIONS IN THE VERNACULARS.

This elision of व् appears also in the Hindi causal forms such as उठाना, चलाना, जलाना, in which the आ only of the Prakrit or Marathi termination आव or अव is retained. The whole termination appears in the Braj and other dialects and in old books, sometimes in the form of औ.

The Sindhi causal termination is आइ as in कराइणु 'to cause to do,' वधाइणु 'to cause to increase.' The इ here as well as in some of the Sindhi words given above represents the य which according to the Prakrit rule, takes the place of the dropped व, and is, as shown before, changed to ए in the other vernaculars. The Sindhi इ is a shortened form of this ए. The termination आइ appears sometimes in its more original form of आअ as in वठाअणु 'to cause to take.'

The Bengali too forms its causal by adding आइ as in धराइतेछे 'is causing to be held', but the इ here seems to be an euphonic addition, which even in their primitive form the verbs take, as in धरितेछे 'is holding', so that the व् is here dropped and the vowel अ combined with the preceding as in the Hindi. In the speech of the Maratha lower classes of Southern Konkan व् is very often elided, and the causal termination of the Savantvadi dialect is अय, as in करय 'cause to do,' which corresponds to the Sindhi कराइ-[णु].

[Table 69 A : व् of म् dropped in the Vernaculars]

There are instances also in which the व् resulting from म् is elided :—

H. कुअँर 'a boy,' 'a prince,' Pr. कुमर, Skr. कुमार; बायाँ 'left-hand-side,' Pr. वामअ, Skr. वामक; धुआँ 'smoke,' Pr. धूमअ, Skr. धूमक; अचाना 'to rinse the mouth,' Pr. Skr. आचम; बिराना or बेराना 'to mock,' Skr. विडम्ब; भुई 'ground,' Skr. भूमि.

There are traces of this change in other dialects too, as in the Oriya वां for वाम 'left,' Gujarati भांय = भूईं, S. भुइं, Skr. भूमि, and the Marathi भुई and the termination ई of the locative, which is to be traced to the Pr. म्मि, Skr. स्मिन्. In all these instances we may regard म् as directly elided, and not the ह् resulting from it. Hemacandra notices a few instances of the process in the Prakrits.

The vernaculars possess a large number of those Prakrit words, in which the mute element of hard and soft aspirates was dropped leaving only the ह. Thus :—

[Table 70 : Vernacular ह् for Skr. ख]

Skr. मुख face, Pr. मुह, H. मुंह, S. मुहु, G. मोहो ; M. मोहरे, P. मुहेरहं (with the suffix र) in front, H. मोहरा ; H. सोंही, G. सामुं-मों, M. समोर (with the suffix र) from Skr. संमुख face to face.

Skr. नख nail, Pr. नह, H. नह, S. नहु, P. नहुं.

Skr. शेखरकः a chaplet, Pr. सेहरओ, H. सिहरा or सेहरा, S. सिहिरो, P. सिहरा.

Skr. सखी a female companion, Pr. सही, G. सही, H. S. P. सहेली, M. B. O. सई.

Skr. लिख to write, Pr. लिह, M. लिह-[णें].

Skr. शिखण्ड a lock of hair or शिखण्डिका, Pr. सिहण्डिआ, M. शेंडी.

Skr. सुखकर agreeable, Pr. सुहअर, H. सोहर.

Skr. आखेट hunt, Pr. आहेड (?), H. अहेर.

[Table 71 : Verna. ह् for Skr. घ]

Skr. मेघ rain, Pr. मेह, G. H. मेह, S. मेहु.

Skr. श्लाघ् to praise, Pr. सलाह, H. सराह-(ना).

Skr. प्राघुणक a guest, Pr. पाहुणअ, M. पाहुणा, H. पाहुना.

To these must be added the several compounds of the word घर, some of which at least are modern, as—

H. नैहर house of a woman's family of birth, Pr. नाइघर or नाइहर, Skr. ज्ञातिगृह.

H. पीहर, G. पीयेर a woman's father's house, Pr. पिइघर or पिइहर, Skr. पितृगृह.

M. माहेर, G. महीरुं a woman's mother's house, Pr. माइघर or माइहर, Skr. मातृगृह.

G. भोंयार, M. भुंयार, H. भुंयारा a cellar, Skr. भूमिगृह.

G. देहरुं, M. देव्हारा, H. देहरा, दिहरा an idol-chamber, Skr.. देवगृह.

[Table 72 : Vernacular ह for Skr. थ]

Skr. नाथ a lord, Pr. नाह, old M. & H. नाह.

Skr. मिथुन a pair, Pr. मिहुण, M. मेहुण.

Skr. मथ to churn, Pr. मह, H. मह-[ना].

Skr. मथनिका a churning vessel, Pr. महणिआ, H. मिहानी.

Skr. पथिक a traveller, Pr. पहिअ, M. G, पही.

Skr. पृथुक flattened rice, Pr. पुहुअ (?), M. पोहे, S. पेहुं.

Skr. पृथुलकम् broad, Pr. पुहुलअं-[Ap. उं], G. पोहळुं.

Skr. कथ to tell, Pr. कह, H. G. S. P. B. O. कह-[ना-डुं-णुं, &c.].

Skr. कथानक or कथानिका a story, Pr. कहाणअ or कहाणिआ, H. कहानी, M. G. कहाणी, S. किहाणी, B. काहिनी.

[Table 73 : Vernacular ह for Skr. ध]

Skr. बधिरकः deaf, Pr. बहिरओ, H. M. O. बहिरा, G. बेहरो.

Skr. दधि curds, Pr. दहि, H. M. G. P. O. दहिं, S. ढहि.

Skr. मधु honey, Pr. महु, O. B. महु, M. मोंह.

Skr. साधु honest, good, Pr. साहु, H. साहु-साह, M. साव.

Skr. वधू a young lady, daughter-in-law, H. G. S. वहू, O. बोहु or बौ.

Skr. परिधा dressing, Pr. परिहा, H. पहिर-[ना], G. पेहर-[डुं], S. पेहर-[णु], P. पहिर-[णा] by the consonants interchanging places.

[Table 74 : Vernacular ह for Skr. भ]

Skr. प्रभा or प्रभात light, dawn, Pr. पहा, पहाअ, पहाद, H. पह or पोह, G. पोह, M. पहाट. The S. पिरिह must be a later form. From the same root with the prepositions वि and सु we have H. विहान morning, S. सुहाउ light, &c.

Skr. शुभ to become, to adorn, Pr. सुह, H. सोह-[ना], S. सुह-[णु]

Skr. सौभाग्य prosperity, good fortune, Pr. सोहग्ग, H. सोहाग or सुहाग.

Similarly, H. पहिचान 'recognize' is from Skr. प्रत्यभिजाना, the consonants interchanging places ; G. वहालो or वाल्हो 'dear' from Skr. वल्लभ ; सेहलो 'easy' from सुलभ ; वेहच-[डुं] to 'distribute or 'divide' from विभज्, &c.

The existence of many such words as M. H. P. उपाध 'injury,' H. P. साध 'a good man,' M. G. H. P. मध 'honey', H. G. लिख, लख 'to write,' M. G. H. नख 'nail,' S. सुभाणे 'in the morning' shows that the popular speech of Northern India has now for a long time ceased to have recourse to this process of dropping the mute element of the aspirates of the Sanskrit words, adopted from time to time from the parent language. Still, however, a few later instances, such as S. पिरिह 'dawn,' H. G. माह 'middle' from माध and मध्य, and some of the compounds of घर noticed above show that it has not been entirely absent.

The elision of simple mutes and of the mute element of aspirates is a natural phenomenon which one always meets with in the course of lingual development; but its operation is generally slow and it is only in consequence of its systematic occurrence in the Prakrits that I have attributed it to an ethnological cause and have supposed that the Prakrit speakers belonged to another race than those who spoke Sanskrit and, being unused to Sanskrit sounds, caught only the initial consonants from their Sanskrit teachers and dropped the rest or the mute portion of the rest. When, however, in the course of time they became used to those sounds and the Sanskrit and Prakrit speaking races became united into one community, they ceased to be so dropped, except through the slow and gradual operation of the usual phonetic laws; and hence it is that in modern times we find Sanskrit words, not shorn of their elements in the manner in which they were in ancient times, as indicated above.

This elision, though it involves economy and is a natural process, constitutes a peculiarity of the Prakrits in so far as it is due to peculiar historical incidents. We will now notice the peculiarities which do not involve economy and must be attributed to vocal predilections. Of the words in which a Sanskrit dental is changed to a cerebral in the Prakrits the vernaculars have preserved the following :—

[Table 75 : Skr. Dentals changed to Cerebrals in Vernaculars]

Skr. बिभीतक myrobalan, Pr. चहेडओ, M. बेहडा, &c. as in table 8.

Skr. पत to fall, Pr. पड, M. G. H. पड-[णें-वुं-ना].

Skr. दंश to bite, Pr. डस, M. H. P. G. डस-[णें-ना-णा-वुं]. From this H. E. G. डांस, O. ड़ाआंश a mosquito, Skr. दंश.

Skr. दंश to stick, Pr. डक्क (past part.), M. G. डक-[णें-वुं].

Skr. शद् to decay, Pr. सड, M. H. G. सड-[णें-ना-वुं].

Skr. दोला a swing, Pr. डोला, H. डोला masc. From this are derived M. डुलणें, H. डोलना, G. डोलवुं to swing, M. डुलकी a nap, G. डोळा nodding, M. G. H. P. O. डोली a litter or Sedan chair.

Skr. दण्ड a stick, Pr. डण्ड, H. डांड or डांडा, P. डंडा, G. M. (dial.) डांडो, H. G. डांडी. M. has दांडा and दांडी.

Skr. दह to burn, Pr. डह, H. डाहना to be spiteful, malicious, H. P. डाह malice.

Skr. शिथिल, Pr. सिढिल, M. सढळ, &c., as in Table 29.

Skr. दम्भ hypocrisy, deceptive appearance, Pr. डम्भ, M. डंभ.

Skr. दोहद longing, Pr. डोहल, M. डोहाळा.

There are many later instances of this change :—

[Table 76 : The same as No. 75 : Later Instances]

M. S. टाण-[णें-णु], H. टानना, B. टानिवा, O. टाणिवा to stretch, Skr. तन.

M. टिळा, G. टिळो a mark on the forehead, Skr. तिलक.

H. M. टिकली, G. टिकडी, S. टिकिडो a small mark on the forehead, a spangle, Skr. तिलक: by consonants interchanging places.

M. G. टाळ, H. टाली a kind of cymbal, from Skr. ताल measured or beaten time. M. टाळा, G. टाळुं the roof of the mouth, Skr. तालु.

H. P. डाल-डाला-डाली, S. डारी-डारो, G. डाळी, B. O. डाल, M. डाहळी a branch or bough, Skr. दल.

M. कढणें &c. as in p. 440.

The Sindhi has the largest number of instances, and the Hindi and the Panjabi come next. The Marathi and Gujarati have the smallest number.

[Table 77 : the same as No. 76]

S, ढुंढो satisfied, Skr. तुष्ट-[क:].

S. ढेडो crooked, H. P. टेढा, M. तेडा, M. [dial.] तिडो, Skr. तिर्यक्.

S. ढूंढो, A. ढूंढ handless, M. थोटा, Skr. स्थाणु with the suffix ट, Pr. थउटी (?).

S. डाखिणु the south, H. दखिन, Skr. दक्षिण.

S. ड़ंदु a tooth, H. M. दांत, Skr. दन्त.

S. ड़या pity, M. H. Skr. दया.

S. ड़सणु to show, H. दसना, Skr. दर्शन.

S. ड़ह ten, H. दस, M. दहा, Skr. दश.

S. ड़ाठ or डाड़ह a grinder, H. डाढ, M. दाढ, Skr. दंष्ट्रा.

S. ड़िओ a lamp, H. दिया, M. दिवा, Skr. दीप-[कः].

S. ड़िअणु to give, H. देना, M. देणें, Skr. दान.

S. ड़ीठो, H. P. ढीठ impudent, M. धीट, Skr. धृष्ट.

S. ड़िसणु see, H. दिसना, M. दिसणें to appear, Skr. दृश्य.

S. ड़िठो seen, H. P. ढीठ, G. दिठो, Skr. दृष्ट.

O. डाहांण, B. डाइन to the right hand, H. दहिना.

Thus then the Pali and Prakrit tendency to pronounce dentals as cerebrals is seen in a much more exaggerated form in the Sindhi and next to it in the Hindi and the Panjabi, while the other modern dialects seem to have kept it quite within the bounds in which we find it in the ancient dialects, though they have changed more words in that way than they.

In the following instances the cerebral mute in the place of the dental is to be considered as due to the influence of an adjoining र.

[Table 78 : Dentals adjoining र changed to cerebral mute]

पड for Pr. पंडि, Skr. प्रति, in the words given in Table 52, and डरडा, पुढें, and मढें in the same.

M. G. H. S. P. डर-[णें-डुं-ना-णु-ना], B. O. डरिबा, Pr. डर, Skr. दर fear.

H. डाभ or डाब, C. डाभ or डाभो, S. डभु, Skr. दर्भ a kind of grass, but P. दब्भ.

H. मट्टी or माटी, &c., as in Table 4.

H. बुड्ढा, बडा, M. S. बड, &c., as in Table 4.

H. केवट, Skr. कैवर्त a pilot.

H. उबटन, M. उटणें, G. उटणु, S. उबटणु a cosmetic, Skr. उद्वर्तन.

H. टाकना or ताकना, M. टकणें, O. टाकिबा, Skr. तर्क to watch, to look out for. G. B. S. have त for ट.

H, M. पवाडा, S. G. पवाडो a narrative, Skr. प्रवाद-[कः].

Even here the Sindhi has more instances than the others :—

[Table 79 : the same change in Sindhi]

पुड्ड a son, Skr. पुत्र, M. पूत.

ड़िह thirst, Skr. तृषा, P. तिहा.

निंड़ sleep, Skr. निद्रा, H. नींद.

टामो copper, Skr. ताम्र, H. तांबें, &c.

Uninitial न् is changed to ण् in the Prakrits invariably, but when it is the beginning of a word it undergoes that change optionally. In the vernaculars the initial न् remains unchanged, but when medial it becomes mostly ण् in the Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, and Panjabi.

[Table 80 : Initial न् unchanged in the Vernaculars]

M. नाव &c., as in Table 64.

H. S. नाई, &c., as in Table 69.

M. नवा, H. नया, S. नओं, as in Table 69.

H. P. नेरे as in p. 429.

H. नह, &c., as in Table 70.

P. नैण, as in Table 16.

H. नौनी as in Table 17.

P. नेउल as in Table 24.

M. नीज, H. नींद, S. निंड़ sleep, Skr. निद्रा.

P. नेउंदा, H. नेवता, G. नोतरुं an invitation, Skr. निमन्त्र.

M. नणंद, P. नणान, S. निणुन, H. ननद. or ननदी, B. ननद or ननंदा, Skr. ननान्दृ husband's sister, &c.

[Table 81 : Medial न् changed to ण्]

M. माणूस, G. माणस, S. माण्हूं, P. माणुस, Skr. मनुष्य a man.

M. दिसणें, S. ड़िसणु, P. दिसणा, Skr. दर्शन or दर्शनक appearing; and all other infinitives in णें णु-णा.

M. जण, G. जण, S. जणो, P. जणा, Skr. जन-[क:] a person.

M. G. कहाणी, S. किहाणी, Skr. कथानिका a story.

M. G. S. P. पाणी, Skr. पानीय water.

M. G. S. P. जाण [णें-णु-णा], Skr. जाना to know.

M. G. कोण, P. कौण, Skr. कः पुनः who ?

M. बहिण, G. बेन, S. भेणु, P. भैण, Skr. भगिनी sister.

M. कठिण, G. कठण, S, कठन, P. कटण-न, Skr. कठिन hard.

P. S. G. जण-[णा-णु-नुं], Skr. जन (causal) to give birth to, to produce.

G. लुण, S. लूणु, P. लूण, M. लोण (in सेंधेलोण), Skr. लवण salt.
P. M. G. आपण, S. पाण, Pr. अप्पाण, Skr. आत्मान one's self.
M. G. S. P. ताण-[णें-डुं-णु-णा], Skr. तन to stretch or pull.
M. नणंद, &c., as above.

There are a few instances in which we have the original न in the body of a word, as in M. G. P. मन, S. मनु, Skr. मनः 'mind', G. वानुं 'promise', for Skr. वचन, and G. बेन as above. But the general rule seems to be that these four dialects have a medial न in the place of the double ण of the Prakrits, resulting from a Sanskrit conjunct of which न is a member. Thus:—

[Table 82: Prk. ण changed to न in the vernaculars]

Skr. अरण्य, Pr. रण्ण, M. G. रान wilderness.
Skr. कर्ण, Pr. कण्ण, M. G. कान, P. कन्न, S. कनु ear.
Skr. पर्ण, P. पण्ण, M. G. पान, P. पन्ना. S. पनु a leaf.
Skr. जीर्ण (जूर्णकः), Pr. जुण्ण, M. जुनें, G. जुनूं, S. झूनो old.
Skr. विज्ञप, Pr. विण्णव, M. G. विनव,-(णें-डुं) to solicit.
Skr. विज्ञप्ति, M. G. बिनंती, S. विनती, P. मिनत solicitation.
Skr. संज्ञा, Pr. सण्णा, G. सान, P. सन mark, sign.

Skr. जन्ययात्रा, Pr. जण्णयत्ता, P. जनेत a bridal procession; also, S. जञ्ञ, Skr. जन्य, Pr. जञ्ञ.

Skr. यज्ञोपवीत, Pr. जण्णोवईअ, G. जनोई, P. जनेऊ, M. जानवें, S. जण्यो, the Brahmanic sacred thread.

Skr. मन्य, Pr. मण्ण, M. G. मान-[णें-डुं], S. मनणु, P. मन्नणा to think, to regard, to obey.

But even here in Marathi, the purely Deshastha Brahmans living in the eastern part of the Deccan or Mahārāṣṭra pronounce the न as ण; and the ordinary रान, कान, पान, विनंति, &c., of that dialect become in their mouths राण, काण, पाण, विर्णति, &c. They have, therefore, preserved in its integrity the old habit of the Prakrit speakers to pronounce the न as ण throughout. On the other hand, the lower class of the Konkani population preserve the Paiśāci peculiarty of reducing ण in all cases to न and pronounce पाणी, वाणी, कोण, &c., as पानी, वानी, कोन, &c., and this peculiarity we find in its fulness in the Hindi, and next to it in the Bengali. Thus the words with a ण in them in the Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi and Panjabi, given above, have the following forms in Hindi:—

मानूस, दिसना, जन, कहानी, पानी, जानना, कौन, बहिन, or बैन, कठिन, जतना, हून or हून, अपना, टानना or तानना, ननद or ननदी.

And such of these words as are in use in the Bengali have the following :—

मानूश, जन, किहानी, जानन, कोन, बहिन or बोन, कठिन, जनन, लोण, आपना, टानना, ननद्.

Other words, in some of which even in Sanskrit a ण् appears, are in the Hindi and Bengali thus :—

[Table 83 : Original ण् preserved]

Skr. ब्राह्मण, H. बम्हन or बामन, B. बामुन, but S. बाभण, a Brahman.

Skr. शृण in शृणोति, H. सुन-[ना], B. शुन-[न], S. सुण-[णु] to hear.

Skr. दक्षिण, H. दहिना, A. डाहन, right hand.

Skr. ग्रहण (?), H, B. गहना, S. गहणो, an ornament worn on the person.

Skr. काण-[कः], H. कान or काना, B. काना, S. काणो blind of one eye.

Still ण् does appear in Bengali books in a few words such as काण 'ear', लोण, 'salt', &c. In the Hindi it seems to be entirely absent.

In the principal Prakrit and the Śauraseni, all the Sanskrit sibilants are reduced to स्. Sanskrit words, therefore, containing the palatal श् and the cerebral ष्, which in the Prakrits came to have the dental स् instead, have the last in the Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, and Marathi. But according to a law of Marathi pronunciation, this स्, when followed by the palatal vowel or semi-vowel इ, ए, or य, is transformed into the palalal श्. The foregoing list of words contain many instances that prove these points. Thus :—

[Table 84 A : Skr. श् or ष् changed to स् in the Vernaculars]

Table 2. M. H. P. दिस, S. डिस, Skr. दृश्य ; H. सियार, Skr. शृगाल; G. H. सींग, P. सिंग, S. सिङु, Skr. शृङ्ग ; H. P. किस, Skr. कृषिः ; M. पाउस, H. पावस, Skr. प्रावृष्.

Table 5. M. G. H., &c. सोंड, सूंड, &c., Skr. शुण्डा.

Tables 11 & 8. G. माणस, M. माणूस, H. मानूस, B. माणुस, Skr. मनुष्य.

Table 14. M. H. बैस, Skr. उपविश; M. म्हैस, H. भैंस, G. भेंस, Skr. महिषी.

Table 24. H. सेमल, M. सांवरी, Skr. शाल्मली ; Table 34. H. S. साध, Skr. श्रद्धा.

Table 47. H. P. परोस, G. पीरस, Skr. परिवेष ; Table 46. H. सलाई, M. P. सळई, Skr. शलाका.

Table 36. H. साला, P. M. साळा, Skr. श्यालक ; Table 63. M. सांवळा, H. P. सांवला, &c., Skr. श्यामलक ; M. विसावा, &c., Skr. विश्राम.

Table 69. H. सिहरा or सेहरा, &c., Skr. शेखर ; Table 73. H. सोह, S. सुह, Skr. शुभ ; Table 74. P. H. M. G. डांस, Skr. दंश ; H. सुन, S. सुण, Skr. शृण as above. &c.

H. सीसो, M. शिसवा, G. शिसम, Skr. शिंशप Table 65.

Other instances are :—

[Table 84 B : The same : श् or ष् changed to स् in the Vernaculars]

M. साळ, H. साल, Skr. शाला ' a school ' or ' an establishment.

M. सल, H. साल ; Skr. शल्य ' a dart '.

M. G. साकळी, H. सांकली, सिकली ' a chain ', Skr. शृङ्खला.

M. सुक, H. सूख, Skr. शुष्क ' dry '.

H. सीख, Skr. शिक्ष ' to learn '.

H. पीस, Skr. पिष् ' to grind '.

H. M. G. नास, Skr. नाश ' destruction '.

S. बस, Skr. वर्ष ' to rain '.

H. P. S. सेज ' a bed,' Skr. शय्या.

[Table 84 C : The Same : More Modern Instances]

Even in words adopted later, and consequently treated somewhat differently, from the way in which they were treated in the Prakrits, the Sanskrit श् and ष् are reduced to स्, as in the H. तर्सना ' to thirst, ' Skr. तृष् ; परवेस ' entrance, ' Skr. प्रवेश ; परसु ' a hatchet ', Skr. पर्शु ; निसपति 'lord of the night,' 'the moon,' Skr. निशापति ; S. वंसु ' race, ' ' descent, ' Skr. वंश ; वर्सणु ' to rain, ' Skr. वर्ष ; वसिकरणु ' to subdue, ' Skr. वशीकरण ; P. सोग ' sorrow, ' Skr. शोक ; सांत 'quietness,' Skr. शान्ति ; परमेसुर 'God,' Skr. परमेश्वर ; H. वरिस, G. वरस ' a year, ' Skr, वर्ष ; G. वरसवुं ' to rain, ' Skr. वर्ष &c.

The present speakers of the Hindi, the Panjabi, and the Sindhi retain therefore the vocal peculiarity of their Prakrit ancestors of pronouncing Sanskrit ष् and श् as स्.

Of the words given above, the सींग, सेमल, सीस and सेज of the Hindi become शिंग, शेवरी, शिक and शेज in Marathi, because they are followed by a palatal vowel. Similarly, we have शेण 'cowdung' Skr. शकृत् ; शेगट 'a tree,' Skr. शिग्रु ; शेवाळ 'moss,' Skr. शैवाल; शिडी 'a ladder,' Skr. श्रेढी, &c. Even the original स् of Sanskrit words is pronounced by the Marathas as श् under those conditions, as शेंदूर 'red lead,' Skr. सिन्दूर:; शिवणें 'to sew,' Skr. सिव् ; माउशी 'mother's sister,' Skr. मातृष्वसा, &c.

Gujarati too shows the same tendency though it is not so decided; and we have thus शिंग 'a horn,' शिखवुं 'to learn' शिवबुं 'to sew,' शिसम 'blackwood,' Skr. शिंशप, शेज, Skr. शय्या &c. But we have also such words as सिंचबुं 'sprinkling,' Skr. सिंच, सिजवबुं 'to boil,' सिडी 'ladder,' &c. So that the Marathi rule does not seem to be strictly applicable to the Gujarati. Still the sound श् is as natural to the Gujaratis as to the Marathas, as is shown by such forms as शुं for सुं 'what?', करशो 'do,' &c., and in some provinces it is freely used for स् in many words.

The Bengali forms of such of the above words as are used in the language have श् for the Hindi स्, as :—

[Table 85 : Bengali श् for Hindi स्]

B.	H.	B.	H.
शुकिवा	सूखना to dry.	शियाल	सियारा a jackal.
शुनिवा	सूनना to hear.	शिमुल	सेमल the silk cotton tree.
शुइवा	सोना to sleep.	शूंड	सोंड, सूंड trunk of an elephant.
पाशे	पास near.		
शिंगा	सींग a horn.	शिशू	सिसो blackwood.
डांश	डांस a mosquito.	शेल	साल a dart.
भईश	भैंस a buffalo.	दिवाशलाई	दियासलाई a fire-match.

Bengali books and dictionaries contain a good many words, derived from the old Prakrits or recently adopted from Sanskrit, which contain स् in them. The object of the authors in these cases is to give the correct Prakrit or Sanskrit forms, and not to represent the correct Bengali pronunciation. But it is not necessary to hear a Bengali speak or read his language or even Sanskrit for a long time to arrive at the clear conviction that his vocal habits do not admit of the pronunciation of स् or ष्, but only of श्.

Sanskrit and Prakrit स् becomes श् in his mouth. Thus the Bengalis of the present day possess the same vocal characteristic that is attributed to their ancestors, the speakers of the Māgadhī, by the Prakrit grammarians.

[Table 85 A : श् changed to छ् in the Vernaculars]

श् has a tendency to pass off into छ् as we observed in going over the Pali. For the Pali छक from the Skr. शकृत् 'cowdung,' we have छेण् in S.., छाण in G., &., from शकन्, another form of the word ; and for the Pali छाप, Skr. शाव 'the young of an elephant,' we have छावा in H. M. &c., the Pr. form being छाव. For the Skr. शेष the G. has छेवट, छेडो, and छेल्लो 'last,' 'end,' with the suffixes ट, ड and ल ; for Skr. शल्क 'rind', H. has छल्ली, for Skr. शण 'hemp', O. has छण ; for सूत्रधार 'carpenter,' which is सुतार in the other dialects and must have been pronounced छुतार by the Bengalis, the B. has छुतार and O. also. Other instances may be found.

[Table 85 B : ष् changed to ख् in Hindi]

In Hindi Skr. ष् is often pronounced as ख् as in भाख for भाष, 'spoken dialect', पुरुख for पुरुष, भेख for वेष, विखम for विषम, &c. This is to be identified with the practice of the followers of the Mādhyamdina recension of the White Yajurveda who read the ष् occurring in their books throughout as ख्. But other dialects also have a few instances of this change, as विख P. M. G., विखु S. for Skr. विष.

Of the Prakrit words in which a vowel or a mute is aspirated through the influence of an adjoining aspirate or an aspirated mute, the vernaculars have preserved the following :—

[Table 86 : Mutes aspirated in the Prakrits and the Vernaculars]

Pr. पनस, M. G. फणस, Skr. पनस a Jacktree. The H. has also फनस but more commonly पनस.

Pr. भिस, M. भिसें, H. भिस, P. भेह, Skr. बिस edible lotus root. S. has बिहु.

Pr. खासिअ, G. H. P. खांसी, Skr. कासित cough.

There are a good many modern instances:—

[Table 87 : Mutes aspirated in the Vernaculars]

M. फरशी, G. फरसी, H. फरसा, Skr. परशु an axe.

M. G. फांस, H. फांस-फांसा-फांसी, P. फाहा-फाही-फांसी, S फासी-फाही, B. फांस-फांसी, Skr. पाश a noose.

M. निभावणें, G. निभावबुं, H. निभाना, S. निभाइणु, P. निभाउणा, Skr. निर्वाह accomplishing. H. S. P. have also the forms with निबाह.

G. खसबुं, H. खिसना, Skr. कृष्यते to drop away, to be drawn.

G. घऊं, H. घेऊं, or गोहूं, P. घेंऊं, Skr. गोधूम wheat. M. has गहूं.

M. G. O. हाड, P. हड्ड-हड्डी, S. हड्ड-हड़ी, H. B. हाड-हड्डी, Pr. अट्ठी, Skr. अस्थि bone.

B. हांटु knee, H. ठिहुन, by interchange of places, Skr. अष्ठीवत्, Pr. अट्ठीव ?

P. भाफ, B. O. भाप, Pr. बप्फ, Skr. बाष्प vapour.

M. घोंस a bunch, Skr. गुच्छ.

P. सभ, S. सभु all, Pr. सब्ब, Skr. सर्व.

M. खुशाल safe, well, Skr. कुशल.

H. P. M. भेस garb, Pr. वेस, Skr. वेश.

M. भूस-भुसा chaff, H. भूस-भूसा, P. भुस-भुस्सी, G. भुसो-भुसुं, B. भूशि, Skr. बुस ; S. has बुहु-बुहो.

[Table 86 A : Aspiration transferred]

In some cases the aspirate sound is absorbed in the adjoining mute, and it ceases to exist as a separate component of a word. Thus, from the Pr. पहुडि, Skr. प्रभृति, we have the M. पुढें in which the ह् combines with ड्, and the M. *dial.* फुडें in which it combines with प्. In the same manner the Skr. मेष 'sheep' becomes, with the usual Apabhraṁśa suffix ड or डअ, मेसडउ or मेहडउ, which in M. and G. assumes the form of मेंढा and मेढा, the ह combining with ड, and in H. and P., of भेड़ा, in which the ह being combined with the preceding मे destroys the nasal character of the sound. P. has मेढा also, and G. भेड़ा, and B. and O. मेडा as well as भेड़ा. By a similar absorption of the ह् sound and the reduction of the nasal to a mere Anusvāra, we have H. P. भैंस (masc. भैंसा), G. भेंस, B. भंईश, from Skr. महिषी 'a feamale buffalo,' and G. M. भेळ from Pr. मिस्स, Skr. मिश्र with the suffix ल, through an intermediate form मिहल or मेहल. We have a more ancient instance of the process in the Pr. संभर for Skr. संस्मर, through the intermediate form संम्हर, which has been preserved by the G. in सांभरबुं 'to remember' or 'remind.'

Sometimes a mute is aspirated without any apparent reason in the Prakrits, and these instances have come down to some of the vernaculars:—

[Table 88: Mutes aspirated]

Skr. कुब्ज humpbacked, Pr. खुज्जो, M. खुजा; but P. कोझा, H. कुंजा, B. कुंजो, O. कुंजा, S. कुबो; M. कुबडा also.

Skr. कीलक: a nail, Pr. खीलओ, M. खिळा, G. खिळो, B. O. खील or खिला; the rest कील.

Skr. कर्पर potsherd, an earthen cup, Pr. खप्पर, M. खापर, H. P. खप्पर, O. खपरा, B. खाबरा.

Later instances are:—

P. खूहा, S. कूहा a well, Skr. कूपक:.

P. छुहणा to touch, H. छूना, Skr. छुप.

M. घागर, P. H. गागर, Skr. गर्गरिका.

G. खोळो lap, Skr. क्रोड.

Of the instances in the Prakrits in which the consonants contained in a word interchange places we have:—

[Table 89: Interchange of Consonants]

हळू 'slow' in M., Pr. हलुअ and Skr. लघुक, हौला in H. and P. and हळू and हळवे in G.

M. सून 'daughter-in-law,' Pr. सुण्हा, Skr. स्नुषा.

M. निढाल 'forehead,' Pr. णडाल, Skr. ललाट, &c.

There are a good many more modern instances:—

H. पहिचानना to recognize, Pr. पच्चहिआण, Skr. प्रत्यभिज्ञा-(ज्ञा)न, P. पछाणना.

H. पहिरना to dress, Pr. परिहाण, Skr. परिधान; P. पहिराउणा to cause to dress. In both the last two syllables are assimilated and we have पहिन्ना also; G. पेरवु by the loss of ह्.

G. वहालुं beloved, Pr. वल्लह, Skr. वल्लभ.

सेहलुं easy, Pr. सुलह, Skr. सुलभ.

बिलाडी a cat, Skr. बिडाल; उथलपाथल topsy-turvy, the M. form being उलटापालट, Pr. उवल्लत्थ-ड्ड पल्लत्थ-ड्ड, Skr. उपर्यस्त पर्यस्त.

M. शेपूट or शेपटी tail, G. having पूछडुं or पूछडी, Skr. पुच्छ, with the suffix ट, the च्छ् being changed to श् by the usual M. rule and the palatal vowel being brought in by the palatal श्.

M. थोडकें little, Pr. थोक्क, Skr. स्तोक, with the suffix ड.

S. हुगो a bunch of flowers, Skr. गुच्छ; हिलिडो loose, Pr. सिढिल, Skr. शिथिल.

H. M. टिकली, &c., from Skr. तिलक as in Table 75.

TREATMENT OF SKR. CONJUNCTS IN THE VERNACULARS.

We will now trace in the vernaculars the Sanskrit conjunct consonants assimilated in the Pali and the Prakrits, in the order I have observed in treating of them in the lecture on the Pali. And first I will give a few instances of those in which the second member being strong prevails over the first and is doubled.

[Table 90: Second Member of the Conjunct preserved and doubled]

Skr. कर्म act, business, Pr. कम्म, P. कम्म, S. कमु, H. G. M. O. काम.

Skr. घर्म heat of the sun, Pr. घम्म, H. घाम; M. G. B. O. घाम in the sense of 'sweat.'

Skr. चर्म skin, leather, Pr. चम्म, P. चम्म, S. चमु, H. G. B. चाम, O. चम, M. चाम in चामडें.

Skr. कार्य, Pr. कज्जं, S. काजु, M. G. H. P. काज. The M. has, however, the dento-palatal ज here.

Skr. कर्ण ear, Pr. कण्ण, P. कन्न, S. कनु, H. G. M. B. O. कान.

Skr. पर्ण a leaf, Pr. पण्ण, P. पन्ना (of a book), S. पनु, H. G. M. पान, G. पानुं (of a book), P. S. O. पान in the sense of 'betel leaf.'

Skr. विज्ञप to solicit, supplicate, Pr. विण्णव, H. G. M. विनव-[ना-वुं-णें]; H. also विनौना.

Skr. राज्ञी a queen, Pr. रण्णी (?), G. P. S. M. B. O. राणी, H. रानी.

Skr. संज्ञा a signal, Pr. सण्णा, P. सन, H. G. सान; H. सैन also.

Skr. यज्ञोपवीत the sacred thread, Pr. जण्णोवईअ (?), H. P. जनेऊ, S. जण्यो, G. जनोइ, M. जानवें.

Skr. अर्प to make over, Pr. अप्प, G. आप-[वुं].

Skr. समर्प to consign, deliver, Pr. समप्प, H. P. S. सौंप-[ना-णा-णु], M. G. सोंप-[णें-वुं].

Skr. सर्प a serpent, Pr. सप्प, P. सप्प, S. सपु, H. G. M. B. O. साप.

Skr. दर्भ sacred grass, Pr. दब्भ, S. डभु, H. डाभ or डाब, G. डाभ or डाभो.

Skr. शब्द sound, call, Pr. सद्द, P. सद्द (subs. & verb), H. M. G. साद.

Skr. दर्दुर a frog, Pr. दद्दुर, P. H. G. दादुर, S. डेडरु.

Skr. भक्त boiled rice, Pr. भत्त, P. भत्त, S. भतु, H. M. G. B. O. भात.

Skr. रक्त red, Pr. रत्त, P. रत्ता, S. रतो, H. G. रातो, M. राता in राताम्बा a red sour fruit of a certain tree.

Skr. सुप्त slept, Pr. सुत्त, P. सुत्ता, S. G. सुतो.

Skr. कर्दम mud, Pr. कद्दम, H. कादौ or कादा, G. कादव.

Skr. तर्क to look out for, gaze wistfully, Pr. तक्क, P. तक्कना, S. तकणु, M. टकणें, O. ढाकिवा, H. G. ताक-[ना-नुं].

The following are instances in which though the second member of a conjunct prevails, some of the elements of the first sound are added to it:—

[Table 91 : Some element of the first added to the second member of a Conjunct]

(*a*) *Conjuncts of a sibilant and a mute.*

Skr. हस्त hand, Pr. हत्थ, P. हत्थ, S. हथु, H. G. हाथ, M. B. O. हात.

Skr. मुष्टि fist, Pr. मुट्ठि, P. मुट्ठ, S. मुठि, H. G. मूठ-मुट्ठी, M. मूठ, O. मूठि, B. मूट.

Skr. प्रस्तर stone, Pr. पत्थर, P. पत्थर, S. पथरु, H. G. पत्थर or पाथर, M. पाथर, B. पाथर or पातर, O. पथर.

Skr. पृष्ठ back, Pr. पुट्ठ-पिट्ठ-पट्ठ, vernaculars as in Table 4.

Skr. प्रस्थापन sending, Pr. पट्ठावण, S. पठणु, H. पठाना, Braj पठौनो, M. पाठवणें, B. पाठाइवा.

Skr. मुस्ता a kind of grass, Pr. मोत्था, vernaculars as in Table 5.

Skr. मस्तक head, Pr. मत्थअ, P. मत्था, S. मथो, H. M. B. माथा, G. माथुं, M. माथें, O. मथा.

Skr. पुस्तक a book, Pr. पोत्थअ, P. H. M. &c. as in Table 5.

Skr. उपविष्ट sat, Pr. उवइट्ठ, vernaculars as in Table 43.

Skr. दृष्टि or दृष्ट sight or seen, Pr. दिट्ठि or दिट्ठ, P. डिट्ठा-डिट्ठ, and the rest as in Table 2.

Skr. उष्ण hot, Pr. उण्ह, G. उन्हुं, M. ऊन: M. G. S. उन्ह as in उन्हाळा-लो-रो for उष्णकाळ the hot season.

Skr. स्ना to bathe, Pr. ण्हा or नहा, P. H. M. G. न्हा-[उणा-ना-णें-नुं] ; P. H. नहा also.

Skr. अङ्गुष्ठ thumb, Pr. अंगुट्ठ, P. अंगठ, S. आङ्ठो, H. अंगूठा, G. अंगूठो, M. आंगठा.

Skr. विष्किर to spread, Pr. विक्खिर, P. विक्खरना, S. विखेरणु, H. G. M. विखर-[ना-वुं-णें] to be scattered.

Skr. शुष्क dry, Pr. सुक्ख, P. सुक्खा, S. सुको, H. सूखा, G. सूखो, M. सुका, B. O. शुका.

Skr. बाष्प vapour, Pr. बप्फ, S. H. G. बाफ, M. वाफ, P. भाफ, B. O. भाप.

Skr. स्कन्ध shoulder, Pr. खन्ध, H. M. खांदा, G. खांदो ; but H. mostly has कंधा and कांधा, P. कन्धा, B. O. कांध.

Skr. पश्चात् behind, Pr. पच्छा, P. पिच्छे, H. पीछे, पाछे, G. पाछुं.

Skr. ग्रीष्म hot season, Pr. गिह्म, M. *dial* गीम.

Skr. कृष्ण proper name, Pr. कण्ह, vernaculars as in Table 1.

[Table 92 : the Same as in Table 91]

(*b*) *Conjuncts of a dental and a heavy* र.

Skr. सत्य true, Pr. सच्च, P. H. सच्च, S. सचु, H. M. साच, G. सांचुं, B. सांचा.

Skr. नृत्य of नृत्यति to dance, Pr. नच्च, P. नच्च or नच्च-[णा], S. नच्च-[णु], H. M. G. नाच-[ना-णें-वुं], B. O. नाचिवा.

Skr. नृत्य a dance. Pr. नच्च, P. नाच, S. नाचु, H. M. G. B. O. नाच.

Skr. मृत्यु death, Pr. मिच्चु, H. मीच.

Skr. प्रत्यभिजान of प्रत्यभिजानाति to recognize, Pr. पच्चहिआण, H. पहिचान, P. पछाण, B. चिन or चिनिवा, by dropping the first two consonants.

Skr. उत्पद्य of उत्पद्यते to be produced, Pr. उप्पज्ज, P. S. H. M. G. पज-[णा-णु-ना-णें-वुं].

Skr. माद्य of माद्यति to be intoxicated, Pr. मज्ज, M. माजणें.

Skr. विद्युत् lightning, Pr. विज्जू , M. G. वीज, P. विज्ज, S. विज्जु.

Skr. अद्य to-day, Pr. अज्ज, P. अज्ज, S. अज्जु, H. M. G. B. आज, B. O. आजि.

Skr. स्विद्य of स्विद्यति to sweat, also to boil, Pr. सिज्ज, P. सिज्जणा to be soaked, S. सिझणु, H. सिझना-सिजाना (causal), M. शिजणें, G. सिजवुं, O. सिजिवा.

Skr. वन्ध्या a barren woman, Pr. बंज्झा or वंज्झा, P. वंझा, S. वांझ, H. O. बांझ, G. बांझ-[णी], M. वांझ or वांज, B. बांझा.

Skr. संध्या evening, Pr. संज्झा, P. S. संझा, S. सांझी, H. सांझ, M. G. H. B. सांज, O. संज.

Skr. बुध्य of बुध्यते to know, Pr. बुज्झ, P. बुज्झणा, H. S. बुझ-[ना-णु]; B. O. बुझिवा, M. G. बुज-[णें-वुं].

Skr. मध्य middle, Pr. मज्झ, P. मंज्झ or माज्झ, S. मंझु, H. मांझ or माझ, M. मार्जी, B. माझ.

Skr. युद्ध battle, Pr. जुज्झ of जुज्झइ for युध्यति, P. जुज्झ, H. जूझा, B. झुंज (in झुंजार), M. झूज.

When व् as the latter member of a conjunct is heavily pronounced, the double consonant that takes the place of the conjunct is प्प, ब्ब, and भ्भ according as the preceding member is a surd, a sonant, or an aspirated sonant. Sometimes, when the preceding member is a dental, the substitutes are च्च, ज्ज, and ज्झ. The following are instances of these changes in the vernaculars :—

[Table 93 : व् as second member of a conjunct changed to प्प, ब्ब, भ्भ, च्च, ज्ज, ज्झ]

Skr. त्व abstract termination, Apabhr. प्प, H. पा as in बुढापा old age, मोटापा fatness, S. पो as in माण्हिपो humanity, from माण्हु man.

Skr. त्वन abstract termination, Pr. त्तण, Apabhr. प्पण, H. पन or पना as in कुआरपन celibacy; S. पणु or पणो as in जोलपणु womanhood, माण्हुअपणु humanity; M. पण or पणा as in माणुसपण or माणुसपणा humanity; P. पुण as in निआणपुण childhood, &c.

Skr. उद्वेग feeling of repulsion, Pr. उब्बेग, M. उबग.

Skr. द्वार door, Pr. दार or बार, P. H. G. बार, P. दर, S. दरु, M. दार.

Skr. सर्व all, Pr. सब्ब, H. सब, P. सभ, S. सभु, G. सहु for सव.

Skr. ज्वल to burn, Pr. जल or बल, S. बरणु, P. जळना-बळणा, H. जलना-बलना, G. जळवुं-बळवुं, M. जळणें and पोळणें where ब seems to be hardened, B. O. पोड़ in पोडिवा.

Skr. ऊर्ध्व above, erect, Pr. उब्भ, S. उभो, M. O. उभा, B. उबु.

Skr. जिह्वा tongue, Pr. जिब्भा, M. H. P. G. जीभ, B. O. S. जिभ.

Skr. ध्वज banner, Pr. झज; with the suffix डा or डो, S. झंडो, P. H. झंडा, M. झेंडा.

Similarly आत्मन, with the loss of the nasal sound of त्म, becomes अप्पण in the Prakrits and आपण in M. O. G., आपन in B., पाण in S. and आप in H. P.

[DENTALS CHANGED TO PALATALS]

Dentals have a tendency to become palatals even when not followed by य् or इ्, probably because they do so become when followed by those semi-vowels. Thus, from the Skr. वादयति 'to sound' or 'play on a musical instrument,' we have P. बजाउणा, H. बजाना, M. वाजविणें, &c.; from Skr. निद्रा 'sleep,' M. नीज ; P. H. ओछा 'trifling,' 'vain', S. ओछा, from very probably, Skr. वृथा ; M. सावज, H. साजा from Skr. श्वापद् which appears even in the Prakrits to have assumed the form of सावज, though सावय is usually given; M. H. G. छी छी, M. छे छे, Pr. छि छि from Skr. धिक् धिक् &c.

[Table 94 : (c) The conjunct क्ष (when the sibilant is pronounced like श्,) and त्स, and त्स्य]

Skr. क्षण { a moment, Pr. खण, P. छिण, S. खिण, H. छिन, G. खण, M. (*dial.*) खिण a festival, Pr. छण, M. छिन, M. सण for छण.

Skr. क्षुरक-रिका a knife, a razor, Pr. छुरअ-रिआ, P. छुरा-री, S. छुरी, H. छुरा-री, B. O. छोरा-छुरी, M. सुरी.

Skr. मक्षिका a fly, Pr. { मक्खिआ, P. मक्खी, S. मखी, H. G. माखी. मच्छिआ, H. B. O. माछी, M. माशी.

Skr. कुक्षि a side of the abdomen, Pr. कुच्छि or कुक्खि, M. कूस ; the rest कुख or कोख as in Table 5.

Skr. ऋक्ष a bear, Pr. रिच्छ, S. रिछु, H. G. रीछ, M. रीस.

Skr. तक्ष to shave, hew, Pr. तच्छ, P. तच्छणा, M. तासणें, G. तासवुं.

Skr. क्षेत्र a field, M. शेत from Pr. छेत्त ; the rest खेत.

Skr. वत्स a calf, Pr. वच्छ, P. बच्छा, S. वछ, H. बाछा, बछा, बछ, G. वछ, बाछ-[रडुं], B. बाछु-[र], O. बाछु-[री], M. वास-[रु] ; P. H. बच्चा, S. बचो, B. बाचा, M. बचं-[डें], &c., in the sense of 'the young one of any animal', from the same.

Skr. मत्स्य a fish, Pr. मच्छ, P. मच्छ, S. मछु, H. मछ or माछ, B. O. माछ, M. मासा.

Skr. उत्सङ्ग lap, Pr. उच्छङ्ग, H. उछंग, M. ओसंग.

The conjunct क्ष् sometimes appears in the Prakrits, and perhaps even in Sanskrit, in the form of झ्. The Sanskrit क्षर is ज्झर in the Prakrits, and this we have in the H. झरना, M. झरणें and पाझरणें in which last पा stands for the preposition प्र. क्षि is Pr. झिज्झ from which we have M. झिजणें 'to waste away', and from क्षीण we have S. झीणो, H. झीन, &c.

[Table 95 : (d) Instances in which a dental is changed to a cerebral through the influence of a previous र]

Skr. वर्ध to increase, Pr. वड्ढ, H. बढना or बाढना, M. वाढणें, B. बाढिवा, O. बढिवा. But P. S. G. बध or वध-(णा-ण्-तुं)

Skr. वर्ध to cut, Pr. वड्ढ, P. बड्ढणा or वड्ढणा, S. वढणु.

Skr. वर्धक-कि a carpenter, Pr. वड्ढइ, P. वड्ढि, H. बढई, O. बढाइ, B. बाडुइ, S. G. वाढो.

Skr. छर्द् to let off, to leave, Pr. छड्ड, P. छड्डणा, S. छडणु, H. छाडना, B. O. छाडिवा, H. छांडना, M. सांडणें, perhaps from the same, as also H. छोडना, M. सोडणें.

Skr. कर्त to cut, Pr. कट्ट, P. कट्टणा, S. कटणु, H. काटना, B. काटिवा, G. काटवुं, M. काटणें.

Skr. उद्वर्तन a cosmetic, Pr. उव्वट्टन, S. उबटणु, H, उबटन, M. उटणें, G. उटणु.

Skr. कैवर्त a boatman, Pr. केवट्ट, H. केवट.

Skr. सार्ध a half more, Pr. सड्ढ, H. P. B. O. साढे, S. साढा-हु, H. M. साडे, G. साडा.

We will now proceed to instances in which the first member of a conjunct prevails over the second and is doubled :—

[Table 96 : Instances where the first member of a conjunct remains]

Skr. भग्न-[कः] fled away, Pr. भग्ग-[ओ], H. भागा, S. भगो.

Skr. लग्न adhered to, connected, Pr. लग्ग, P. लग्गा or लग्ग in लग्गणा, S. लग in लगणु, H. M. G. लाग-[ना-णें-वुं] B. लागा, O. लागिवा.

Skr. नग्न-[कः] naked, Pr. नग्ग-[ओ], P. H. नंगा, S. नंगो, G. नागो, M. नाग-[डा], O. नागा.

Skr. रश्मि a cord, a rope, Pr. रस्सि, P. H, रस्सी, S. B. G. O. रसी, H. G. रास in the sense of 'reins'.

Skr. योग्य fit, Pr. जोग्ग, P. जोग or जोग्गा, S. जोग्य, H. G. जोग, H. M. जोगा.

Skr. शून्य void, empty, Pr. सुण्ण, P. सुन्न or सुन्नो, S. सुंन, H. सून or सूना, M. सुना. सुंन has acquired the sense of 'insensibility' also.

Skr. मन्य of मन्यते to regard, Pr. मण्ण, P. मञ्ञणा, S. मनणु, M. G. H. मान-[णें-डुं-ना].

Skr. व्याख्यान to explain, Pr. वक्खाण, P. व-वखाणना, H. बखानना explain or praise, S. बखाणणु praise, G. बखाणवुं, H. बाखाणणें.

Skr. अरण्य desert, Pr. रण्ण, M. G. रान, G. रन, S. रिणु.

Skr. व्याघ्र a tiger, Pr. वग्घ, P. H. B. O. बाघ, S. बाघु, M. G. वाघ.

Skr. अग्र front part, Pr. अग्ग, S. अगो, H. आगा; P. अग्गु before, G. आगो, G. आगल before, B. आगे, O. आग first of all.

Skr. चक्र a wheel, Pr. चक्क, P. चक्क, S. चकु (both) a potter's wheel, H. चाक, चक्की, in the sense of a 'mill-stone', G. M. चाक, B. चाका.

Skr. पत्र a leaf, Pr. पत्त, P. पत्त, S. पतो a playing card, H. पात, पाता, पत्ता, G. पातरुं, M. पातें blade of a knife, M. पातेरा a collection of dry leaves.

Skr. चन्द्र moon, Pr. चन्द, P. चंद, S. चंडु, H. G. M. B. O. चांद, H. चंद also.

Skr. श्वश्रू as in Table 34.

Skr. अभ्र a cloud, Pr. अब्भ, H. अभाल, M. अभाळ or आभाळ (from अभ्रालि), G. आभ.

Skr. ज्वल, Pr. and other forms with ज as in Table 93.

Skr. पार्श्व a side, Pr. पास, S. पासो, P. पास्सा, H. पास, G. पासे, M. पाशीं near, *i. e.* by one's side.

When र् followed by य् is changed to ल्, this last sound prevails over the य्, and the conjunct becomes ल्ल् in the Prakrits. The following instances of this change have come down to the vernaculars:—

[Table 97 : र्य is changed to ल्ल]

Skr. पर्याय rotation, turn, Pr. पल्लाअ, H. पाला, M. G. O. पाळी.

Skr. पर्यस्त changed, Pr. पल्लट्ट or पल्लत्थ, P. H. पलटा, P. पळटा, M. G. पालट.

Skr. पर्यङ्क a bedstead, Pr. पल्लङ्क, P. पलंघ, S. पलंगु, H. M. G. पलंग, B. पालंक or पालंग, O. पलंक.

The following are instances of other cases of the same change;

Skr. मद् to squeeze, rub, knead, Pr. मल, P. M. G. मळ-[ना-णें-वुं], H. S. मल-[ना-णु].

Skr. आर्द्रक ginger, Pr. अल्लअ, M. आलें. H. P. B. have आदा, G. आदुं, from Pr. अद्दअ.

Skr. आर्द्रक wet, Pr. अल्लअ, उल्लअ, ओल्लअ, M. ओलें, S. आलो, H. आला. H. has आदा also from Pr. अद्दअ.

P. H. M. भला, G. S. भलो, B. भाल, from Skr. भद्र, through the change of र् to ल and of the conjunct to ल्ल.

When क्ष, the first sound of क्ष्, prevails and adds to itself the heavy aspiration of ष्, the conjunct becomes क्ख. Of this change there are many instances in the vernaculars :—

[Table 98 : क्ष changed to क्ख]

Skr. वृक्ष a tree, Pr. रुक्ख, P. रुक्ख, H. रूख.

Skr. रक्ष to keep, to protect, Pr. रक्ख, P. रक्खणा, S. रखणु, H. रखना also राखना, M. G. राख-[णें-वुं], B. O. राखिवा.

Skr. उपलक्ष to mark, Pr. उवलक्ख, M. G. ओळख acquaintance.

Skr. शिक्ष to learn, Pr. सिक्ख, P. सिखणा, S. सिखणु, H. सीखना, G. शिखवुं, M. शिकणें, B. O. शिखिवा.

Skr. क्षेत्र a field, Pr. खेत, P. खेत, S. खेतु or खेडु, H. B. O. खेत, G. खेत in खेती agriculture.

Skr. कुक्षि a side of the abdomen, Pr. कुक्खि, P. कुक्ख or कोख, S. कखि, H. कोख, G. कुख.

Skr. बुभुक्षा hunger, Pr. बुहुक्खा, P. भुक्ख, S. बुख, H. G. B. भूख, M. B. भूक, O. भोक.

Skr. म्रक्षण to anoint, an unguent, Pr. मक्खण, P. मक्खण butter, S. मखणु anoint, butter, H. मक्खन or माखन butter, B. O. माखन butter' माखिवा to anoint, M. माखणें to anoint, G. माखण butter.

Skr. परीक्षा examination, Pr. परिक्खा, H. P. B. O. परखँ, M. G. S. पारख.

Skr. अक्षि the eye, Pr. अक्खि, P. अक्ख, S. अखि, H. G. आंख, B. O. आखि.

Skr. क्षीर milk, Pr. खीर, S. खीरु, P, H. M. G. खीर a dish of rice and milk, O. खीरी.

Skr. मक्षिका and क्षण as in Table 93.

Skr. इक्षु sugar-cane, Pr. उक्खु or इक्खु, H. ऊख or ईख, P. इक्ख.

Though according to Hemacandra and Vararuci, the क्ष् of क्षेत्र, कुक्षि, आक्षि, क्षार, माक्षिका, and इक्षु is changed to च्छ in the Mahārāṣṭrī or principal Prakrit, still we see that most of the vernaculars derive their forms of these words from such Prakrit forms as had क्ख for the Sanskrit क्ष्. But with the exception of इक्खु and खीर which are mentioned as occurring in the Jaina sacred books, these forms are not given as existing in any of the dialects.

This and other similar omissions show that the observation of the Prakrit grammarians was by no means perfect. The Marathi forms of these words, however, with the exception of आक्षि, which is unknown to the language, and of क्षीर which is खीर, have स् or श्, which is representative of the Prakrit छ्, and hence they are the same as those given by Hemacandra and Vararuci. Here we have one of several indications that the modern Marathi is the direct daughter of the old Mahārāṣṭrī of the grammarians.

It will be seen from the lists given above that the Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali mostly drop one component of the doubled consonants, and to make up for the quantity thus lost, lengthen the preceding vowel. In other words, the speakers of those dialects take the same time to pronounce two syllables the latter of which contains a double consonant which the speakers of the Prakrit did; but the preceding forcible vowel utterance and the subsequent strong contact and pressure being avoided, the effect is that one of the two consonants is dropped and the previous vowel lengthened. This then is essentially a case of softening.

The Sindhi drops one of the two consonants, but does not lengthen the preceding vowel; while the Panjabi generally preserves the doubled consonants handed down to it by the old Prakrits. The Hindi contains more instances in which the original Prakrit pronunciation is preserved than the other three dialects. Hemacandra notices in the Prakrits the softened pronunciation we have been considering in the case of स्स् only, one स् of which is according to him dropped and the preceding vowel is lengthened, as in पासइ for पस्सइ, Sk. पश्यति, मीसं for मिस्सं, Skr. मिश्रम्, &c. This lengthening of the previous vowel is in the four dialects prevented, as observed before,[1] by the accent falling on a subsequent syllable.

1 See pp. 424-26.

In the Pali and the Prakrits, you will remember, the components of some conjuncts such as र्य, र्ह, र्श, र्ष, श्ल, क्ल, ग्ल, म्ह, &c., are not assimilated but separated by the interposition of a vowel. The vernaculars have preserved some instances of this process:—

[Table 99: Interposition of a vowel between the members of a conjunct]

H. सराहना to praise, Pr. सलाह, Skr. श्लाघ.

H. अगनी, P. अगन, B. आगुन fire, Pr. अगणी, Skr. अग्नि.

H. बरस, बरिस, M. वरीस a year, Pr. बरिस, Skr. वर्ष. So also H. P. बरस-[ना-णा], G. वरसडुं, Skr. वर्ष.

H. गिलान tired, Pr. गिलाण, Skr. ग्लान.

M. किळस disgust, Pr. किलेस, Skr. क्लेश distress.

M. शिलोक, stanza, Skr. श्लोक; G. हरख joy, Skr. हर्ष; G. सळेखम, P. सिलेसुम, Skr. श्लेष्म, are later instances of the same nature.

In modern times other conjuncts also are similarly dissolved, and we have पर्ताप S. M., &c. 'exploit' for प्रताप, खेतर, P. G., &c. 'a field' for क्षेत्र, पदमु S. 'a lotus' for पद्म, तियाग P. for त्याग, तर्ड S., others तरास, 'vexation' for त्रास, धरम 'virtue' H. M. G., &c., for धर्म, &c.

But the books and dictionaries of some of these languages contain a good many Sanskrit words the conjuncts in which are not changed in any way. This is due to the fact that those languages are now the spoken languages of the educated as well as the uneducated portions of the different communities, and the former pronounce the words correctly, and the forms given to them by the latter are not taken into account by the authors of those books. Again, even the latter, though they interpose a vowel between the components of some conjuncts as shown above, have, to a certain extent, become used to Sanskrit sounds and can pronounce others correctly. But in some of the provinces the old disability of the Prakrit speakers has been inherited in certain cases by their modern descendants, whether educated or uneducated, and it is very much to be regretted that the writers of books should in such cases write words in their Sanskrit forms which, when they are read by themselves or others, are read in a quite different way.

The people of Sindh,[1] whether belonging to the higher or lower classes, and the Bengalis pronounce the conjunct क्ष् invariably as क्ख्. Thus Sanskrit नक्षत्र as नक्खत्र, साक्षी as साखी, मोक्ष as मोक्ख or मोख, &c. The speakers of the Hindi more often pronounce क्ष् as च्छ् than as क्ख्, नक्षत्र becoming नच्छत्तर with them ; साक्षी, साच्छी ; मोक्ष मोच्छ ; लक्ष्मण, लच्छमन ; लक्षणा, लच्छना ; क्षत्रिय, खत्री or छत्री ; क्षय, छय ; क्षम, छम ; &c. The Panjabis pronounce the first three words as नच्छत्र, साखी, and मोच्छ, लक्षण as लच्छण, क्षत्रिय as खत्रि, &c., so that they also agree with the Hindi people, but seem more inclined towards making क्ख् of the conjunct. The Marathas, however, pronounce the क्ष् properly, though ordinarily they make क्ष् of it rather than क्ख्, as remarked on a former occasion. Similarly, the Bengali assimilates conjuncts the latter member of which is व् or य्, ईश्वर becoming इश्शर and व्याख्यान, बाक्खान in his mouth. Similarly he pronounces Skr. आत्मा as अत्ता just as his Prakrit ancestors did though it is written correctly.

ASSIMILATION OF MEMBERS OF CONJUNCTS CONTAINING NASALS

Some of the vernaculars assimilate the components of a conjunct made up of a nasal and a mute. Thus the Panjabi has डन्न for दण्ड 'penalty', मुन्नणा for मुण्डना 'to shave', सुन्न for सुण्ड, Skr. शुण्डा 'the trunk of an elephant', कन्हा for कन्धा, Skr. स्कन्ध 'shoulder', बन्न्हं for बन्ध 'binding', खन्न for खण्ड 'a piece', भन्नणा 'to break' for भङ्गना or भजना, थम्म for स्तम्भ 'a pillar,' &c. In the Bengali खान 'a piece', one of the two न sounds of खन्न is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened. Similarly we have थाम 'to stop' from स्तम्भ. In Sindhi we have भञु 'interruption', for भङ्ग, चङो 'good' for चङ्गो, M. चांगला ; मञुठ 'madder' for मञ्जिष्ट ; पिनु 'a ball' for पिण्ड; खनु 'a piece of bread' for खण्ड; चुमणु 'to kiss' for चुम्ब, &c. Here the Sindhi, as is usual with him, drops one component of the

1 While I was Head Master of the High School at Hyderabad in Sindh, I introduced about the beginning of 1865 the study of Sanskrit, and the first thing I had to do was to teach correct pronunciation to my pupils. I had no great difficulty, so far as I can now remember, in making them pronounce the other conjuncts; but when I came to क्ष्, all my endeavours to teach its correct pronunciation failed. I got the most intelligent of my boys to pronounce first क्ष् and then ष्. This he did very well, whereupon I told him to utter both the sounds one after another immediately ; but instead of making क्ष् of them he invariably gave them the form of क्ख्. I then gave up attempt in despair.

doubled consonants. With this exception, the modern dialects have got no cases of the assimilation of the members of a conjunct unknown to the Prakrits, while, as shown above, the speakers of those dialects tenaciously retain the vocal habit of assimilation of their Prakrit ancestors in a few cases.

And now I close this part of my inquiry. The results at which we have arrived are these:—The vernaculars of Northern India contain the instances and, in some cases, a large number of them, given by the Prakrit grammarians or occurring in Prakrit literature, of every one of the rules or processes of change grouped by me under the heads of softening, assimilation, dissimilation, interchange of places, accentuation, and peculiarities by which Sanskrit words become Prakrit. Most of these processes have been continued and their range widened, to such an extent in some of the dialects as to render them distinctive characteristics of those dialects. Other processes scarcely or rarely observable in the Prakrits have come into operation, such as the original accent on the penultimate syllable and the final accent derived from it, the avoiding of the hiatus caused by the elision of consonants in the Prakrits in different ways, the change of म् to ं and the dropping of one component of a double consonant and the lengthening of a previous vowel; and these have further transformed the Prakrit vocables and changed also those Sanskrit words that have been adopted in later times.

Some of the vocal tendencies and habits of the Prakrit speakers are exihibited by the speakers of the vernaculars. Thus, like the former, the ordinary Gujarati pronounces ऐ and औ as ए and ओ, the Deshastha Brahmans and other people of Eastern Mahārāṣṭra have a predilection for ण् to which they reduce न् in most cases,[1] the Sindhis make क्ख् of क्ष्, the Bengalis do the same and also pronounce श्च्, ह्य् and त्म as च्छ्, क्ख् and त्त, and the Hindi people reduce क्ष् to छ्. These again and the Konkan lower classes pronounce ण् as न् like the speakers of the Paiśācī, and the Bengali reduces all the sibilants to श like the speakers of the Māgadhī; while the speakers of the Hindi, Sindhi and the Panjabi exhibit the old Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī characteristic of reducing them to स्.

1 I feel it necessary for the present thus to modify the assertion made in p. 454.

The tendency to pronounce dentals as cerebrals is common to all, though it appears in a very strong form in the mouth of the Sindhis, and next to them in that of the Panjabis and the Hindi people.

The general or almost universal elision of certain uninitial consonants, which was a characteristic of the Prakrits, has disappeared except in isolated cases, and the assimilation of the components of a conjunct, which was also very general, has become restricted to the few cases I have mentioned, though the words changed in the Prakrits in accordance with these two processes have come down to us in large numbers. While, therefore, this fact shows that the speakers of the Prakrits were in a condition which rendered the two phenomena very general in their speech, and that we are now free from it, the fact that we exhibit some of the same vocal peculiarities which they possessed leads to the conclusion that we are their successors or lineal descendants. And the fact that the vocables in ordinary use in our modern dialects are the same as those in the old Prakrits, whether of a Deśya or Sanskrit origin, and in the latter case, whether derived by the transformation of Sanskrit words in accordance with processes which have ceased or which have continued to operate in the vernaculars, affords strong evidence in favour of the hypothesis that these dialects are but a more developed form of the Prakrits. But to place this hypothesis beyond the reach of cavil we must examine the grammar of our vernaculars; and this I propose doing in the next two lectures.

LECTURE V

REMNANTS OF THE OLDER GRAMMATICAL FORMS IN THE NORTHERN VERNACULARS

I have already directed your attention to the accent on the penultimate syllable of words in the vernaculars of Northern India and the effect it has had in mutilating and transforming the Sanskrit and Prakrit words existing in their vocabularies. Through its influence, you will remember, the final vowel or the vowel of the last syllable is shortened in some cases, and often entirely dropped and the word ends in a consonant or silent अ. When the consonant of the last syllable is dropped in consequence of the Prakrit law of the elision of uninitial consonants, the final vowel and the vowel of the penultimate syllable are brought together and when they are in this condition, it is possible for them to unite into one sound and thus the final vowel is dropped in some cases and combined with the preceding in others. The Sindhi, however, oftentimes resists the influence of this accent as I have already mentioned.

CASE TERMINATIONS IN THE VERNACULARS.

Now on account of these processes, the nominative singular termination ओ of masculine Prakrit nouns ending in अ is sometimes shortened to उ and in this form we have it in the Sindhi and in old Marathi and Hindi literature. In the other dialects including the modern Marathi and Hindi, it is dropped except in instances such as वाटसरु M. and आयसु 'command' H. The Prakrit plural terminations आ and ए of this case are also dropped everywhere for the same reason and we have such forms as हाथ S., हाथ H., हात M. G. &c. for the nom. pl. and these are the sing. forms also except in the case of the Sindhi, which has हथु.

In the Prakrit the plurals of the nominative and accusative cases of all nouns are alike and so are they alike in the vernaculars. The analogy came to be extended to the singulars also in the Apabhraṁśa and accordingly the singulars of the two cases are the same in the vernaculars. An independent accusative

case made up by affixing a termination to a noun is given in ordinary grammars; but it has the sense of the dative, or rather of the Sanskrit genitive, which expresses relation in general. Thus we say मी काम करितों M. 'I do a work,' हूं काम करूं छूं G., आंव कम्म थो कर्यो S., मै कम करदा P., मै काम करता हूं H., आमि or मइ काम करि or करिते छि B., मु कर्म करु आछि O., in which instances काम etc. are really accusatives and we do not use कामास, कामने, कमखे, कमनु, कामको, कामके and कर्मकु, which forms are generally referred to the accusative.

The masculine nom. and acc. sing. form in उ was in the Apabhraṁśa extended by analogy to the neuter singular also; and, though the peculiar neuter plural termination was preserved, the fact shows that in the vernacular speech of the times there was a tendency to forget the distinction between the two genders. Accordingly we now find that in the Sindhi, the Panjabi, the Hindi, Bengali and Oriya the distinction is entirely lost. In Gujarati also nouns ending in अ have retained none of the two neuter terminations; but the Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa इं plural of that gender exists in the Marathi combined with the preceding अ into एं as फळ 'a fruit' sing., फळें 'fruits' pl.

This neuter pl. termination is applied in Hindi, Sindhi, and Panjabi to the pl. of fem. nouns ending in अ as in रातें 'nights' H., जाला 'women' S. and गल्लां 'words' P., though the इ is changed to आ in the last two cases.

The change of the final syllables अओ of Prakrit words resulting from such Sanskrit words as आम्रातकः-को, पारदः-दो, दीपकः-को etc. to आ by the dropping of the final and lengthening of the penultimate through the force of the general accent on the penultimate in some of the modern dialects such as the Marathi and the Hindi and to ओ, into which the two vowels are combined in consequence of the weakness of the accent in such languages as the Gujarati and the Sindhi and in some of the minor dialects of the Marathi, has already been noticed in the last lecture. Similarly the change of the Prakrit final syllables of neuter nouns अअं or अयं arising from such Sanskrit words as कदलकम्, मस्तकम् have been changed to एं in the Marathi and to उं in Gujarati and to आं in some of the dialects of the Marathi. This also has been explained. The pl. of such neuter nouns, most of which are formed by

the addition of क and may be called augmented nouns, is formed by the addition of the Apabhraṁśa इं, which being rendered emphatic by the nasal sound absorbs the previous अ or light य and thus we have केळीं for Ap. कअलअ + इं = Skr. कदलक + आनि.

Fem. nouns in इ or ई add आं as घोडी-घोडियां H., घोडिआं P. This यां or आं represents the combination of य or अ with इं; such nouns as घोडी being derived from घोटिका = घोडिआ. In. Panjabi after fem. nouns in आ the इं appears distinct, as बला a calamity, बलाईं nom. pl. In Sindhi the neuter termination is added to the original Prakrit fem. pl. उ, shortened from ओ, as घोड्यूं 'mares' nom. pl.; हत्या 'murder' हत्याऊं 'murders'; जाल a 'woman,' जालूं 'women' nom. pl. This last has जालां also like the P. रातां. In Marathi also it is not very unusual to speak of women in the neuter pl. when respect is intended as राणींसाहेब आलीं. This transference of neuter termination to the fem. must have taken place when genders began to be confused in the Apabhraṁśa period.

The nom. pl. termination of masc. nouns, which in the Prakrit was आ, is preserved by the class of nouns we have been considering i. e. augmented nouns, in Sindhi and Gujarati; while the ए of the Prakrit acc. pl. is used for those nouns in the Marathi and its dialects and the Hindi and the Panjabi. When the two cases were thoroughly confounded, one can easily see how this came to pass. Other or unaugmented nouns have dropped both the terminations in all the languages, as has been already noticed.

The Marathi has preserved the Apabhraṁśa instr. sing. एं which is used after nouns in अ and the plural हिं reduced to इं. In all the modern languages the इ of the Apabhraṁśa forms is dropped. These terminations are appended to the old instrumental termination न and we have नें and नीं which are now ordinarily used. These you will see are double forms and of such we have many in the various languages. Goan., Mal. and Cit. have न् for the sing. and the last has इं for the pl.

The loc. Apabhraṁśa हिं from the Pali म्हि and the Skr. स्मिन् is also used, as घरीं गेला; this is peculiar to nouns in अ, and in old Marathi it is reduced to आं after the augmented nouns in आ; as गळां, माथां etc. There are instances of the other locative in ए such as मध्ये and मते (माझ्या मते तुम्ही जावे 'you should go in my opinion,'

where मते is hardly an instrumental); but here evidently the termination ए is confounded with the एं of the instrumental and we have माझ्या मतें lit. "by my opinion."

The dative स is generally considered a remnant of the Skr. स्य and Pr. स्स. But I have not found it in the Jñāneśvarī and in its place we have ईं in the old poets, which is connected with a similar post-position in other languages which will be considered hereafter. None of the minor dialects of the languages have anything like it, but still the derivation may be correct.

Gujarati has the old instrumental in एं, but it is confounded with the corresponding ए of the fem. and with the locative ए and we have one termination for both, with the nasal dropped. The shortened Apabhraṁśa form in इ is found in old Gujarati. It is confounded with that in इं, the anusvāra being dropped.

(1) कान्हतणइ संपत्ति इसी जिसी इंद्रह घरि रिद्धि ..... राजभवनि नवनिधि.

'The wealth or affluence of Kanha was as great as that of Indra.'

From the chronicle of Kanhadade-prabandha given in the Gujarati School-paper.

(2) पछि हुं माहरी गामि आव्यो। पछिं बीजे दिनि.

Pancopākhyāna, the story of Hiranyaka.

In this latter, however, there occurs an anusvāra, which should be correct, the termination is a remnant हिं. The Gujarati has also the double instrumental णें in pronouns, as तेणें, जेणें, etc.

The Sindhi has got the ablative terminations आं, ओं, ऊं, अउ and आउ. The first is from the pronominal instrumental हां of the Apabhraṁśa and म्हा of the Prakrit; ओं and ऊं from हुं of the former and अउ and आउ from the corresponding Prakrit. The locative ए and its shortened form इ are also preserved, but they are used after nouns in अ as in the older dialects, as खुहि or खुहे पिओ 'he fell into a well.'

The Panjabi possesses the abl. in हुं with the ह dropped and the उं amalgamated with the preceding अ into आं as घरों 'from a house,' the locative pl. हिं as घरीं 'in the house', the instrumental pl. हिं as उसदे हथीं 'by the hands' and the locative sing. in ए as उसदे दरगाहे 'in his court.' The instr. in नें is also ordinarily used in the form of नैं.

The Hindi has scattered instances of the loc. in एं, but the instrumental ने is common. The Bengali has preserved the former. The instrumental also has ए, though the grammarians do not give it, as—

सरोवर मध्ये हंस देखि रूपवती ।
धरिवार मानसे चलिल शीघ्र गति ॥

'The beautiful one having seen the swan in the lake went in haste with a desire to catch it.'

शुनिया भैमीर मन अनङ्गे पीडिल ।

'Having heard (this) the heart of Bhaimī was oppressed by love.'

गगनथाले केमन दीपरूपे अनुक्षण
शोभि छे शशीतपन

'How do the moon and the sun in the form of lamps shine in the plate of the sky!'

The Oriya also possesses the loc. in ए and as in the B. and G. it is confounded with the instr. in एं, the nasal being lost, as हातें 'in or by the hand.' This dialect has the Pr. abl. in उ also as हातु 'from the hand.'

The nom. pl ओ or उ of fem. nouns in आ or ई is preserved in the Mal., Goan. and Cit. as जीभ, जिभो; साडी, साडचो; and घोडी, घोडचो; but the two latter are derived from the Skr. शाटिका and घोटिका, which are nouns ending in आ. The final आ, which alone remains after the elision of the consonant क्, is dropped in consequence of the penultimate accent and we have साडी and घोडी. The ओ or उ of the plural of the original Prakrit साडिआओ-उ is also dropped like the ओ or उ of घोडओ-उ in the ordinary Marathī घोडा; and, just as the previous vowel in this latter is lengthened in consequence the accent and the resulting form is घोडा, so the previous आ of साडिआ-ओ-उ and घोडिआ-ओ-उ, being accented, remains and we have साडचा and घोडचा for साडिआ and घोडिआ; but in the dialects of the Marathi, in which the ओ or उ of Masc. nouns in the sing. is preserved, we have घोडो and कांटो etc.; so also is the ओ-उ of the fem. preserved and we have साडचो, घोडचो etc.

As to unaugmented fem. nouns in इ or ई, the final is, of course, dropped by the penultimate accent, but in the plural it is preserved, being accented, and the termination of the plural ओ-उ which is unaccented is dropped, as वेल sing., वेली pl., Skr. वल्लि, 'creeper'; बहिण sing., बहिणी pl., Skr. भगिनी 'sister'; कूस sing. कुसी-शी pl. 'sides'; केळ sing., केळी pl., Skr. कदली etc.

As in the dialects of the Marathi, the pl. ओ is preserved in Gujarati; but there it is transferred to the pl. of all nouns whatever and the process is going on even in our times, being extended to the masc. nouns ending in ओ also, which formed their nom. and acc. pl. formerly by adding आ, as घोडो sing., घोडा pl., but now often घोडाओ. The sindhi also has preserved the fem. ऊ, as I have already observed, but the nasal of the neuter is combined with it to form the nom. and acc. pl.

PRONOUNS IN THE VERNACULARS

The nom. sing. of the relative pronoun is जो in M. H. P. S. and जे in G. O. and B. O. have जेउं also. The ए of the latter is another form of the nom. ओ to be traced perhaps to the old Māgadhī nom. sing. as in एसे पुलिसे for Skr. एषः पुरुषः. The correlative is तो in M. and H. and ते in G. and सो in P. S. and से in B. and O. The Hindi has सो also. The सो is the old Pr. nom. sing., but the oblique base in P. S. B. and O. is the old त.

The base of the interrogative pronoun is क as in the older languages. The nom. sing. is कौन H., कौण P. and कोण G. M. and के O. and B.—also केउं O. The कोण and its varieties are to be traced to the Pr. कउण which stands for the Skr. कः पुनः.

The near demonstrative is इह or एह in H. P. nom. sing. which is also pronounced in other ways; and the nom. pl. is ये. The first is to be referred to the Ap. एहो, Pr. एसो, Skr. एषः; and the latter to आये Ap. The अय of the Skr. अयम् is generalised in this language and is to be found in all cases of the pronoun. Hence आये is the nom. pl. The G. has ए, M. हा m., ही fem., हें n.,—dial. हो-ही-हां for the nom. sing., and the regular हे m., हा. fem., हीं n. for the pl.; O. has ए, एहि, इहि nom. sing., and B. ए all of which are from the Ap. एहो-एह or एहु. The general oblique base is य or ह in M., ए G., इ or हि S., and इ in the rest, the origin of which is the

same, M. य, however, being referred to the Ap. आय which is the generalised form of इदम्.)

The distant demonstrative has उ for its base. The nom. sing. in H. is उ, ओ, वह, pl. वे; in P. उह, S. हू and हो and B. ओ for both. The S. has ऊ also for the sing. G. has आ for the sing. and its usual आओ for the pl. All these are to be derived from the Ap. ओ nom. and ओइ acc. pl., traced to असु of the Skr. pronoun अदस्. The M. and O. have lost this pronoun.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN THE VERNACULARS

The nom. sing. of the first personal pronoun in M. is मी and Cit. मे both of which are to be traced to the Ap. acc. instr. and loc. मइं, Pr. मइ, Skr. मया and मयि. The Goan. has हांव, the G. हुं, old H. dialects हौं, हुं, the Dogar dialect of the P. हउं, which are all from the Ap. हउं to be traced to the Skr. अहकम्,[1] the उ of which is, you will remember, that of the nom. sing. which in that dialect was freely used as the G. ओ is at present. The Sindhi आंउं and आं are further corruptions of these. H. P. have also मैं like the Cit. मे the origin of both being the same. The B. and O. have मुइ and मु which may be traced to the Ap. abl. and gen. sing. महु, but I should prefer considering the इ of the Ap. and M. forms to be changed to उ in consequence of the usual fondness of the B. and O. for the उ sound as noticed in the last lecture.

The pl. of this pronoun in M. is आह्मी, dial. आमी, B. आमि, which is the same as the Ap. अह्मइ traced by me to the Skr. अस्मके. The G. अमे and the O. अम्भे are from the usual Ap. and Pr. from अह्मे from अस्मे generalised from the usual Skr. base अस्म by false analogy. In अम्भे, ह्म is changed to म्भ as it often is. The H. हम is this अह्म but the aspiration is transferred to the initial अ, and the म, to which it is attached in the older and the other dialect, is left free. The termination ए is also dropped. The S. and P. have असीं. Skr. स्म is sometimes changed in the Pr. to स्स as in the Māgadhī and Mah.

1 Mr. Beames traces them to हसु Ap., अहमस् Skr., but such forms do not exist. Prof. Lassen to whom he refers, only conjectures अहमं to account for अहअं, but अहअं is clearly derived from अहकम् which exists even in Skr. The reading हसु in the passage from Kramādīśvara given by Lassen is questionable. Hemacandra has हउं distinctly and the form occurs in many verses.

from locative; but in the written Prakrits that have been handed down to us, the अस्म of अस्मद् is not found corrupted to स्स. It may, however, have been so in some part of the country.

The second person sing. is तूं in all the languages except B. which has तुइ. The H. has तैं also. Of these तूं is the same as the Ap. तुहुं, the ह of this dialect being, as you know, dropped throughout ; and तुह and तैं are transferred from the instrumental. The pl. is तुम्हीं in M. from the Ap. तुम्हइ similar to अम्हइ, and the B. तुमि is softened from this. The G. has तमे, softened from तुम्हे, the उ being changed to अ by a peculiarity of the Gujarati, which has been fully noticed in the last lecture. In the O. तुह्म the final ए is dropped and a softened form of this is the Hindi तुम. The P. has तुसीं to be derived from तुष्म or युष्म in the same way as असीं from अस्म. The S. has तव्हीं, तवीं, तहीं, तईं, अव्हीं, अवी, अहीं, आंई and अंई. In तव्हीं we have the अ to which उ is reduced as in G, and the म् of ह्मी analysed into its labial and nasal elements. The other three are softened forms of this same, and in the rest the initial त is dropped as we have seen it dropped in the Pr. in the bases उह्म for तुह्म, उज्झ for तुज्झ, उब्भ for तुब्भ and उय्ह for तुह्य, both of which exist in that dialect.

THE VERB IN THE VERNACULARS

The Skr. conjugational distinction is, you will remember, lost in the Prakrits; but the increments that roots undergo in the several classes, are preserved and made parts of the roots themselves. Now these roots so augmented have descended to the vernaculars. Thus we have बिह old M. G. ' to fear ' from the Skr. बिभी of the 3rd class; बुझ M. G. ' to understand ', सिज M. ' to be cooked, ' विज्झ S. ' to throw, ' नाच M. G. H., etc. ' to dance, ' उपज M. G. ' to be born, ' निपज M. G. ' to issue forth, ' जुझ M. ' to fight,' माज M. G. ' to be maddened ' and खिज old M. G. ' to be sad ' from the Skr. बुध्य, स्विद्य, विध्य, नृत्य, उत्पद्य, निष्पद्य, युध्य, माद्य and खिद्य, all belonging to the 4th class; सुन or सुण H. S. B. P. O. from Skr. शृण of the 5th; जाण M. G. H. P. etc. ' to know, ' क्रिण B. O. ' to buy ' and गिण्ह S. ' to take ' from the Skr. जाना, क्रीणा and गृह्णा of the 9th class. We have roots also in the forms which they have in the second and sixth classes, as न्हा and जा from स्ना and या of the 2nd, and लिख, लिह, तुट, फुट, लिंप M., लिंब S., कांत (Skr. कृन्त), also काट ' to cut, ' सिंच from the 6th.

VERBAL TERMINATIONS THE PRESENT

Of the three Pr. tenses and moods the Marathi has preserved two, the Present and the Imperative. The third, viz. the Future, is not lost, but the form became by phonetic corruption similar to those of the Present and you will remember, that the difference between the two tenses consisted in the intercalatory स्य, afterwards dissolved into सि, and thence softened to हि, which, having dropped its ह in the vernaculars, melted away and another sign had to be added to the Present forms to indicate the Future. The Present was used in old Marathi and is used even at present in poetry, but in ordinary speech it has acquired a past habitual sense. It has a potential signification in some cases as मी येईं तेथपर्यंत तेथें थांब. In the Gujarati it has acquired a potential sense in addition to the old and, to indicate present time distinctly, the forms of the present tense of the substantive verb are used in conjunction with it, as हुं करुं छुं. The Brajbhāṣā agrees with the G. in this respect and adds its हौं as मैं करौं हौं. In the H. P. and S. it signifies potentiality only; and in the last थो masc., थी fem. are added to the forms to denote present time. थो is the past part. of the root थिअणु from Skr. स्थित, Pr. थिअ, which means 'become' in Sindhi. The old Hindi or Braj poets use this tense in the present also. In all these languages, however, the old Present tense of the auxiliary अस् or आस् indicates present time alone. B. O. preserve this tense in the old sense throughout.

M. has two forms of this old Present:—

	Sing.	Plural	Sing.	Plural
1st	करीं	करूं	हसें	हसूं
2nd	करीस	करा	हससि	हसा
3rd	करी	करीत	हसे	हसत

In poetry we have ति and सि for त and स as—

आम्हांचिया काजाचेनि पांडे । देखती आपुलें जीवित्व थोकडें ॥

Jñāneśvarī, I. 112.

ऐसी सामग्री माझ्या आंगीं जाणसी हुं ।

Jñāneśvarī, III. 162.

The termination ईं of the first person sing. is derived from the Pr. मि, म् being simply converted into an anusvāra, *i. e.*, मि when

pronounced without closing the lips, becomes इं. In the same way the Pr. सु of the pl. becomes उं. The 2nd per. sing. सि remains unaltered, but in ordinary usage the final इ is dropped in consequence of the usual accent on the penultimate. The ह of Pr. pl. loses its aspiration, as we have found it to have done in the cases, and thus we have कर+अ=करा. The 3rd per. sing. termination is the same as in pr., viz. इ. The pl. has lost its nasal and in current Marathi the इ also, on account of the penultimate accent.

In the other set the 3rd per. sing. termination is ए, the same as in Pr., and to be traced to the Skr. ते of the Ātm. In the Prakrit there is no Ātmanepada termination for the 1st per. sing., but still we have एं here. This vowel is inserted before all the consonantal terminations of the present tense of the verb आहे. We have also ईं in करीस and करीत, though it has no place in the Pr. This is probably due to the transference of the final इ in करसी and करती to the penultimate syllable.

The first of the two, i. e., the Parasm. set of forms, is used for transitive verbs and the second or Ātmanepada for those that are intransitive and some that are transitive but denote a sort of reflexive action as पढ 'to read', शिक to 'learn', बोल 'to speak', सांग 'to tell', etc.

The Cit. has both the padas and the ए of the Ātm. is confined to the 3rd pers. sing. in the root अस as तो से but मैं सां or सइं. In the Mal. we have आ, and the Goan. अ long for ए as आसा, धावा and अस, the final अ being long. In these dialects the 2nd pers. pl. termination is त, which is transferred from the corresponding 3rd or is a remnant of the Pr. इत्था and the vowels of the first pers. form vṛddhi dipthongs with the preceding base in both the padas; as मी करैं 'I do', or 'I used to do', आम्ही करौं 'we do',[1] or 'used to do'. The Goan. and Cit., however, have the first pers. sing. Ātm. in आं also. The Ātm. is not used for roots ending in other vowels

1 These vṛddhi forms appear to be due to the penultimate अ being pronounced long through the accent according to the usual rule and by the combination of इं or उं with it; so that the combined sound is अइं and अउं. When the lengthened अ becomes आ it overpowers the final इ and this latter is dropped and we have मे करां Cit. or हांव करां Goan., 'I do or used to do', just as in घोडउ a horse' the penultimate is lengthened into आ and the final उ is dropped and we have घोडा.

than अ, though tney may be intransitive, as न्हा, जा, हो, दे, etc., and in this particular the Marathi remarkably agrees with the old Pr.

O. and B. have the following forms for the Present Tense :—

O.		B.	
मु करइं	अम्भे करु	मुइ करि	आमि करि
तु करु	तुम्भे कर	तुइ करिस	तुमि कर
से करइ	से करन्ति	से करे	तिनि करेन

These also are from the Pr. forms. O. has lost nasal of the 1st. pers. pl. and B. of the sing. also, i. e., it has one same form for both. O. has lost the स of the 2nd pers. sing. and has उ in its place. The pl. कर of both is pronounced करो; ओ being broad like that to which अ even of Skr. words is reduced in ordinary uttarance by the speakers of these languages. This form करो is the same as the M. करा frnm the Pr. करह. O. has preserved the 3rd pers. pl. न्ति intact ; B. has lost the त and इ.

The other languages have :—

G.		H.	
हुं करुं	अमे करिये	मै करुं	हम करें
तुं करे	तमे करो	तुं करे	तुम करो
ते करे	तेओ करे	उह करे	वै करें

S. Tr.

आंऊं मारिआं-र्यों	असीं मारिऊं-र्यूं
तूं मारिएं-रें-रीं	अहीं मारिओ-र्यौं
हू मारे	हू मारीनि-रिनि

S. Intr.		P.	
हलां	हलूं	मै करां	असीं करये
हलें	हलो	तूं करें	तुसी करो
हले	हलनि	उह करे	उह करण

The Hindi 2nd and 3rd person sing. and pl. are derived directly from those in Ap. The ह of करहि-हु-इ-हिं being dropped as usual; the forms are करइ-उ-इ-ईं and, when the vowels are combined, we have करे-रो-रे-रें.

The G. P. and S. forms are exactly slmilar, the only difference consisting in the nasal of the 3rd. pers. pl., which has been elided in the first, as is done in the instrumental singular. The P. and

S. ण and नि must be referred to न्ति of the Pr. since the Ap. possessed the Pr. forms as well as the new ones. In old G. MSS, it is usual to write the इ and उ of these forms separately. The G. and H. first pers. sing. करुं is from the Ap. करउं, while the आं of the P. करां and the S. हलां is to be traced rather to the मि of the Pr., than to this उं as that of the सां in the Cit. and Goan. by the elision of इ and the lengthening of the preceding vowel. There are instances of this change given in the Pr. as we have seen. The S. उ of the 1st pers. pl. is the same as that in M. and O. and is to be derived from the Ap. हुं and the Pr. मु. The एं of the Hindi 1st per. pl. is brought over from the 3rd person and this transference was facilitated by the nasal of the original termination; or, since in the Ap. both मि and उं exist, when in a later stage of the language the letter was appropriated and fixed for the sing., the former was adopted for the pl. and changed to इं which became एं by amalgamation. The G. and P. further dropped the nasal of this ए and interposed a vowel which is probably of the same nature as that in the S. मार्ये. The S. like the M. inserts इ before the terminations in the case of transitive verbs, as in the forms of मार given above, and does not when the verbs are intransitive or reflexive as शिक and पढ.

The forms of the Ap. Present occur in the older Hindi poets. Thus in Tulsidas's Rāmāyaṇa we have :—

3rd per. sing.

शंभु गिरा पुनि मृषा न होई । शिव सर्बज्ञ जान सब कोई ।

Bāla-Kāṇḍa.

' But Śambhu's word is not false.
Everybody knows Śiva to be omniscient. '

निशिचर एक सिंधु मह रहई । करि माया नभकै खग गहई ॥

Sundara-kāṇḍa.

' An evil spirit dwells in the sea and having recourse to deceit catches hold of the birds in the sky. '

3rd per. pl.

संत हंस गुण गहहिं पै परिहरिं वारि विकार ।

Bāla-kāṇḍa.

' Good men like swans admit merit like milk leaving off the watery pollution, '

नारद सिख जु सुनहिं नरनारी । अवश भवन ताजि होंहिं भिखारी ॥
Bāla-K.

Those men and women that listen to the advice of Nārada become beggars having abandoned their homes.'

2nd per. pl. :

करहु कवन कारण तप भारी ।
Bāla-K.

'For what reason do you go through excessive austerities ?'

विपिन अकेली फिरहु केहि हेतू ।
Bāla-K.

'Why do you wander alone in the forest ?'

1st pers. sing. :

नारद वचन न मैं परिहरऊं । बसौ भवन उजरो नहिं डरऊं ॥
Bāla-K.

I shall not neglect the advice of Nārada and shall not be afraid even if thereby the world stands or falls (becomes desolated).'

1st pers. pl. :

तात सुनहु सादर मन लाई । कहहुं रामकी कथा सुहाई ॥
Bāla-K.

'Dear one, do hear with an attentive mind ; [we] narrate the pleasing story of Rāma.'

Another reading is कहौं which is sing. and the sense is 'I narrate.'

The old 2nd pers. sing. in सि is met with thus:—

भरत सपथ तोहि सत्य कहु परि हरि कपट दुराइ ।
हरष समय बिसमय करसि कारण मोहि सुनाइ ॥
Ayo.-K.

I charge thee in the name of Bharata ; tell me the truth laying aside all insincerity. On the occasion of joy thou art gloomy; explain to me the reason.'

There are also specimens of the Ātm. :

देखे जहं तहं रघुपति ।
Bāla-K.

Sees Raghupati here and there.

जो अब करौं सती सन प्रीती । मिटै भक्ति पथ होइ अनीती ॥

Bāla-K.

' If now you are amorous towards the Satī (Pārvatī), the way of devotion will end and immorality (will) result. '

चले बसह चढ़ि ।

Bāla-K.

' He goes having sat on the bull.

And it appears that the ए of the Present is used after verbs of the same kind as in Marathi. The vowel इ of the 3rd pers. sing. does not become ए as in the modern Hindi and other languages, where the distinction between the two padas is lost, but retains its original forms as in धरि पुछी (गइ समीप महेश तब हंसि पूछी कुशलात 'when she went near, Maheśa smiling asked her how she fared').

THE IMPERATIVE

The Marathi, Oriya, and the Bangali have preserved the Imperative mood entire; the others, only the second person sing., the rest being taken over from the old present or the modern Potential.

	M.		O.		B.	
1st	करूं	करूं-रीं	करि	करूं	करि	करि
2nd	कर-रीं	करा	कर	कर	कर-करीस	कर करह करीओ
3rd	करो	करोत	करु	करन्तु or करन्त	करुक्	करुन

In the 1st per. sing. the मु of the Pr. is changed to उं in M. i. e. म has lost its labial element as in the Present. O. and B. have got the form of the Present for it, the nasal being dropped. The मो of the pl. is similarly changed to ओं and is also shortened or resolved into ऊं. The B. has the same form as the sing. The 2nd pers. sing. in M. has the form without the termination as in the Pr., the other made up by adding ईं corresponds to that in the Ap. ending in that vowel. Intransitive and reflexive roots have एं instead of ईं, which form is also found in the Ap. as धावें, शिकें, सांगें.

The O. and B. do not possess these terminations but the latter has स which is to be traced to the Pr. सु. The pl. is the same as in the Pr. the इ having left its trace in the lengthening of the vowel.

The O. and B. कर is also really करा pronounced broadly करो and the latter retains ह unchanged also. The 3rd pers. sing. termination उ of the Pr. is amalgamated with the preceding vowel into ओ in M. and उ in O. and B. M. has also sometimes उ for ओ.

The क of the B. is a later addition and is probably to be traced to the Interrogative pronoun beginning with क. It is to be compared with such M. expressions as जाऊं दे किं. The O. preserves the 3rd per. pl. न्तु unchanged but in the optional form the final उ is dropped. M. and B. have transferred the characteristic उ to the preceding syllable and the former has dropped the nasal and the latter the त. In M. the उ is, as in the sing. changed to ओ, but in some cases it is preserved and we have such forms as जाऊत, देऊत etc. We find instances in which the उ preserves its place after त as in the O. Thus in Jñāneśvarī :-

हे वरी भलतें करितु । आतांचि एथें मारितु ।
परी आपण मनें घातु । न चिंतावा ॥ I—225.

'These on their part may do an unwelcome thing, just here and now kill us but we should not think of doing injury.'

H. P. and G. have कर for the sing. as in the above ; and करो pl. the same as that of the Present, which itself is from the Ap. करहु, the characteristic Imper. उ being attached to the ह of the Pr. ; and even in the Pr. and M. B. and O. the 2nd per. pl. is the same as in the Present. The P. has also the form in ई. The Sindhi Imperative 2nd per. sing. of intransitive and reflexive verbs ends in उ as हलु and of transitive verbs and a few others in इ as करि. The उ occurs in the Ap. along with the इ and ए as already noticed.

Though Modern Hindi has lost the Imperative forms for other persons than the second, old Hindi poets use them ; and for the second per. sing. also, they have the Ap. form in इ preserved in S. and M. Thus Tulsidas :—

2nd pers. sing. in इ — प्रभु हनुमंतहि कहा बुझाइ । धरी बटुरूप अवध पुर जाइ ॥

'The lord said to Hanumanta, "Assume the form of a boy and go to the city of Ayodhyā."'

The 2nd pers. pl. is the same as that of Present which prevails in all the languages from the Pr. downwards.

पारवती पहं जाइ तुम प्रेमपरीक्षा लेहु ।

"Having gone to Pārvatī examine her devotion."

The 3rd per. sing. ends in ओ or औ as in the M. and O.

मेरी भव बाधा हरौ राधा नागरि सोइ ।

—Behārīlāla.

"May that polished Rādhā remove my worldly distress."

करो अनुग्रह सोइ ।—Tuls. R.

"May he confer favours."

The 3rd pers. pl. has हु which is an Ap. form found in some of Hemacandra's quotations. The ह has been introduced simply to distinguish it from the sing.

चरणकमल बंदौं सबकेरे । पुरबहु सकल मनोरथ मेरे ॥—Tuls. R.

"I adore the lotus-like feet of all. May they fulfil all my desires."

The 1st per. sing. is the same as that of the Present and it is difficult to distinguish it; but in such a construction as the following the M. would have the imperative :

चली सती शिव आयसुपाई । करहिं विचार करौ का माई ॥

"The Satī having got Śiva's permission went, and was thinking what deception to use."

The pl. also must be the same. Old G. has also the Imper. forms in इ and उ as :—

पूछइ बात पातशाह इसी । गूजरातिते कहीइ किसी ॥

"The emperor asked this matter "how is Gujarat ? "

गूजरा स्यूं मांडिसिं कलहु । माहारइ साथइ कटक मोकलु ॥

"If you will declare war against Gujarat, send an army with me."

The G. and S. have another form for the 2nd per. of the Imper.; the terminations of this are इजि S., जे G. for the sing. and इजो and जो for the pl. The H. has जे and जो for roots ending in ई and ऊ and इये and इयो for the rest. The P. and B. have इओ for the pl. and in the former the singular is confounded with the usual इ termination. In M. such form is not now ordinarily used. In addresses on letters, however, such expressions as प्रविष्ट कीजे, दीजे are used and these forms are found in the works of the old Marathi poets. Thus in Jñāneśvarī :—

परि यासी घात कीजे । मग आपण राज्यसुख भोगिजे ।
हें स्वप्नींहि मन माझें । करूं न शके ॥ I-213.

'This my mind cannot think of doing even in a dream that I should kill them and enjoy afterwards the pleasures of sovereignty.'

तरिं अवधान येकलें दीजे । मग सर्व सुखासीं पात्र होईजे ॥ IX—1.

'Give your attention alone and qualify yourself for all happiness.'

मुनि सांगे नृपनाथ । जनमेजया ॥
जें आद्वितीय उत्तम । पवित्रैक निरुपम ।
परम मंगळधाम । अवधारिजो ॥ I-48,49.

"The Muni narrates this story to Janamejaya the king, saying (you should) attend to this which is unique, excellent, the holy thing, the unsurpassed and the highest abode of all auspicious things."

आतां देइजो अवधान । तुम्ही बोलाविला मी बोलेन ॥ I-8.

'Give attention now; I will speak what you make me speak.'

These forms have been traced by Dr. Trump in his Sindhi Grammar to the Pr. base in इज्ज used in the Present, Imperative and Future, and derived by Lassen from the present, and by me from the Potential; and so far as the form in the S. and G. is concerned there is used no objection. But these forms are used in the vernaculars when respect for the person spoken to is intended and the Potential as distinguished from the Imperative is by no means more respectful in Skr. The H. forms are not assigned each to each number, but both of them are used in the sing. or pl. and its य can by no means be derived from ज; for, though the contrary process, namely, the changing of य to ज, is common, there is, so far as I am aware, no single well-established instance of the other.

In Skr. nothing is more usual than to use the Passive of the 3rd pers. sing. Imperative in respectful solicitation. The second pers. of the active Imper. is the least respectful, since there is a direct reference in that voice to the agent, and such a reference to great men is regarded as improper, or in the case of others, not courteous. The 3rd pers. with भवान् as the nom. is more so, because the reference is indirect; but the most respectful construc-

ते occur in the four Śaurasenic dialects and these we find in the plays. The Pres. and Imper. of the M. have been derived from the Pr. and not from the Apbhr. forms. Thus then, the M. is the modern representative of the old Mahārāṣṭrī; so that it hardly admits of any doubt that the two old languages derived their names from the provinces in which they prevailed. The B. and O. have a few peculiarities of the Śaur.; and they seem to occupy a middle position between M. on the one hand and the four Apbhr. or Śaur. languages on the other; while the consonantal changes, especially the reduction of all the sibilants to the palatal श, point to their being the descendants of the old Māgadhī.

LECTURE VI

NEW GRAMMATICAL FORMATIONS IN THE NORTHERN VERNACULARS

We will now proceed to consider those forms in the grammar of our languages which are not derived from corresponding Sanskrit or Prakrit forms, but which have been constructed in recent times. Such new forms owe their origin to various causes. The old ones lose their distinctive portions and become confused by phonetic decay; or, having been in long use, lose all freshness of meaning, and cease to be as expressive as one would wish them to be, or their sense is not exactly that which one desires to convey. Thus the old Present and Future got confused in our vernaculars and a new Future was wanted. The old Present itself acquired a potential sense in some cases and a past habitual sense in others, whence for the expression of present time another set of forms was required.

In Sanskrit itself such a phrase as द्विजाय यवागूः 'gruel for a Brahman' is not so expressive as द्विजार्था यवागूः 'gruel for a Brahman's purpose'; which again is analysed into its separate elements for greater distinctness into द्विजस्यार्थे यवागूः 'gruel for the purpose of a Brahman'.

When different words so brought together are kept distinct and consciously used, there is no growth of new forms. But if by frequent use and the oblivion of etymology such an expression as स्यार्थे comes to be looked upon as an independent word meaning "for the sake of" and applied promiscuously to all nouns, including such as could not originally by the usage of Sanskrit have it, as in भ्रातृस्यार्थे, it becomes a termination, and a new case form grows up and the old one often goes out of use. Then again phonetic decay sets in and by reducing this expression to स्सहे and ultimately to साठे (M. साठीं the original word being सदृठम्मि), irrevocably stamps it with the character of a case termination having no meaning by itself. Lastly, if one wishes to say of a book that it belongs to *him* and looks upon it as possessing that attribute and subordinates *him* to it, the expression तस्य पुस्तकम्

will not serve his purpose, but he must have some such as तदीयं पुस्तकम्. And if this way of looking at things becomes general, तदीय supersedes तस्य. In this way our new forms have grown up.

THE OBLIQUE FORMS

The case terminations are, in the majority of the languages, applied not to the original noun itself but to a certain modified form of it called the oblique form, or by the native Marathi grammarians the Sāmānya-rūpa or the common form, because it is used in all the cases.

THE OBLIQUE FORM IN THE MARATHI

There are two Sāmānya-rūpas for the two numbers. In the old languages plurality is expressed by independent terminations, but the new terminations of the modern languages being the same for both numbers, plurality is denoted by a distinctive oblique form. Some of the modern languages that have no Sāmānya-rūpa have recourse to a novel way of expressing plurality. Of all the vernaculars it is the Marathi that is the most particular in the formation of the oblique and has minute rules. Sindhi comes next, then the Hindi and the Panjabi; after these the Gujarati, and lastly the Bengali and the Oriya; which may be said to have no oblique form at all.

The Marathi oblique forms are made up by adding these terminations:—

(1) Sing.	आ	Pl. आं
(2) „	ई	„ ईं
(3) „	ई	„ आं
(4) „	ऊ	„ ऊं
(5) „	ए	„ आं

(1) The following classes of nouns take the first—

(a) Masc. and Neut. nouns in अ as हात 'hand'. हाता obl., हातास sing. 'to a hand', हातांस pl. 'to hands'.

(b) Masc. nouns in आ and neuter nouns in एं which combine the final and the termination into या, but to ए in the speech of the Konkaṇī Karhāḍās and in the Citpāvanī and optionally to या or ए in adjectives: as आंबा 'a mango', आंब्या

obl., आंब्यास sing. 'to a mango'; केळें 'a plantain', केळ्या obl., केळ्यास sing. 'to a plantain'; आंबेस 'to a mango' in the Konkaṇī Karhāḍās, पिवळा 'yellow', पिवळ्या or पिवळे obl., पिवळ्या आंब्यास or पिवळे आंब्यास sing. 'to a yellow mango', respectively.

(c) A good many Masc. nouns in ई, the ई of which is changed to या before आ as न्हावी nom., न्हाव्या obl., न्हाव्यास sing. न्हाव्यांस pl.

All neuter nouns in ई as मोतीं-मोत्या-मोत्यास-मोत्यांस.

(d) Some Masc. and nearly all neuter nouns in ऊ. Some of these change ऊ to वा, and others drop it, since it is the ऊ of the nom. sing. Apbhr., as भाऊ 'a brother'—भावा obl., भावास sing. 'to a brother', भावांस pl. 'to brothers'; वाटसरू 'traveller', वाटसरा obl., वाटसरास sing., वाटसरांस pl.; गळूं-गळवा-गळवास sing., गळवांस pl. लेकरूं-लेकरा-लेकरास sing., लेकरांस pl. Some nouns of this class take आ optionally as विंचू-विंच्वा-विंच्वास sing., विंच्वांस pl.

(2) The following nouns take the second form ई, ईं :—

(a) Tatsamas in short इ as कवि—कवी—कवीस.

(b) A few masc. nouns in ई as हत्ती 'elephant', हत्ती-हत्तीस sing., हत्तींस pl.

(c) A good many femininine nouns in अ as रीत manner, रिती—रितीस sing., रितींस pl.; केळ 'a plantain tree', केळी—केळीस sing., केळींस pl.

(d) Some feminine nouns in ई as भुई 'ground', भुई—भुईस sing., भुईंस pl.

(3) A good many feminine nouns take the third form ईं—आं as घोडी 'a mare', घोंडी sing., घोड्यां pl., घोडीस sing., घोड्यांस pl.; साडी 'a garment worn by females', साडी sing., साड्या pl., साडीस sing., साड्यांस pl. In the Goan. and Māl., however, this form does not exist and these nouns take the fifth form ए—आ, as घोड्ये—घोड्येक sing, घोड्यांक pl.; साडी—साड्येक sing., साड्यांक pl.

(4) Some masc. and feminine nouns in ऊ take the fourth form ऊ-ऊं, as खाऊ—खाऊस sing., खाऊंस pl.; बाजू f. 'a side', बाजू—बाजूस sing., बाजूंस pl.

(5) The following classes take the fifth form :—A good many fem. nouns in अ as जीभ 'a tongue', जिभे sing., जिभां pl., जिभेस sing., जिभांस pl.; a good many fem. nouns in ई in the Goan. and Mal. dialects; see instances given above; some fem. nouns in ऊ, as जळू 'a leech', जळवे sing., जळवां pl., जळवेस sing., जळवांस pl.; जाऊ 'husband's brother's wife', जावे—जावां etc. Some nouns take this form optionally as सासूस or सास्वेस; सासूंस or सास्वांस. The usage in several cases is still unsettled as regards some of these forms. You will observe that there is an anusvāra in the pl. of all forms. Another fact should also be borne in mind that nouns in ई and ऊ often take the आ—आं or ए—आं forms though these properly belong to nouns in अ.

THE OBLIQUE FORM IN SINDHI

(1) The following classes of nouns take अ for the obl. sing. and आं, एं and अनि for the pl. :—

(a) Masc. nouns, the nom. sing. of which ends in ु, as देहु 'a country', देह-देहनि obl., देहजो sing. 'of a country', देहनिजो pl. 'of countries', also देहां—देहें—जो.

(b) Masc. nouns in ओ, which, however, combine the final and the termination into ए as in the Cit. Mar. as वाढो 'a carpenter', obl. वाढे sing., वाढनि, वाढां and वाढें pl.

(2) The following nouns take अ for the obl. sing. and नि, अनि and उनि for the pl. in addition to आं and एं :—

(a) Masc. nouns in ई as हारी 'a peasant', हारिअ or हारिआं sing., हार्यें, हारिएं, हार्या, हारिनि, हार्यनि and हार्युनि pl.

(b) Fem. nouns in ई as घोडी 'a mare', obl. घोडिअ sing. घोडिआं, घोडिएं, घोडिनि, घोडचनि and घोडयुनि pl.

(c) Masc. nouns in ऊ; as माण्हू 'a man', obl. माण्हुअ sing., माण्हुनि, माण्हुअनि, माण्हुआं and माण्हुएं pl.

(3) Nouns in short इ have no separate form for the sing. of the obl., the nom. form being used; the pl. they form like the above class, as गाल्हि f. 'a story', obl. गाल्हि sing., गाल्हिआं, गाल्हिएं, गाल्हिआनि, गाल्हिउनि and गाल्हिनि pl. Masc. nouns in इ, however, do not take the forms in अनि and उनि; as केहरि 'a lion' sing., केहरिनि-आं-एं pl.

(4) Fem. nouns in अ, आ and उ have no separate form for the sing. while in the pl. they take उनि as सध 'wish', obl. सध sing., सधुनि pl.; हचा 'a murder', obl. हचा sing., हचाउनि pl.; विजु 'lightning', obl. विजु sing., विजुनि pl. The first has सधां and सधें also for the pl. Here there is one type for one class of nouns and not two, as is the case sometimes in the M. The form in उनि is taken by all feminine nouns in अ, आ and ई and also masc. nouns in ई. Masc. nouns in ऊ and fem. nouns in उ have उ in the original base itself and it does not belong to the termination.

THE OBLIQUE FORM IN PANJABI

The Panjabi has the termination ए for the sing. obl. of nouns ending in आ. The sing. of all other nouns has no special form while आ is appended to all nouns to form the obl. pl., before which the final आ of nouns preceded by a consonant is changed to इ, as घोडा 'a horse', घोडे obl. sing. and घोडिआं pl. Final उ preceded by a vowel combines with this आं to form वां, as पिउ or पेउ 'father', पेवां obl. pl.; and final अ forms आं as मनुख 'man', मनुखां obl. pl. There are no other changes.

THE OBLIQUE FORM IN HINDI

The Hindi, like the Panjabi, has an oblique sing. for nouns in आ only. It ends in ए, as that of the S. and Cit. M. nouns in ओ, Karh. M. and P. nouns in आ as; घोडे-घोडेका. The pl. obl. of all nouns whatever is formed by adding ओं which amalgamates with the preceding अ of all nouns and the आ of such as are masculine, and combines with इ to form इयों; as गांव 'a village', गांवोंका pl. 'of villages'; घोडा 'a horse', घोडोंका pl. 'of horses'; पति 'a master', पतियोंका pl. 'of masters.' In other cases it is simply added to the noun as भालू 'a jackal,' भालुओंका pl. 'of jackals'.

In the Brajbhāṣā and in the old poets the obl. pl. of all nouns has न or नि instead of ओं, as संत 'a good man' संतनका pl. 'of good men'. This termination is also added to the nom. sing. to form the nom. pl. of those nouns that have no distinctive form for it; as लोग 'people' sing. लोगन pl.; भगत 'devotee', भगतन pl. (चहु जुग भगतन बांधल बाटी—Kabīr).

THE OBLIQUE FORM IN GUJARATI

In G. the obl. form of masc. and neuter nouns ending in ओ and ुं is formed by substituting आ for those vowels. The latter

take an anusvāra in the pl., and the forms of the former for both numbers are alike as घोडो–घोडा–घोडाने sing. and pl. 'to a horse or horses'; केळुं 'a plantain', केळा–केळाने sing. 'to a plantain', केळांनें pl. 'to plantains'. But the nom. pl. forms of these are घोडा and केळां, whence it appears that in the pl. the obl. cases are formed simply adding the terminations to the nom. pl. and there is no such thing as a common oblique form. And this is the case with the sing. as well as the pl. of all other nouns; as माणस 'a man' nom. sing., माणसो nom. pl., माणसने sing., माणसोनें pl. The plural termination is ओ and is thus used in all cases. It is added in these days even to the final आ and आं of nouns in ओ and उं to distinguish the pl. forms from the sing. as घोडा or घोडाओ nom. pl., घोडाने or घोडाओने dat. pl. But the practice has not yet established itself and mostly the forms without ओ are used. Masc. and neut. nouns ending in ओ or उं are often used in the pl. without it in such instances as तिहा घणा माणस छे in the nom. and other cases. And this is the usual practice in old G. literature; as लोकना पुत्रना विवाह होईछी (Panch.): 'The marriages of the sons of other people are performed;' सर्व शास्त्रनो परिचय छे 'he has a knowledge of all the Śāstras'.

कलजुगना ब्राह्मण जेटला
धर्महीन थासे तेटला
तां घर करसे पोता तणां
स्वर्गारोहणनो कीधो ग्रंथ
जेहमा सकल धर्मनो पंथ

Svargārohaṇa by Sundarabhaṭṭa.

'All the Brahmans of Kaliyuga will be without virtue. They will build their homes there. The work Svargārohaṇa was composed in which there is the way of all virtues'.

अनेक पंखी करे पोकार। गिरिजंगल बहु डुंगरा बळी वांदरना ठाठ

Kāvyadohana, Tulasi.

'Many birds raise a noise. There are mountains, forests, many hills; over these is a crowd of monkeys.'

The ओ however is seen in fem. nouns ending in ई :—

समुद्र गामनी नदीयो जे हसे। तेमांथी जल सुकी जसे॥

Svargārohaṇa.

'The water of the sea and of the rivers on land (in villages) will be dried up.'

मोठा पर्वत नदियो जेह । तेह तणो नहि लाधे छेह ॥
Kāvyadohana, Tulasi.

'There is no end of great mountains and rivers that exist.'

It therefore appears that in masc. and neut. nouns the ओ is a modern innovation and that there was no distinction between the sing. and pl. cases except the nom. of nouns in ओ and उं. The true explanation therefore of the modern ओ of the pl. is that fem. nouns in आ and ई preserved this termination, since they had it in the Prakrits, as the minor M. dialects have done, and, the sing. and pl. forms of masc. nouns being alike, the fem. ओ was transferred to them afterwards to distinguish the pl. as is now being done to nouns in ओ and उं. Thus then the G. noun may be said to have no real Sāmānya-rūpa or oblique form. Adjectives in ओ however have a form ending in ए when they are used to qualify a substantive in the instr. or old loc. case in ए as आ काम सारे माणसे कीधुं 'this thing was done by a good man', तलावने काठे छोकरा गिया 'boys went to the margin of a tank'; but this may be explained as a remnant of the old agreement between the noun and its adjective and सारे may be regarded as an instr. form and तलावने a locative.

ABSENCE OF THE OBLIQUE FORM IN BENGALI AND ORIYA

The Bengali and Oriya apply the case terminations directly to the nom. and there is no oblique form. The new terminations being, as in all the modern languages, the same for both numbers and there being no oblique form to express the distinction between them as in M. S. H. etc., these languages, like the Guj., were under the necessity of deriving some expression for denoting plurality. The G. found its fem. ओ and employed it for this purpose, but the B. and O. had no such distinctively pl. termination left to fall back upon and so they have recourse to the use of a word signifying collection such as दिग originally 'direction, row, line', गण, समूह and सकल etc., after the noun, the plurality of which is to be expressed. Thus राजा 'a king', राजार 'of a king', राजादिगेर 'of kings' lit. 'of the direction row or line of a

king.' Sometimes the word दिग is attached to the gen. sing. as राजारदिगेर to express the gen. relation between the राजा and दिग, which is understood in the first expression. To nouns denoting inferior animals समूह and such words are appended and such others as सकल to those signifying inanimate creatures as कुक्कुरेर 'of a dog' कुक्कुरसमुहेर 'of dogs.' The Oriya sign of the plural is मान for rational and animate creatures and सकल, समस्त etc. for irrational or inanimate, as पशु 'a beast', पशुर sing. 'of a beast', पशुमानकर 'of beasts.' The B. adds रा to the nom. sing. of names of rational creatures to form the nom. pl., while समूह, सकल, etc. are applied to the rest, as राजा 'a king', राजारा 'kings'; कुक्कुर 'a dog', कुक्कुरसमूह 'dogs.' The O. adds ए to मान to form the nom. pl. as पशुमाने. This ए is the same as that of घोडे in M. and H.

THE NATURE OF THE OBLIQUE FORM

Now the question is what is the nature of this Sāmānya-rūpa or oblique form, why does a noun undergo a certain modification before it becomes fit to receive the termination and what is the signification of the modified form and of the nasal that appears in the plural. Let us see how we, at the present day, join certain words expressive of relation such as संनिध or पाशीं with a noun. We say त्याच्या संनिध or त्याच्या पाशीं i. e. put the noun into the gen. case. Now this त्याच्यापाशीं is convertible with त्याजपाशीं, in which त्याज is the oblique form of तो the demonstrative. Similarly we append even some of the case terminations to the gen. as माझ्यानें काम करवत नाहीं 'I cannot do the work'; त्याच्यांत कांहीं पाणी नाहीं 'there is no spirit (lit. water) in him.'

May the Sāmānyarūpa then be an original genitive? The gen. is used in the Prakrits and even in Pali, not only with independent words, but is made the base of some cases also, as we have seen, and the case terminations attached to it; thus ममं is acc. sing. of अहम् 'I' in the Pali and the Pr., ममाई instr., ममादो, ममाहि abl., ममम्मि loc. in the latter, in which instances the usual terminations of those cases are added to the original gen. form मम. We find everywhere in the history of our languages that after a time the terminations in some cases come to have an independent sense and then they are detached from the original base and used like

ordinary post-positions. Thus, before the loc. म्मि was appended to मम, it must have acquired some such sense as 'in the interior of' and that the whole expression ममम्मि might mean 'in the interior of me.' Similarly in the Apabhramśa, some of the post-positions which came into use and which, as I shall hereafter show, have grown into our case terminations are used with the gen. of the noun to which they are attached. Thus :— हउं झिज्जउं तउ केहिं पिअ तुहुं पुणु अन्नह रेसि 'I pine away for thee, oh beloved, but thou for another', in which we have the postposition केहिं and रेसि having the sense of 'for' used with the genitives तउं 'thy' and अन्नह 'of another.'

ANALYSIS OF THE MARATHI OBLIQUE FORM

And if we examine the oblique forms themselves, we shall find that that they are derived from the Apbhr. and Pr. genitives. Thus the form in आ sing. and आं pl. which nouns in अ, आ etc. take is derived from the Apbhr. ह sing. and हं or अं pl. derived from Pr. स and णं. The grammarians give the Apbhr. sing. termination as हो, but ह is also found, as in अन्नह in the above quotation, and in the following occuring in an old work :—

कान्ह तणइ संपत्ति इसी। जिसी इंद्रह घरि रिद्धि॥

'The wealth of Kanha was like the affluence in the house of Indra' where इंद्रह is gen. sing. The ह of हत्थह, for instance, is reduced to अ, the aspirate being lost, as is often the case in the vernaculars, and we have हत्था or हाता. Similarly अं of the pl. combines with the preceding अ into आं and we have हातां.

The second form ई and ईं is derived from tha gen. of nouns in इ or ई masc. or fem. Thus केलीह is the Pr. gen. sing. from which we have केळी the sing. obl., and केलिणं pl., the णं of which is reduced to अं as in the other case, and we have केलीअं ;-अ, as proved in the last lecture, generally goes out in the vernaculars, after a long vowel even when medial, and after a short dissimilar vowel when final, and hence we have केळीं the obl. pl. Or the sing. ई may be derived from another fem. gen. termination अ or the masc. अ for ह, which, before the preceding short इ, goes out since it is final, as कविह-कविअ-कवी.

The fourth form उ and ऊं is similarly derived from masc. and fem. nouns in उ or ऊ; as साहुस्स-साहुह-साहुअ-साहू obl. M., though we have not this word in this form in M. where it is श्वश्रू--सस्सू सस्सुअ gen. सासू obl. sing. M.; सस्सूणं-सस्सूअं-सासूं obl. pl. M.

The fifth form in ए sing. and आं pl. is from fem. nouns in आ; Pr. जिब्भाइ or जिब्भाए-जिभे M. obl. sing. and जिब्भाणं-जिब्भाअं-जिभां M. obl. pl.

The third form ई sing. and आं pl. is a mixture of the second and the fifth and the nouns that take it form their oblique on the type of the fifth in the Goan. and Māl.

Analysis of the Sindhi Oblique Forms

The Sindhi in its अ of the sing. of its first and second forms, shortens the आ of the M., i. e. the two अ form one strong अ; while in its third or fourth, it either dispenses with the special oblique or this is the same as the nom., as in the case of the M. हत्ति, सुई, सासू etc. The Sindhi plural oblique has one form आं, like the corresponding M. एं, which appears to be from the Apbhr. हें of the gen. pl. of nouns in short इ or उ given by Kramādiśvara and the rest presents the gen. न in an uncorrupted form. Of these उनि which all fem. nouns and one set of masc. nouns take appears to be a combination of the fem. nom. pl. उ and the gen. नि; i. e. to the nom. pl. of these nouns the obl. नि was added instead of to the original base.

The Hindi and the Punjabi Oblique Forms

The P. pl. आं is the same as the M. and the H. ओं is from the Apbhr. हुं of nouns in इ or उ. Or it may be explained as a combination of the fem. ओं with the nasal of the gen. as the Sindhi उनि is.

The Braj न also presents the gen. termination in an unchanged form.

This then is the way in which the oblique forms are derived, but as usual the law of false analogy and simplication has been in operation even here and thus while the M. represents them in a pristine condition, the Sindhi has reduced them to fewer types and the P. and H. and perhaps the G. to one and the B. and O. have dropped them altogether.

It now remains to show why nouns with various endings inflect the obl. in M. and S. according to the same type. I have already shown that the oblique terminations आ and आं properly belong to nouns in अ. Sindhi masc. nouns in उ are, as observed on a former occasion, really nouns in अ, उ being the nom. sing. termination, whence they take in the sing. आ shortened to अ. Nouns in आ Mar. and P. and in ओ S. also form their oblique according to this type. But the sing. base ends in या or ए in M. and ए in others. These nouns, as shown in the last but one lecture, were originally nouns augmented by the addition of क. Thus Skr. घोटक is Pr. घोडअ or घोडय, since अ is pronounced य, and with ह or अ the gen. termination becomes घोडय + अ = घोडया, which by hasty pronunciation becomes घोड्या ; but in the older M. poets we find घोडया also. Now in the state of घोडय it may become, as I have once stated, घोडे, as कयल for कदल becomes केल or केळ, and after a long vowel the following अ is elided, whence we have the form of the M. dialects and S. and P. and H. Similarly we have the plural घोड्यां.

Neuter nouns in एं are also nouns with a final क, as has been shown, hence their oblique is like that of the Masc. nouns in आं. कदलकम्-कयलअं-केळें and केलय + अ of the gen. = केळया-केळ्या. Similarly सोनें = सुवण्णअ = सुवर्णक etc.

Masc. nouns in ई also take this form. If they do so, they must be nouns in अ originally and as a matter of fact we do find some of them at least to be so. Thus न्हावी is न्हाविअ Pr., नापित Sk.; wherefore we have न्हाविअ + आ = न्हाव्या; ताम्बोलिक is Pr. तम्बोलिअ and with the gen. ह or अ the obl. ताम्बोळ्या ; वाणिज Pr. वाणिअ and with अ for ह वाण्या obl. etc. Similarly मौक्तिक is मोत्तिअ, where with gen. अ we have M. मोत्या; पाणी is पानीअ and thence पाण्या. S. हारी is Skr. हालिक, Pr. हालिअ which is the S. obl. form, since the effect of two अ coming together is in this language to prevent the usual elision and form one strong अ.

We thus see that most Mar. and S. masc. nouns in ई and M. neuter nouns ई are derived from Pr. nouns having a final अ representing Skr. क or any other syllable. In the same way Skr. लड्डुक is Pr. लड्डुअ thence लाडुअ and with the gen. अ for ह लाडवा the M. obl.; so also M. भाउ must be Pr. भाउअ, Skr. भ्रातृक; M. नातु, Pr. नत्तुअ,

Skr. नप्तृक, in order that with the gen. अ they may yield भावा or नातवा. Neuter गहूं is गहुअ, Skr. गहुक and hence by the combination of गहुअ + अ we have गडवा or गळवा. S. माण्हू must have been माणुह from मानुष and the aspiration being transferred to न we have माण्हुअ which is the obl. form. Thus then those M. and S. masc. nouns in उ and M. neuter nouns in ऊं which take this oblique form were Pr. nouns in अ representing a Skr. syllable ending in अ, mostly क. Now these vernacular nouns in इ or ई and उ or ऊ which in Skr. have not a syllable like त or क at the end must have the क attached to them in the Pr. and Apbhr., as we have seen it was, to nouns in अ which on that account have become nouns in ओ or आ in the modern languages.

Those fem. nouns in अ that have ई or ईं for their Sāmānyarūpa terminations must be Skr. and Pr. nouns in इ or ई as they are as a matter of fact; as केळ is Pr. केली or कयली, Skr. कदली; भित is Pr. and Skr. भित्ति; पारध, Skr. पापार्द्धि, Pr. पारधी; बहिण, Skr. भगिनी, Pr. बहिणी; बांव, Skr. वापी, Pr. बावी; and a good many modern Tadbhavas such as रीत, गत, विभूत from रीति, गति, विभूति etc.; others that end in ई and take these terminations were also originally nouns in इ or ई as भुई, Skr. भूमि and others. Some masc. nouns in ई which form their obl. in this way must also be derived from corresponding nouns in ई, as हत्ती is from the Skr. and Pr. Nom. sing. हत्ती. And modern Tatsamas in इ or ई of course can only take this form. Similarly those nouns that form their oblique by taking ऊ and ऊं must be originally nouns in उ or ऊ. Modern Tatsamas ending in these vowels also take these forms.

The fifth form has already been traced to the Pr. gen. of fem. nouns in आ, whence those nouns that take the form in M. must have been originally nouns ending in that vowel. Thus जीभ, Pr. जिब्भा, Skr. जिह्वा; भाक—Skr. भाषा (mod. Tad.); माळ—माला—माला; भीक—भिक्खा—भिक्षा; नीज or नींद—निद्दा—निद्रा; सांज—संज्झा—संध्या; सेज—सेज्जा—शय्या etc. All modern fem. Tatsamas in आ are inflected in this way. From the fact that fem. nouns in ई take आं for the pl. obl. it would appear that they were originally nouns in आ. घोडी we know must have been Skr. घोटिका since the masc. is घोटक. Its gen. pl. in Pr. therefore was घोडिआअं, whence we have घोडयां, but the sing. obl. घोडी which is the same as the nominative is not

formed, as it should be, according to our theory. But, as observed before, the Goan. and Māl. have faithfully preserved the old tradition here though the ordinary M. has lost it and in this instance applies the case terminations to the Nom. and not to special obl. form as the other languages do to a much greater extent. The Goan. and Māl. Sāmānyarūpa of घोडी is घोडचे from Pr. gen. घोडिआइ, the last two vowels combining into ए and the इ and ए into ये. Other instances are साडी, Skr. शाटिका, वाडी-वाटिका, नळी-नलिका, कळी-कलिका, माशी-माक्षिका, माती-मृत्तिका, मुदी-मुद्रिका, the sing. obl. of which in the Goan. and Māl. are साडचे, वाडचे, नळचे etc. Similarly those fem. nouns that take this type of the obl. must have been nouns in आ representing such a syllable as का. Thus M. वाळू is Pr. वालुआ, Skr. वालुका, and वालुआ with the इ or ए of the Gen. sing. is वाळवे and with आं of the pl. वाळवांस; also जळू-जलोआ or जलुआ-जलोका; ऊ a louse Skr. यूका, सासू-श्वश्रूका. The last and also वाळू have also the obl. form in ऊ and ऊं. Several other nouns also, masc. and fem. ending in ई and ऊ, have the ई and ऊ form of the obl. as well as the आ or ए and आं form. This arises from the practice of adding क or का optionally in the Pr. just as there are some nouns which, as we have seen, end both in अ and आ.

In this way the several types of the M. sāmānyarūpa arose from different sets of Pr. nouns, but it is not meant that all those nouns that in the present state of the languages take one or other of those types were derived from the corresponding Prakrit set. After the forms came into use, words—from foreign languages for instance—were introduced which cannot of course be traced to the Prakrit and those were assigned to some one form according to the gender in the first place and then to fancy or accident; there is no reason why दौलत should be दौलती for its oblique and not दौलते or फौज फौजे and not फौजी; the tradition with regard to some Pr. nouns also must have been forgotten and then they also have been in the condition of these foreign nouns and must have been treated likewise; and to a certain extent oblivion is the reason why we have two forms in the case of some nouns and no other.

This then is clearly the origin of the oblique forms; and all the facts, especially in the Marathi language, harmonize so completely with it that there can be no doubt whatever as to its truth. And no other case than the gen. would have served the

purpose of reconstruction. When a language is in an early stage of growth and case forms such as the loc. sing. are made up by joining two words such as देव 'a shining being' and इ 'this' or 'here', imagination is wanted to connect the 'here' or 'this' with the shining being, i. e. in the place of the shining being. But when a language has got the means of expressing the relation denoted by *of*, it is necessary that it should be used in connection with the new post-position; otherwise the sense would be incomplete. And thus in Skr., Pr. and the modern languages all such post-positions are appended to the gen. case. The gen. forms of nouns as they were in the Prakrits and the Apabhraṃśa have descended to the Marathi only somewhat phonetically altered, while the principal change that the nouns or crude forms have undergone is the loss of final अ or आ answering to such a Skr. syllable as त, क or का when preceded by a dissimilar vowel, i. e. इ or उ; while the other languages have, in most instances, taken this mutilated crude or nom. form as the base for all oblique cases, the M. confines it to its own place and uses the old gen. everywhere and without exception if we take the minor dialects also into consideration. The other languages have of course, as has been shown, preserved this gen. in some cases and of them all the S. in the largest number of instances. Some such as the H. and P. have generalized the pl. form of one set of nouns and use it for all. The M. cases are thus more difficult to the learner than those of the other languages, but that is a matter with which we are not concerned here.

NEW TERMINATIONS IN THE VERNACULARS

We will now proceed to the consideration of the new terminations. These have not necessarily sprung up from independent words. We have seen that the old terminations such as the न of the instr. have been detached and constituted into post-positions. But the most common method the vernaculars have resorted to is to attach the case forms of certain words to the gen. of the nouns. The acc. and dat. terminations in the various dialects are these: H. तईं, कों, Braj. कौं, B. के, तें, O. कु, S. खे, ते, P. नूं, ताईं, G. ने, M. स, ला, and तें used in poetry. Of these स has been discussed. The Māl. and Goan. have कां for pronouns and the former क for

nouns and the latter कनां. Khāndeśī has ले, P. has ताईं also for नू. Old Bengali has also a dative in रे.

वैदर्भीरे हंस कहे मनुष्यवचने

Mah. Nalop. I.

'The swan said to Vaidarbhī with human speech.'

THE ORIGIN OF क IN THE VERNACULAR TERMINATIONS

Here we see that a good many languages have the termination with an initial क. What is its origin? Dr. Caldwell traces it to the Dravidian कु. But in our whole investigation we have not yet met a Dravidian influence in the grammar of our languages. Dr. Trump derives the S. खे and B. के from कृते. The last may not unlikely have been derived from it, but the aspiration of the S. खे is not accounted for. Trump attributes it to the vowel ऋ; but we have seen that in the old Pr. this goes out, leaving nothing but अ, इ or उ, i. e. the consonantal portion of it, which is subordinated to the vowel portion, leaves no trace. There is no other instance in which ऋ is known to exert such an influence. The Hindi कौं he also derives from कृत and not कृते. But here the Anusvāra is not accounted for and regarded as inorganic. Besides, as Mr. Beames remarks, कृत is not a word likely to yield the sense of a dative. It is never used in Skr. or Pr. as equivalent to कृते.)

To be able to arrive at the probable or correct etymology of any of these terminations it is necessary to collect and compare any more ancient forms of it that may possibly be found. Now there are such forms in the case of the H. कों and the Braj कौं. The old H. poets often use कहं, कहुं and even काहुं; for instance in Tulsidās's Rāmāyaṇa we have :—

भानु कृशानु सर्व रस खाहीं। तिन कहं मंद कहत कोउ नाहीं॥

'The sun and fire swallow all liquids. Nobody calls them stupid.'

काम जारि रतिकहं वर दीन्हा। कृपासिंधु यह अतिभल कीन्हा॥

'He burned Kāma but gave a boon to Rati; this was an excellent act done by the ocean of mercy.'

कपिन्ह सहित विप्रन कहुं दान विविध विधि दीन्हा॥

'He gave various gifts to the monkeys and the Brahmans.'

आसन उचित दये सब काहू । कहौं कहा मुख एक उच्छाहू ॥

'Proper seats were given to all; my mouth is one, how shall I relate the festivities?'

कैकई कहुं पुनि मिले मनकर छोभ न जाइ ।

'Met Kaikayī again, but the agitatiton of the heart did not subside!'

Now we have seen that often in the modern languages the ह of older words is dropped; and thus from कहुं we have कउं and then को or कौं by the usual rule that we have noticed in going over the vowel changes. From कहं the Mālvanī and Goan. कां is derived. The कहं and कहुं are also traced to कुत by Dr. Trump. But Mr. Beames derives them from कक्ष 'arm-pit, side', which becomes काख and then काह, and the anusvāra he traces to the accusative and thus supposes कक्षं to be the original of कौं. कक्ष is preserved in the modern languages in the form of काख, but the further change of ख to ह in the suffix he accounts for by considering it to be a later Tadbhava. And corresponding to these two forms he says we have the two forms of स्थान in the ordinary word थान H. 'a place' and in the ह of कहां, जहां. I have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Beames is altogether wrong in deriving कहां, जहां etc., and further on तहँ or ताई from किंस्थान, यत्स्थान, तत्स्थान etc. Such new expressions in the face of the many good old words existing in Skr. and Pr. could not have come in ordinary vernacular use. The B. एथाय, ओथाय, कोथाय etc., which have led Mr. Beames to this etymology are manifestly new combinations of ए and थाय, ओ and थाय, को and थाय like the barbarous compounds एखानें, सेखानें of Skr. and foreign words derived by the Bengali in its poverty of the old Tadbhava element. Neither should we derive the M. एथ and later एथें from एतत्स्थान in the face of the Pr. एत्थ from Skr. अत्र or इत्र which we find everywhere in Pr. works. Now as regards काख, in addition to the objection which Mr. Beames has not succeeded in answering, it is to be observed that the word is found nowhere used in that sense in old H., G. or M. literature and, that it might be the original of the dat. case-affix in nearly all the languages, it is necessary that it should have been used extensively in Skr. or Pr. or in the old literature of the modern languages.

One chief and important source of the modern case affixes has been overlooked by all those who have written on varnacular philology. The words most fitted to express case relations are the pronouns and the old Aryan case endings have properly been traced by comparative philologists to pronominal roots. Even in the vernacular speech of the day we use pronominal expressions when a simply general sense is wanted; as मी गोविंदाचे एथें गेलों होतों 'I went to (lit.) the here of Govinda, i. e. to Govinda's place; मैनें आपके यहां सेवकको भेजा था 'I sent my servant to your here', i. e. your place; हुं मुरलीधरने तहां गयो हतो 'I went to Murlidhar's there' i. e., place. These एथें, यहां and तहां are really remnants of the old Pr. locatives of इदम् (in the forms इ or अ) and तत्. If these were more extensively used, they would in the course of time become terminations; and तईं for तहिं, the Pr. Apbhr. loc. of तद, has become a termination in H. as मैं शहरके तईं गया 'I went to the there of the town'; उसके तईं 'to him or for him.' In the Apabhramśa, according to Hemacandra, केहिं and तेहिं were used as postpositions in the sense of 'for' 'on account of' as in the verse formerly given हउं झिज्जउं तउ केहिं पिअ &c. These, as they are, appear like instrumental plurals of the pronouns किम् and तद् and they may be so really. The instr. and abl. may pass into the dat. and this into either. For, of the several relations denoted by the first two cases one is that between a cause and its effect or reason and conclusion, and a confusion between an antecedent cause or reason and the final cause or purpose is natural. This last is generally indicated by the dat. case. Even the English preposition 'for' has these two senses. In the sentence, 'I bought the book for my own use', it signifies the purpose; and in such a one as 'for this, let people beware' it denotes an antecedent reason. In the same way साठीं or करितां are in M. used in both these senses. In त्याच्यासाठीं मी इतका श्रम केला 'I took so much trouble for him' it has a dative sense and in ह्यासाठीं अशी गोष्ट कधीं करूं नये 'for this, such a thing should never be done' it has an ablative sense. This fact must be borne in mind as we go on discussing the origin of the case forms. केहिं and तेहिं therefore may be instrumentals.

This explanation is supported by the fact that another Apbhr. post-position in the sense of 'for' or 'on account of' given by Hemacandra is तणेण which is evidently the sing. instr. of तण,

a possessive suffix to be hereafter mentioned. The pl. case forms may become adverbs or postpositions as the Skr. शनैः 'slowly,' नीचैः and उच्चैः 'low' and 'high' which must originally have been instr. plurals. Another explanation of these forms is that they are derived from the Pr. gen. plurals केसिं and तेसिं, the स being changed to ह. The gen. has all along been used in the sense of the dat. In Skr. itself it is often so and in the Pr. it drove out the old dat. altogether and was used instead. In old M. poetry the obl. form, which we have traced to the Pr. gen., is often used for this case or, since in the Apabhr. nouns the termination हिं was used for loc. pl. also, the forms केहिं and तेहिं are not unlikely to be referred to that case. The loc. is another case which can readily be adapted to express a dat. acc. sense. Tulsidāsa frequently adds हिं to nouns to form this case. Thus—

रुद्रहिं देखि मदन भयमाना।

'The god of love was afraid when he saw Rudra.

रामहिं सौंपि जानकी नाइ कमल पदमाथ।
सुत कहुं राज समर्पि बन जाइ भजिअ रघुनाथ॥

'Having restored Jānakī to Rāma and bowing your head at his lotus feet and giving the kingdom to your son, go to a forest and adore Raghunātha.'

That these several cases may pass into the dat. acc. is also proved by the fact that the forms of the Apabhraṃśa gerund of infinitive of purpose, which has essentially a dative sense, are derived from them. Thus Hemacandra gives these terminations of the infinitive: एवम् as in देवम् 'for giving' which is an acc. of the pot. part. देअव्वम्, अण as in करण 'for doing' in which the case termination is dropped, अणइम् as in भंजणहं 'for breaking' which is the gen. pl of भञ्जन and अणहिं as in भुंजणहिं 'for enjoying' which is loc. sing. or pl. of भुञ्जण Pr. for Skr. भोजन. Thus then in the Apabhraṃśa pronominal forms had begun to be used as postpositions for expressing case relations. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to expect that we should find traces of the practice in our modern case forms and the forms themselves that were used in that dialect.

The Apabhramśa dat. postposition केहिं survives in the S. खे; the aspiration is thrown on के so as to make it खे and the following vowel is dropped. We have already seen several instances of this process, but I will add one or two more to the point. The Pr. कहिं 'where' is in the Goan. and Māl. खंय, तहिं 'there' थंय, अहिं 'here' इंय. Often the old ह is dropped in the modern dialects and thus we have from केहिं the B. के. The old H. termination कहं is the Pr. कहिं 'where,' so that originally the sense of राम कहं was 'Rāma's somewhere.' 'Send to Rāma's somewhere' and 'give it to Rāma's somewhere' came afterwards to mean 'send it *to* Rāma' and 'give it *to* Rāma.' The ह of the loc. कहिं is here dropped as is mostly the case in the pronominal locatives which in the modern languages as well as the Prakrit have become adverbs of place; such are जहिं relative 'where', तहिं 'their', अहिं 'here' and कहिं 'where' (interrogative) which have become जहां, तहां, यहां and कहां and in Tulsīdās जहं, तहं and कहं. Sometimes the ह is preserved in the current speech as in कहां or कहीं H., अही, यहां G. The other dat. termination कहुं, the origin of कों or कों, is either the ablative or genitive form of किम् since हुं was in Apabhr. the termination of both these cases. The O. कु is another form of this कहुं. The M. तें is from the Apabhr. तहिं as के from केहिं. The B. has this affix also used principally in the case of inanimate creatures.

धुयां ते गन्ध आछे आं ताहाते चक्षुते वेदना होय।

There is smell to smoke and from that harm to the eye results.

ताहाते सिंह कहिल।

The lion said to him.

The S. has it also.

सोहल्यो शिकारते 'He went for hunting.' विओ मुस फरिअते 'went on a travel.'

The P. ताइ like the H. तईं is from तहिं 'there.

The M. ला is to be connected with similar terminations in its own dialects and the other languages. Khāndeśī has ले. H. possesses a post-position लाय or लिये, P. लई, S. लाइ all in the sense of 'for,' Braj. लौं or लों 'up to.' The old H. poets have also लै or लाई in the sense of the M. लां i. e. 'to' or 'at': बारहिं बार पांवले पदहीं 'again and again they fall at her feet;' हरखि उठाय लिये उरलाई

'joyfully he arose and pressed him to his bosom.' Then there are other forms in all the languages from लग. Goan has लागीं in the sense of 'to' or 'with', as माझे लागीं उलय 'speak to or with me.' H. लग 'up to'; P. लग 'near, to'; लागों 'from contact with;' S. लगी-लगे 'on account of;' B. लागिं-लागिया-लागे 'for, on account of.' In G. and H. poetry लागीं, लगी or लागि are used in these senses and M. has लागून or लागुनि also.

All these forms are derived from the old Skr. root लग to adhere or stick. The past pass. part. of this is लग्न, Pr. लग्ग. This, like many similar participles, is made the base of verbal forms in Pr. and we have लग्गइ = लग्नो भवति 'adheres, sticks.' From this we have लागणें- डुं-व M. G. B. by the usual rules, but S. generally and H. sometimes do not lengthen the preceding vowel when one of the two consonants is dropped and we have लगणु and लगना, though लागना is also used in the latter. There is another form लागयति of this root which is made up according to the 10th Conjugation or which is properly the causal and, when the termination is dropped as is often the case, we have लागई and by the elision of ग the root becomes लाअ and thence, by the usual introduction of य or व, लाय or लाव. Now लायणा exists in the Goan. and लाइणु in the S. while M. has लावणें. These mean 'to make to adhere,' 'apply,' 'bring in contact.' From लागणें and लायणा or लावणें all the forms we have above noticed have originated. लाई, ले, लागी, लागिया are absolutives as also M. लागोनि, while the other M. form लागीं is the loc. sing. of the noun लाग 'contact' or 'nearness.' The Braj. लौं must be from the old Apabhr. abso., लाउं of लाअ. The M. dat. ला must be from such a form as लाउं 'having applied' or 'for applying,' since the final उ of terminations is dropped in this language as in जिभा 'tongues' from जिभाउ.

The dative pl. termination नां represents an euphonic change of ला necessitated by the preceding anusvāra. Instances of this change of ल to न have been given in a previous lecture. Cit. has both ना and न्ला. This ना is by some traced to the णं of the Pr. gen. pl. as स to the स्स of the gen. sing. The Cit. however has ना or न्ला in the pl. while ला alone is the sing. termination and the sameness of the sing. and pl. terminations is the great peculiarity of the modern dialect, whence the Cit. ना is a form of ला and if so, then it must be so in the standard Marathi also.

Mr. Beames thinks the G. ने to be originally ले and thus to belong to the class of terminations we have just examined, the ल being changed to न. I have not satisfied with this derivation as there is no corroborative evidence, though the change of ल to न is not impossible or unexampled. The gen. termination नो-नी-नुं in this language is derived from the old Apabhraṁśa termination तण, by the elision of ths initial त, as will be hereafter shown. In the same manner the नें of the acc. dat. must have been derived from the Apabhr. dat. post-position तणेण, which, as I have already observed, is the instr. of तण. The last ण of this is changed to an anusvāra, as that of देवेण is, and, just as this becomes देवें, तणेण becomes तणें and by the loss of त, नें. Or the process which in the Apabhr. led to the formation of तणेण from तण may have been resorted to when तण became न in the G. and thus नें is the instrumental or locative of the gen. न or its obl. form. But the anusvāra of नें which is lost in the G. instr. would show that it is derived directly from तणेण. P. नुं may likewise be referred to a a form तणहुं, the abl. of तण.

THE ORIGIN OF स IN THE VERNACULAR TERMINATIONS

In H. the termination से is applied in a dative sense to nouns governed by verbs denoting speaking राजाने ब्राह्मणसे कहा 'The king spoke to the Brahman.' It is used in the sense of the instr., तरवारसे सीर काटा 'He cut off his head with a sword,' रुक्मिनीका विवाह श्रीकृष्णचन्दसे हुआ 'Rukminī's marriage with Śrī Kṛṣnacanda took place;' and in that of the abl. इतना वचन ब्राह्मणके मुखसे निकला 'These words fell from the mouth of the Brahman.' In Braj, we have सों for से, as कबीरजी आयकै मोसों कह्यौ 'Kabīr came and said to me;' गुरुसों पूछि लेइ 'He should get it explained from the guru.' In old H. also it is used in the form of सौं. In old M. as I have already remarked, we have सी in the sense of the modern dat. acc. स as :—

(1) सारथी शार्ङ्गधर । अर्जुनेसी ॥
Jñān. I—141.
'Śārṅgadhara was charioteer to Arjuna.'

(2) पंवाडा तुवां केला गंधर्वांसी ॥
II—10.
'Thou hast made a song for Gandharvas.'

(3) जे नेदी देवकी यशोदेसी ।
ते गति दीधली पूतनेसी ॥
समान देणें अरिमित्रांसी ।
उदारतेसीं काय वर्णूं ॥
Rukmiṇī Svayaṃvara I—82.

"He gave that salvation to Pūtanā which he did not gave to Yaśodā and Devakī. His gifts to friends and foes are alike, How shall I describe his bounty ? "

(1) परी कवणेसीं म्यां झुंजावें । हे रणीं लागे पाहावें ॥
Jñān. I-171.

'It is necessary in the battlefield to see with whom I should fight.'

(2) अर्जुन असे पाहत । तो दळभार समस्त । संभ्रमेसीं ॥
Jñān. I-176.

'Arjuna was looking at the whole force with an agitated heart.'

(3) आणि परलोकही अंतरेल । ऐहिकेसीं ॥
Jñān. II-27.

'And the interest of the future life will be lost along with those of this ! '

In these last three examples सीं has the sense of an instrumental. We do not now use it in the sense in which it is used in the last two passages and say संभ्रमानें पाहतो and ऐहिकासहित अंतरेल. In the Salsette dialect, however, सीं has these senses and also that of an abl. as that of गांवसीं आयलो 'He came from the village.'

Now we see that the old M. poets do not make a distinction between the सीं, which corresponds to our modern स, and that which even now we use in the sense of 'with'. They all use it in other senses in which it is used in H., but not in the M. of the day. The Salsette dialect, however, agrees with the H. in its use of this affix. H. uses से in one case उससे कहा in which we use स, as त्यास सांगितलें. Some of these circumstances favour the supposition that the origin of the M. dative affix स is the same as that of H. से and M. सीं. G. poetry has this in the form of सुं or स्युं as गूजरातिस्युं मांडिसि कलह Declare war with Gujarati,' S. has सें and सां in the sense of with.

All these are derived from the word सम. As is usual, म is in modern vernaculars changed to व and thus we have सव and with the instr. affix ए we have the सवें of the M. poets. I have in a former lecture given a great many instances in which व is dissolved into उ, which combines with the preceding vowel into औ. We thus get the old H. सौं and the Braja सौं, when अ and उ form औ, while in G. the resulting vowel is उं in सुं. Another change of म that we have noticed is its loss of the labial element and reduction to a vowel and anusvāra, wherefore the word becomes सअं or सयं. Thence the अय passes off into ए, as we have several times noticed, and so we have सें, which with the anusvāra dropped is the H. से. The य is sometimes, as we have seen, changed to ई as in राइ from राअ-राय and so we have the M. सीं. Sometimes य does not take the place of the elided consonant and the vowels are combined, whence we have the S. सां. Now the original sense of this word is with, but this with expresses many relations, the differences between which become wider in the course of time and thus the word सम has come to signify 'to, according to, with (as an instrument) and from'.

This instr. termination नें (sing.) नीं (pl.) M., ने H., नइ P. have been traced by Mr. Beames to ले or लै, which are forms of लागें or लइ etc. derived from the root लग. One great objection is that this derivation does not account for the anusvāra of नें or नैं. His argument is that the old एन of the instr. having been reduced to ऐं, there was no other instrumental case to furnish the न of the modern instr. नें-नीं; but in the Apabhr. according to Hemacandra both thsse forms existed and the instance he gives is

जे महु दिण्णा दिअहडा दइएं पवसन्तेण।
ताण गणन्तिए अंगुलिउ जज्जरि आउ नहेण॥

'By counting (again and again) [the number of] days which were mentioned to me by my beloved when he set out on his travels [the skin of] my fingers has worn away by the nail.' Here दइएं, पवसन्तेण and नहेण are instances of the instrumental. The first two are expressive of the agent in the passive construction and the third of the simple instrument; so that the एण or ण of the instrumental must have descended to the vernaculars. Again Mr. Beames says that the old H. poets do not use the instr. in नें; but the oldest M. poet Jñāneśvara does use it in some cases. His

agent instrumental is very often that which ends in एं, but instances of the use of नि, which is another form of नें, also occur. As :—

कीं वारेनि जात आहे ।

Jñān. 13-197.

'Or whether he is going away by the wind.'

दिसे वारेनि जैसे जाइल ।

Jñān. 13-214

'Appears as if it will go away by the wind.'

मुकेनि घेतले मौन जैसे ।

Jñān. 13-280.

As the dumb may be said to have assumed silence deliberately.'

उन्हाळेनि जो न तापे ।
हिमबंति न कांपे ॥
कायसेनिही न वासि पे । पातलेया ॥

Jñān. 13-347.

'He is not oppressed by heat or does not shiver by cold and is not terrified by anything that takes place.'

Here are instances of the instr. both indicative of the agent and of the simple instrument, but the termination is नि instead of नें. Besides these there are instances of the instrumental in णें of pronouns as येणें मानें Jñān. 13-200 'By this standard', जेणें तोषें 13-244 'By which satisfaction', तेणें प्रसादें 18-1147 'By that grace.' Now I have stated my view in the last lecture that नें is a double instrumental, the first part being न of the old instrumental in एन or एण, and the second part एं, to which that एण is reduced. Now instead of एं, the instr. ईं is added here. The instr. ईं represents the इण of the Apabhr. instr. in इण, which we have in such forms as प्राप्तिण mentioned by Pischel. Hindi poets as a rule indicate the agent instrumental by the oblique form, but Sūrdās uses the form ending in नि or नें also.

कान्ह कह्यो गिरि गोवर्धनतें और देव नाहिं दूजा ।
गोपनि सत्य मानि यह लीनो बड़ो देव गिरिराज ॥

Sursāgar, pada 12, page 252.[1]

Kānha said, "There is no other God besides the mountain Govardhan." Taking it to be the truth the king of mountains was regarded by the cowherds as a great God.'

1 Lucknow Edn., 1874.

Here गोपनि is agent instrumental in नि.

सबनि देख्यो प्रकट मूरति सहस्रभुजा पसारि ।
रुचि सहित गिरि सबनि आगे करनि लैलै खाय ॥

Sursāgar, pada 24, page 254.

'The manifested form with the thousand arms stretched out was seen by all; with taste the mountain taking hold of every thing by his hands etc.'

Here करनि is the instrumental.

आहिरनि करि अवज्ञा प्रभुकी सो फल उनकों तुरत दिखावाहिं ।

Sursāgar, pada 44, page 257.

'Disrespect of the Lord has been shown by the cowherds; show to them the fruit of it.'

एक पुरुषने आजु मोहि सपनान्तर दीनों ।

Sursāgar, pada 29, page 255.

'Today a certain dream was shown me by a Being.'

Here पुरुषने is agent instrumental.

The Ablative termination in M. is हून, Māl. सून, Cit. ठीं or पाठी (from पास and थीं), Sals. सिं, G. थी, S. खां-खउं-खों तों तां, P. तें-थीं-थों, H. से, Braj. ते, H. dial. थीं, B. होइते तें. The Sindhi खां is the Pr. and Apabhr. abl. कहां of किम्, the aspiration being thrown on क, as in the case of the dat. खे and the other instances formerly given; so that the S. abl. etymologically means 'from his somewhere.' खउं and खों are from the Ap. कहुं abl. pl. In the same way तां is the old abl. तहां and तों, the abl. pl. तहुं of तद्, in both of which the aspirate is elided but in the P. थों it is compounded with the preceding त. The form थी थीं of the G. and P., and H. dial. and the Cit. ठीं are derived from तहिं, the loc. sing. Pr. and Ap. of तद with the aspiration thrown on त.

The differences between some of the significations of the different cases are, as I have already observed, so minute that they frequently run into one another and when on account of this resemblance, one case form becomes identified with another case, it afterwards acquires senses more widely different from its original. Thus तें पुस्तक मला रामापाशीं मिळालें i. e. (lit.) 'The book met me in vicinity of Rāmā', easily passes into रामापासून मिळालें 'met me from Rāmā', i. e. 'got from Rāmā.' And the B. आपने प्रभुर

काछे ताहा पाइलाम is generally considered equivalent to 'I got it from the master', though काछे is like पाशीं a loc. form meaning 'in the vicinity of.' Thus the old loc. ताहिं meaning 'in that' was used as a postposition and thence came to mean 'from that.' Or the transition is first from the loc. to the dat., which I have spoken of, and thence to the causal abl. and afterwards to the local abl. The Braj. and P. तें is from the Apabhr. affix तेहिं (=for) mentioned before in which we have an instance of this passage of the dat. into the abl., as illustrated before in the M. postposition साठीं. In M., S. and B. तें has preserved the dative sense. B. has the abl. तें also, though some grammarians do not give it, but its sense is that of causal abl. or instr. as :—

शृङ्गेर दीर्घताते आनंदित हइल ।

'Became glad on account of the length of its horns.'

ताहाते चक्षुते वेदना होय ।

'From that there is harm to the eye.'

Of a different origin are the M. हून and सून and the B. होइते. The first हून Mr. Beames, following Lassen, traces to the हिन्तो and सुन्तो of the Pr. from a fusion, as it is called, of both, out of which arose हुन्तो, and, the तो being lost, the form is हून. In a similar way सून may be traced to सुन्तो, though its independent existence would make the supposed fusion a fiction. M. however has no instance of the loss of final त and the preservation of न; but the chief objection to this derivation is the want of corroborative evidence. It is possible, but there is nothing to make it certain or even probable. Mr. Beames quotes passages from Canda in which हुन्त and हुन्तो occur in the sense of 'from.' But they may be derived from the present participle. The B. abl. affix होइते is the loc. of the present participle of हो, corresponding to M. होतां, which has the sense of the Skr. loc. absolute as असतां in मी करीत असतां तो गेला 'while I was doing he went away.' In B. too this loc. has the same sense as दिन थाकिते कर्म कर 'work while it is day.' In H. also it is used in the same sense : द्वारपर देखते क्या है कि सिंह मरा पडा है 'looking at the door what did he find? he found that a lion was lying dead (lit. what is there,– a lion lying dead);' भोर होतेहि उसने सखीसे कहा 'She told it to her friend immediately after dawn (lit. after it had dawned).'

In this sense as in that of the Skr. loc. absolute, the action denoted by the present participle is made the starting point of another action. ' My doing ' in the first instance was the starting point of his going. And herein is the germ of an ablative. In H. होते is sometimes used in this sense as मकानसे होते ' outside of the house, from the house.'

In the B. वृक्षहइते फल पडिल the original sense is ' the tree being there, a fruit fell. ' The M. ऊन is the absolutive of हो and equivalent to होऊन ' having become ' which yields an ablative sense more directly. The ह is sometimes dropped and the termination ऊन itself is attached in this sense to आं ' in ', वर ' above ' and पास ' side ' to signify ' from in ', ' from above ', ' from the side ' as आंतून, वरून and पासून which are the ablative affixes used in cases when ऊन cannot be applied; and ऊन is sometimes affixed to nouns in अ directly and not to the oblique form, as घरून आला. Thus गांवाहून आला means lit. ' the village having been, he came. ' The Mal. ऊन is the absolutive of अस instead of हो. The H. से has been explained.

We have seen that in the course of the development of our modern languages the genitive which even in Skr. expressed relation in general was used for the dative and sometimes for other cases also. The dative thus went out of use and, to express the relations which it indicated, various new suffixes, given and explained above, were brought into use and the old genitive being attenuated was felt to be too weak to express the usual genitive relation and it was adapted to serve as the base of all oblique cases to which the newly constituted terminations were appended. The relation of possession as well as other genitive relations, such as that of a thing and the material of which it is made, had thus no special expression left for them. In Skr. such relations are indicated, besides the genitive case, by adjectives formed from the name of the possessor, material etc. by the addition of specific terminations and from these mostly the genitive terminations in the modern languages are derived and consequently are adjectival in their nature and agree with the gender of the thing possessed or made. The genitive terminations are as follows :—

M. चा—ची—चें	P. दा—दी
G. नो—नी—नुं	B. इर or एर
S. जो—जी	O. र
H. का—की	

In the first lecture I have remarked that in the third stage of the development of Sanskrit the nominal style came into use instead of the verbal style or fluent style. When the language was in this condition, adjectival forms expressive of possession or other relations came into use instead of the genitive case and such forms, as :

तदीयम् गृहम् 'the house belonging to him,'
मदीयः छात्रः 'the pupil belonging to me.'
त्वदीया सखी 'the female friend belonging to thee,'

came into use instead of तस्य गृहम् 'his home,' मम छात्रः 'my pupil,' तव सखी 'thy female friend.' When the use of such adjectives became general the real genitive case, so far as it expressed possession and such other relations between nouns, was driven out and adapted to express the various other relations mentioned before. Thus then we find that the case forms expressive of possession and other relations mentioned in the vernaculars are of an adjectival character. It is, however, curious to find that in our seven modern languages they are derived from seven different forms in Sanskrit and Prakrit.

The M. चा—ची—चें must be traced to the त्य which certain indeclinables take in Sanskrit as इहत्य or अत्रत्य 'of this place,' तत्रत्य 'of that place,' क्रत्य or कुत्रत्य 'of what place.' इहत्य or अत्रत्य must by the usual rules be changed to इहच्च, एथच्च; तत्रत्य to तत्थच्च; क्रत्य or कुत्रत्य to कच्च or कुत्थच्च or कोत्थच्च. तत्थच्च is तेथचा, एत्थच्च is एथचा, कोत्थच्च is कोठचा. This च्च was generalised and gradually came to be applied to all nouns to indicate possession and other relations.

The G. नो—नी—नुं are derived from the Sanskrit termination तन, which is applied in the sense of possession to indeclinables expressive of time, such as अद्यतन 'of this day,' इदानींतन 'of the present time,' सायंतन 'of evening time,' चिरंतन 'of the olden time' etc. This was generalised and Hemacandra gives तण as a noun expressive of 'something related to' or 'belonging to' in his grammar of the Apbhr. dialect. In the line of the verse of

Premānanda बाधी विरहतणी वेदना 'the agony of separation afflicts' and in the expressions previously given, such as पोतातण, and तेहतणो नहि लाधे छेह etc., this तण remains, it will be seen, unchanged and in this form it is often used in G. poetry. By the dropping of the consonant त, it is reduced to अण or अन and thence to न, which with masc., fem., neut. terminations ओ—ई—उं becomes नो—नी—नुं.

The S. जो—जी are derived from the Sanskrit possessive termination ईय applied to a great many nouns and all pronouns, as तदीय belonging to him, शालीय belonging to the house, गोनर्दीय belonging to or living in Gonarda. Dr. Trump assigns a different origin to this Sindhi जो-जी, which, as well as the etymologies of the corresponding possessive terminations existing in other cognate dialects, hardly bears examination.

Another way of expressing possession is furnished by derivatives of the root कृ 'to do or make.' The roar of a lion is his कार्य or act. The roar of a lion is a सिंहकार्य or lion act, *i. e.* it is something which belongs to the lion. The word कार्य therefore is adapted to express 'something belonging to one.' Now this कार्य is in the Pr. reduced to केर, as the पर्य of पर्यन्त to पेर, and the श्चर्य of आश्चर्य to छेर. From this केर, we have केरको which means 'something belonging to one' or 'his property.' Madayantikā in the Mālatīmādhava calls her body Makaranda's केरअ or केरक, since he had saved it from the mouth of a lion. Hemacandra gives केर as a noun in the Apabhr. dialect expressive of the thing connected with another. The instance he gives is जसुकेरए हुंकारए मुहहुं पडंति तणाइं 'From whose mouth grass falls down in consequence of the roar which is the केरअ of the lion.' He also gives in his grammar of the principal Prakrit केर as a termination having the sense of possession as in तुह्मकेर 'yours' like तण. Thus then केर which was first a noun came to be used as a postposition expressive of possession and was used as such in the principal Prakrit and by the G. and H. poets:

अंधाकेरी लाकडी हूं दुबळीनु धन।

Tulasi.

'I am the stick of the blind [women] and the wealth of a weak [woman].'

हुकुम होय हजोरी केरी शोषी नाखो बाधो सागर ॥
Sāmaladās.

'If the command of the lord is received, I will dry up the whole ocean.'

One of Kabīra's Sākhī is—

दर्पण केरी जो गुफा सोण्हा पैठा धाय।
देखत प्रतिमा आपनि भूंखि भूंखि मरि जाय ॥

'A dog enters a room [made up] of mirrors and runs about and, seeing his own image, he barks and barks until he dies.'

There is another instance :

अमृतकेरी मोटरी सिरसे धरी उतारि।
जाहि कहो मै येक हौ मोहि कहै द्वैचारि ॥

'I put down from head the parcel containing nectar. To whomsoever I say that I am one, to me he speaks in return two or four.'

Here we have केरी as a possessive postposition. Similarly in Tulsidās's Rāmāyaṇa we have कहु खबर बिभीषण केरी 'give us news about Bibhīṣaṇa,' where also we have the same postposition. When the initial क is dropped we have एर which we find in the Hindi तेरा and मेरा as in Kabīr's Sākhī,

जो तू चाहौ मुझको छोड़ु सकलकी आस।
मेरा ऐसा व्हे रहै सब किछु तेरे पास ॥

'If you want me, give up the desire for everything else; become mine; and you will have everything else with you.' एर is the general postposition in the B. as पापेर 'of sin,' ईश्वरेर 'of God,' घरेर 'of a house.'

Prof. Hörnle and Mr. Beames derive the suffix केर from the Skr. past. part. कृत which they say is reduced to करिअ and thence to केर. But I have not met with a trace of करिअ as the Pr. form of कृत. The usual form of it is किअ or कअ. Besides, the इ of करिअ is inorganic, being simply a euphonic augment. Such a euphonic augment cannot persist throughout centuries as the ए of केर has done until it was perpetuated in the form of एर in the B. Besides, केरक is, as we have seen, used as a noun in the sense of property. There is no indication that a past pass. part. can be so used. It may be used as an abstract noun, as गतम् in the sense of

'going.' So कृतम् may at the best acquire the sense of 'doing', but the transition of 'doing' to 'property' is hardly possible.

Another derivative of the root कृ has also supplied the vernaculars with a termination expressive of the genitive sense; and that is कर. A good many words in Sanskrit have this कर appended to them such as यशस्कर 'bringing fame', वचनकर 'obedient,' किंकर 'servant', प्रभाकर 'the sun,' लिपिकर 'a writer', etc. The original sense is 'one who does the thing' expressed by the nouns to which कर is appended, but the derived senses are many, such as cause, habit, obedience and any other relation into which the doing of a thing brings one with another. When the particular nature of this relation is left out of sight, the general sense is 'related to' or 'belonging to.' Thus प्रभाकर originally meaning 'the maker of light' comes to denote 'belonging to light'; a certain person who is लिपिकर or the doer of the writing is a person related or belonging to the writing. Thus कर came gradually to signify a genitive relation like the termination ईय, त्य, तन etc., noticed above. In the Marathi कर is applied in ordinary use to the name of a place to denote 'one residing in it' or generally 'belonging it it' as काशीकर 'belonging to Kāśī', पुणेकर 'belonging to Poona.' Instances of this कर occur in the old Hindi poets; thus in Tulsidās's Rāmāyaṇa we have—

तजौं न नारदकर उपदेश् ।

Bālak.

'I will not set aside the advice of Nārada.'

पुनि पुनि हृदय बिचार करि धरि सीताकर रूप ।

(Ditto).

'Again and again reflecting in her mind she (Pārvatī) assumed the form of Sītā.'

मैं शंकरकर कहा न माना ।

(Ditto).

'I did not obey the word of Śaṁkara.'

भरद्वाज सुनु अपर अब राम जन्मकर हेतु ।

"Oh Bharadvāja, hear now another reason for the birth of Rāma."

In Kabir too we meet this termination as in :—

तब ब्रह्मा (ब्रह्मैं) पूछल महतारि ।
को तोर पुरुष का (के) करि तुम नारी ।
Kabir's Rāmainī, 1-4th Chaupai.

'Then the mother was asked by Brahma "who is thy husband and whose wife art thou."'

Here we have काकरि or केकरि in which we have the feminine of the termination कर. In Sanskrit कार is almost as much used as कर after nouns and the signification is similar. This कार is sometimes used in the Bengali in a genitive sense as in आपनकार 'of your honour,' आजकार 'of to-day,' कालिकार 'of yesterday.' From कर, when the initial consonant is dropped, we have the Oriya genitive suffix अर as in घरर, while कार gives us the मार of the Hindi तुह्मारा 'yours,' हमारा 'ours' and of the Guj. तारो 'thine,' तमारो 'yours,' मारो 'mine,' अमारो 'ours.'

Another derivative of the root कृ, the past pass. part. कृत, changed to कअ in the Prakrit, has been appropriated in Hindi to express genitive relations. As the obl. form has been determined to be a remnant of the old genitive, the क appended to it must mean 'done of (by) the thing or person' denoted by the obl. form. The idea of 'a thing done by one' passes easily into a thing belonging to one. पण्डितकृत काव्य 'a poem composed by a Pandit' becomes easily पण्डितका काव्य *i. e.* the poem of a Pandit. The terminations का, की exist in old Hindi along with केरा, केरी and कर, करी.

The easiest explanation of the Panjabi दा-दी appears to be that, like the Hindi का-की, they are derived from the past pass. part of दा 'to give' in the form of दअ made up on the analogy of कअ from कृ. Other explanations may also be given. It may be said that the रो-री of the Marvari dialect and certain G. and H. pronouns, which results from the Sanskrit कार, was changed to डो-डी or डा-डी, as these consonants are frequently confounded with each other; and thence डो-डी or डा-डी passed into दो-दी or दा-दी. The Sanskrit suffixes used by the vernaculars to express genitive relations must have a final क added to them, since, like augmented nouns, the masc. nom. sing. ends in ओ or

आ and the feminine in ई. Thus for the original of the M. चा–ची–चें we must have त्यक, for the G. नो–नी–नुं तनक, for S. जो–जी ईयक, for H. का–की कृतक, and for old H. केरा and केरी केरक and for कर करक and for कार कारक. In the fourth lecture I have given several instances of the addition of क to all sorts of nouns and adjectives.

The new loc. termination in H. are में, Braj. मैं and पै, P. ते, S. मे, G. मां, M. आंत and B. ते. The forms with an initial म are derived from the Skr. मध्य which has undergone several transformations. In old H. and G. poetry it occurs in the forms of माहीं and महं etc., as :—

शिव संकल्प कीन्ह मनमाहीं।

Tulsi., Bāla-K.

'Siva resolved in his mind.'

जे हि राखे रघुवीर ते उबरे तेहि कालमहं।

(Ditto).

'Those were safe at that time whom Raghuvīra protected.

एकबार त्रेतायुगमाहीं।

(Ditto).

'Once in Tretāyuga'

पुनि मंदिर महं बात जनाई।

'He announced the intelligence in the palace.

सुदामा में पृथिवी माहीं। लीधा दश अवतार॥

Premānand's Sudāmānuṃ Caritra.

'O Sudāma, I have gone through ten incarnations on this earth.

सोरठ माहीं सहुको नाठलूं।

'Everybody fled to Soraṭha.'

The Braj. मैं is from माहिं, the ह being elided and आ and इ combining into ऐ, while in the S. and H. मे they form ए. In the G. मा the whole हि of माहिं is dropped. माहिं is loc. sing. of माह for मध्य.

The P. and B. ते is from तहिं, the loc. of तद्, or तेहिं which we have noticed as an Apbhr. dative postposition.

H. पै is from Skr. पार्श्व, which first becomes पस्स, then पास, and then पाह or पह, and the loc. of पाह is पाहीं or पहं which is its shortened form. पास is used as a post-position in H. and पासे and पाशीं, the loc. forms, in G. and M. respectively. The forms पाहिं and पहं occur in the old H. poets, as :—

hiatus caused by the vowels brought together by consonantal elision by combining them or inserting light semi-vowels between them. These were carried on further, the declensional and conjugational terminations were corrupted and mutilated, and the forms began to get confused; case relations came to be expressed by connecting independent words or pronominal forms with the genitive of the noun; and new verbal forms were constructed from the participles by appending the personal terminations on the analogy of the existing tenses, or by using the roots indicative of existence as auxiliaries.

About this time the Prakrit speaking people came to be divided into independent communities, separated from each other by hills and rivers, or communication between them decreased; and therefore these several processes of destruction and construction were carried on at a varying rate and with a difference of detail in each; and thus grew up the modern Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, &c. This is the whole history. The vernaculars have descended from the Prakrits, and the Prakrits from Sanskrit; and since a language is transmitted from generation to generation orally, if the modern dialects are spoken languages the Prakrits must have been so, and if the Prakrits were spoken dialects the Sanskrit must have been so.

But these conclusions have been denied by some scholars. Professor H. H. Wilson says that that the Prakrit of the plays is an artificial modification of the Sanskrit language devised to adapt it to peculiar branches of literature. And the reason he gives is that even in later plays composed but a few centuries ago the Prakrit used is not the vernacular of the day, but that which we find in the very earliest work of the species. But he is by means certain, and leaves the question undecided. The reason advanced by him is evidently of no weight. If I choose at this day to express my thoughts in Latin and compose a treatise in that language instead of my vernacular, does that prove that that language is artificial? Latin is sometimes still used in Europe for literary purposes, though it is not the vernacular of any country. Sanskrit playwriters of later ages, and even a stray dramatist at the present day, use the old Prakrits for their inferior characters in orthodox obedience to the rules laid down by the

old authorities on the histrionic art; and since the Prakrits, like Sanskrit, Latin, and other languages are preserved by means of grammars and literary works, it is possible to write in them as in these languages.

Mr. Beames at one time expressed himself decidedly on this point: "The Prakrit of the poets is clearly not a dialect that ever was spoken." So Dr. Pischel, a German scholar: "I agree with Mr. Beames, that none of the Prakrits was ever a spoken language, and that in order to learn what was the spoken language of the Aryans we must turn principally to the modern vernaculars."

This, gentlemen, we have done; we have examined the vernaculars and found that there is not a rule about the changes of letters in passing from Sanskrit into the Prakrit given by Vararuci or Hemacandra, of which instances are not found in the vernaculars. Of such as are general the examples are abundant; and in a great many cases even the words in which the change is of a special kind are preserved in the vernaculars in their Prakrit form, slightly altered according to the processes that afterwards came into operation. A good many of the vocal peculiarities of Pali and Prakrit speakers are preserved by the speakers of the Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi, Sindhi, and Bengali. I have already drawn your attention to the fact that the ordinary Gujarati cannot pronounce ऐ or औ but makes ए or ओ of it, the Marathi Deśastha ण् of न्, and the Sindhi and Bengali क्ख of क्ष, and the Hindi क्ख or छ of it and स् of the sibilant. The Bengali pronounces a conjunct ending in य् as a double consonant and preserves the old Māgadhī peculiarty of reducing all the sibilants to श्, while the Hindi still manifests the Paiśācī pecularity of making न् of ण्. The case terminations in the forms they assumed in the Apabhraṃśa have been preserved, some in this dialect, some in that. All the three Prakrit tenses do exist and none other; past time is expressed in just the same way as in the Prakrits; the participles, the causals, the passives, the denominatives, the nominal and verbal bases, and the remnants of the Sanskrit conjugations are just as they were in the Prakrits; and the new verbs and cases are formed out of Prakrit materials only. Then

again a good many of the Deśya or non-Sanskrit words that existed in the Prakrits are found in the Vernaculars.

Now if the Prakrits were not spoken dialects, what these scholars probably mean is that they were artificial adaptations, as Professor Wilson calls them. But we have seen that they grew up by such natural laws as guide the development of any language whatever. The development of the Prakrit dialects from Sanskrit is parallelled by the development of the Romance languages from Latin. If the Prakrit dialects are to be considered artificial, it is difficult to conceive upon what principles they could have been constructed and for what purpose. A conscious manufacture of a language would be conducted upon some general principles and would not admit of such isolated forms, not obeying any general rule, as we have noticed. The analogies would be perfect; but on the contrary we have seen that in the Pali and the Prakrits a good many forms are made up according to a certain rule brought into use by analogy, as for instance making the passive by adding इज्ज or इअ, while there are others which are not thus constructed but have descended by simple phonetic corruption of Sanskrit forms, as दीसइ, लब्भइ and others. In all parts of grammar there are such forms, and these have descended to the modern Vernaculars, as we have seen.

Again, if these had been artificial languages, they would not have been called after the names of the provinces as we have seen they were. I have given reasons for believing that though the difference between the Saurasenī and the Mahārāṣṭrī was not great, some peculiarities of the former have been preserved by the modern Sindhi, Panjabi, Braja and Hindi, while the Marathi represents the old Mahārāṣṭrī and some of the peculiarities of the Māgadhī Prakrit are distinctly observable, as we have seen, in some of the Inscriptions of Aśoka, in which it would be absurd to suppose an artificial language was used.

And how, if they were not popular dialects, could the idea of using them for women and the inferior characters in dramatic plays have in the first place arisen? That a poet should make certain persons in his work speak their peculiar dialect, especially when that is an inferior dialect and likely to create mirth, is

natural, and this device is resorted to by writers in all countries. But it was probably more from considerations of propriety than liveliness that these languages began to be used by Sanskrit dramatists. For they are no less particular about such proprieties, and of even the so-called unities, than other nations. For one of the rules of the Art is that one act should not contain the events of more than a day. Similarly the minute directions about the use of certain Prakrit dialects in the case of certain persons are explicable only on the supposition that the original idea was to represent in the drama a state of things actually existing in the world. For these varied reasons it admits of no question whatever that the Prakrits of the poets and of the grammarians were really at one time spoken languages. But it is of course not meant that they were spoken just as we find them written, or that they were necessarily spoken at the time when the poets that used them flourished.

The Prakrits became literary and dead dialects as Sanskrit itself had before them, and, as already remarked, they may be used for literary purposes even now, if one wishes to do so. The distinction between the written Prakrits and the corresponding spoken Prakrits cannot be greater than the usual distinction between the language of books and that of ordinary life; and prabably the Prakrits of some of our early plays represent the vernaculars of the time faithfully. I must not omit to mention that Mr. Beames has considerably modified his opinion since he wrote the article from which the above extract is taken, for in the beginning of the Introduction to his Comparative Grammar he speaks of the Prakrits as spoken languages, and attempts to account for the use of so many in the dramatic plays instead of setting it down to a mere fancy.

We will next proceed to consider the views that have been put forth, opposed to the conclusions we have arrived at, as regards the relation between Sanskrit and the Prakrits and endeavour to determine that relation more definitely than we have done. Professor Weber believes that in the Vedic times there were several dialects, and that by a fusion of these a common language called the Sanskrit was formed, while at the same time the dialects ran on their course and formed the Prakrits. He says :—

"I incline to the opinion of those, who deny that the Sanskrit Bhāṣā, properly so called, was ever the common spoken language of the whole Aryan people, and assign it to the learned alone. Just as our modern High German, arising out of the ancient dialects of the Germans, reduced what was common to all to universal rules and laws, and by the power of analogy obliterated all recollections of varieties; and just as, on the other hand, these dialects while they gradually degenerated often preserved at the same time fuller and more ancient forms; so also the Vedic dialects became partly combined in one stream, in which their individual existence was lost, and so formed the regular Sanskrit Bhāṣā, and partly flowed on individually on their own original (Prākṛta) irregular force, and continued to be the idioms of the different provinces in the corruption of which they participated. The Sanskrit language and the Prakrit dialects had, therefore, a common and simultaneous origin; the latter did not spring out of the former."

Professor Weber gives a few instances of Prakritised Sanskrit words from the Vedic dialect, as he calls it, to show that the developments of the Prakrits began then, but nearly all of these are from such works as the Upaniṣads, which must be assigned to a very late period when the language was in that confusion which we find in the Buddhistic Gāthās.

Now if the development of Sanskrit and the Prakrits was contemporaneous, how comes it that almost all the words and grammatical forms in these latter dialects are manifest corruptions of Sanskrit words and forms? Professor Weber's theory does not account for this fact, but this defect is supplied by Mr. Beames, who holds nearly the same view as the Professor. He says:—"The idea of a common language is the creation of modern times, and the effect of the spread of literature." "The most probable hypothesis is, that the Aryans from the earliest times spoke many dialects, all closely akin, all having the same family likeness and tendencies common to all, perhaps in every case mutually intelligible, but still distinct and co-existent." In a note we are told that this is probable but cannot be proved. The dialect of Vedic hymns was, he says, only one of these. Then "after a time the Brahmans consciously and intentionally set themselves to the task of constructing a sacred language, by preserving and

reducing to rule the grammatical elements of this Vedic tongue." "They seized on the salient features of Aryan speech as contained in all dialects, and moulded them into one harmonious whole." They (the popular dialects) were anterior to Sanskrit, contemporary with it, and they finally survived it. Nevertheless, Sanskrit is older than the dialects. This sounds like a paradox, but it is true in two senses; first, that "as ages rolled on, the vulgar dialects went on developing into new forms, while Sanskrit remained fixed and fossilized for ever." The second is that "though Pāṇini, who is credited with this feat of constructing the Sanskrit language, lived when the early dialects were much changed, still among the Brahmans there was a traditional memory of the ancient and then obsolete forms of many words... In teaching his pupils the true principles of speech, Pāṇini would naturally use these archaic words in preference to the corruptions current around him, and thus the language which he, to a certain extent, created, was in great part a resuscitation of antiquated terms."

To be able to estimate the views of these writers at their true worth, it is necessary that we should try to fix the meaning of the word dialect, which is the source of some confusion and endeavour to form some idea of the origin and growth of dialects generally. If little differences are to be regarded as sufficient to constitute a dialect, there are as many dialects as human beings. For just as no two human faces ars exactly alike, no two men speak exactly alike. Every one has his peculiarities of pronunciation, and is fond of particular words or turns of expression. The principle of individuality is strong in human nature, but its effects are counteracted by the principle of community, which guides the development of human life; and the necessity of communication compels a man to drop peculiarities in speech and to conform himself to the prevailing model. Thus then, the individual differences come to be minute and insignifiant, and hence the language of a community becomes practically one language. But, constituted as communities generally, but not necessarily, are, they are composed of classes; and there is not as much communication between separate classes as within the limits of a class, and hence there come to be class languages, or varieties of speech in

the same community. There may be such classes; but the smaller ones may be neglected and we may distinguish between two large ones, generally called the lower and the higher, or the uneducated and educated classes. The languages of these differ, that of the lower class being more subject to those laws of development, growth, or corruption which I traced in the first lecture. Thus an uneducated Englishman uses many such forms as "I knowed," "you says," formed upon the prevailing analogies; and his pronunciation of a good many words is corrupt, as "genlman" for "gentleman," "wot" for "what," "guvner" for "governor," &c. And in the same way the language of the Marathi, Gujarati or Hindi lower classes is not the same as that of the higher. But still the word dialect is not used in speaking of these two varieties, one principal reason being that the language of the lower classes is not acknowledged to have an independent existence.

Again, when a community comes to have a literature, the style that is used, as a rule, differs from the ordinary conversational style. There are certain words, turns of expression, modes of construction, and even solitary forms which, though used in conversation, do not appear in books. Even these two varieties are not called dialects. The dialects of a language therefore or kindred dialects, as they may be called, are the languages of kindred communities, which, while they possess a large body of common words and forms, have also many others which are different, though in most cases the roots from which these are derived are common to all. And according to the proportion in which the similar and dissimilar elements are mixed, the dialects are more or less distant from each other.

The causes that divide men into distinct communities are the causes that create distinct dialects. The laws of change and development are always in operation in a language, in a changing condition of society, and the processes of destruction or disappearance of old words and forms and the construction or appearance of new ones, are constantly going on. Hence, when after the separation of men into distinct communities, communication between them is lessened, these processes go on in a varied and dissimilar manner. The conditions of life in their new

habitations may also be different, and when they are so, they bring about a varied linguistic development. But though the processes of destruction and construction are always going on in a language, they suppose that the society, whose language it is, is moving and not stationary. The life of a community may, however, be even and unvaried, in which case there will be little change in its language. Or certain races may be very conservative, and cling to the past with tenacity. Thus the Lithuanian peasants of the present day have through a number of ages, though they possess nothing like a literature, preserved a good many old Aryan words and forms in a purer condition than all their European neighbours. So that even after men are divided into distinct communities it is by no means necessary that distinct dialects should grow up. They may or they may not. But the possibility of slight difference, such as those which exist in the speech of the different classes of a community, even when the dialect is the same, is not denied.

Now, if for the various reasons above indicated dialects have come into existence, these continue until by the development of civilisation and by political events kindred communities come to form a nation; and then by increased communication and the growth of a common literature these dialects are fused together, and one harmonious language is formed; though, however, in remote quarters they may continue to have an independent existence. The writers whom I have quoted pay exclusive attention to this fact, of which there are several instances in modern European history, the most notable of which is the development of the modern German; and lay it down as a universal proposition which requires no proof, that in an early condition of society there must be a plurality of dialects, and that there could be no such thing as a common language.

This seems to be the opinion of Professor Max Müller also. But if there was not one common original dialect, whence are the common portion of the words and forms of kindred dialects, and the common roots derived? And does not comparative philology itself, in its comparisons and classifications, go upon the assumption that there was such a language? Thus then, since the creation of dialects depends on causes and the causes may not

exist, it will not do to assume that there were several dialects in Vedic times without positive proof or even positive indications. Several independent Aryan communities or tribes may not have migrated into India, but only one. Or even if more than one tribe came over, they may have been, like Lithuanian peasants, very conservative as regards their language. The circumstances we know about the language of the period do not necessitate the supposition of a plurality of dialects.

Besides, if according to Professor Weber these originally existing dialects went on in their own isolated course as the idioms of different provinces, and became the Pali and the Prakrits, we should expect to find much greater divergences between them, produced in the course of the many centuries that elapsed between the Vedic period and that in which they were as we now find them. But the distinction between the dialects of the Inscriptions of Aśoka and even between the different Prakrits is by no means great, and concerns chiefly the pronunciation of individual letters. The plea of linguistic conservatism which I have before used in a certain case cannot be brought in here, since those early dialects resembling the language of the Vedas, as they must have done if they existed, were already very greatly corrupted in passing into the Pali or the Prakrits. Surely such very extensive changes as from the Vedic to the Prakrit form, if carried on in different provinces by different communities, must occasion very great divergences, greater even than we find between the modern Vernaculars. For the degree of departure from the old Prakrits which these last exhibit is not so great as that which the Prakrits do from the Vedic dialect. The divergence ought to be at least as great, but it certainly is not so.

Now, the way in which the supposed contemporaneous development of Sanskrit and the Prakrits is accounted for by Mr. Beames is, as we have seen, this:—That the Prakrits arose by a natural development while Sanskrit was created by the Brahmans, and principally by Pāṇini, out of the Vedic dialect and the salient points of Prakrit speech, and by a resuscitation of antiquated terms. Hence it contains the old words and forms from which those in the Prakrits are derived. And this also accounts for the existence of what Mr. Beames calls an Aryan but non-Sanskritic element

in the Prakrits, by which he probably means either those few forms that are not found in classical Sanskrit but must be referred to the Vedic dialect, or others that must be Aryan, though not found either in Classical or Vedic Sanskrit. Of the latter there are almost no instances which may be regarded as beyond the possibility of doubt.

But such a theory is calculated to bring relief to a puzzled philologist who, not knowing to what Sanskrit word to trace any Prakrit or Vernacular word, will at once get out of the difficulty by putting it down as an Aryan word not found in Sanskrit. But how is it possible to create such a language as the Sanskrit out of the elements indicated by Mr. Beames? A literary style, as distinguished from a conversational style, is what one can understand, but a language which never had anything to correspond to it in ordinary vernacular speech, but is simply created, is inconceivable. And if the creation of a sacred language was the conscious and deliberate aim of the Brahmans, and Pāṇini resuscitated old or obsolete words, why did they or he not include in the new language all the innumerable old obsolete Vedic words and grammatical forms, which would have, from the very reverence that was paid to the Vedas, rendered their invention more sacred; and why should they, instead of doing so, have distinguished between a Chāndasa or Vedic, and Bhāṣā or popular, speech? And, if the inventors seized all the salient features of the popular dialects, would they have left a few but striking Vedic peculiarties in the popular speech, such as the absolutive in त्वान or तून, unrepresented in their new language? And how could they from the popular dialects, in which the conjugations and declensions were reduced to fewer types, construct the innumerable forms of the Sanskrit noun or verb, Perfects, Aorists and the lost tenses or moods? And what must have been the basis of the incalculable Taddhita or nominal, and Kṛt or verbal derivatives, which have left but few traces in the Prakrits? Even the Vedic dialect is not calculated to afford much help. For if the grammar of the later Sanskrit had been framed by the conscious inventors upon the model of the Vedic, the declensions, conjugations, and the derivatives would have been like the Vedic; whereas, as a matter of fact, the differences are great, and some of these I pointed out in the first lecture.

There remains the third alternative, that there was a traditional memory of these forms. But why should they have been committed to memory when there was no motive? The sacred formulas which Mr. Beames says were orally transmitted do not, if they were the same as those that have come down to us, contain a large number of such forms; and, if they were different, they are simply imaginary. And, though the Vedas were and are committed to memory, the literally incalculable number of case forms, verbal forms, Taddhitas, and Kṛdantas, in the absence of any general rules which were laid down afterwards, as the theory supposes, by the grammarian-creators of the languages, it is thoroughly impossible to commit to memory,—impossible, as the great author of the Mahābhāṣya says, even for Indra, with Bṛhaspati for his teacher and a thousand celestial years during which to learn them. Of course it is a different thing when they are current in a language which one learns from one's childhood, though even in this case very few know all the words and forms which are current in their own country, and nearly all only such as they are immediately concerned with. And what is the evidence for the truth of this theory? Absolutely none is given. It is simply the vague feeling of an individual or individuals, and not a conclusion arrived at after a deliberate weighing of evidence; while it sets at naught the clearest evidence available in the works of the grammarians themselves, which I shall presently adduce.

The theory, therefore, is utterly untenable, and the contemporaneous development of Sanskrit and the Prakrits derived from it, to account for which it was invented, is an inpossibility.

Professor Aufrecht, though he does not believe in a plurality of Vedic dialects, derives the Prakrits from the Vedic language and assigns Sanskrit to schools of the learned, but does not explain its genesis. Those who believe the Vernacular dialects to be derived directly from the Vedic must explain the origin of Classical Sanskrit in some such way as Mr. Beames has done; there is no other way.

Dismissing feelings which we have been considering so long, we will for a time examine the reason or reasons that are given

for doubting the derivation of the Pali and the Prakrits from Sanskrit. Thus Professor Childers, in the preface to his Pali Dictionary, states the relations between Sanskrit and Pali in the following lucid manner :—

"If we compare Pali with classical Sanskrit, we find that about two-fifths of the vocabulary consists of words identical in form with their Sanskrit equivalents, as Nāga, Buddha, Nidāna. Nearly all the remaining words present a more or less late or corrupted form..... Words of the above two classes nearly exhaust the Pali vocabulary ; but their remains a small though important residuum of forms distinctly older than Sanskrit, and found only in the oldest known Sanskrit, that of the Vedas. Nay, I do not feel sure that Pali does not retain a few precious relics older than the most ancient Sanskrit, and only to be explained through the allied Indo-Germanic languages. It results from all this that Pali cannot be derived from Sanskrit; both, though most intimately connected, being independent corruptions of the lost Aryan speech which is their common parent; but that Pali is on the whole in a decidedly later stage than Sanskrit, and, to adopt a metaphor popularised by Max Müller, stands to it in the relation of a younger sister." Then in a foot-note he gives these Vedic forms in the Pali : the infinitive in *tave*, as kātave "for doing," the absolutive or gerund in *tvāna*, as katvāna "having done." These two terminations, however, occur only occasionally, the usual ones are the Sanskrit *tum* and *tvā*. The next two, *imassa*, genitive singular of *ayaṃ*, and *gonaṃ*, genitive plural of *go* "a cow," I consider as made up by false analogy, as I have already indicated ; *tinnam*, genitive plural of *tri*, is similar. Then *vidū* from *vid* to know and meaning "one who knows;" divo, which is masculine in the Veda and in the Pali, while it is feminine in Sanskrit ; the Imperative first person plural in āmase as in yamāmase, "I shall or may restrain" kasāmase, "I shall or may plough ;" the Imperfect akā of karoti from the Vedic akat. Pali has the Vedic ḷ, but this is a sound natural under certain circumstances, since we have it in Marathi and Gujarati, and kuham corresponding to the Vedic kuha. The Vedic Instrumental plural termination of nouns in आ is retained in the Pali and also corrupted to ehi. Professor Childers, however, thinks it is

corrupted from the Sanskrit ablative bhyas. I agree with those who derive it from the Vedic affix. To these may be added the the Prakrit कुणइ "he does," in which there is a remnant of the fifth conjugation, while the root belongs to the eighth class; and also the affix त्तण of abstract nouns, while it is त्व in ordinary Sanskrit. Prakrit possesses तूण or ऊण corresponding to the Pali त्वान or तून and the instrumental affix एहि.

Then in another note Professor Childers gives the Pali garu "heavy" or "great" while Sanskrit has गुरु, though the गर appears in the Sanskrit comparative and superlative forms गरीयस् and गरिष्ठ. The अ is seen in the Greek word Barus and Latin gravis. The Potential अस्स "let him be," is also said not to have anything to correspond to it in Sanskrit; but it may be traced to the Vedic subjunctive or लेट्, असत्, or regarded as a corruption of अस्यात् for Sanskrit स्यात्, the अ though dropped in Sanskrit being brought over by analogy from the singular of the other tenses. He also gives इध, while Sanskrit has इह, which is doubtful, and also सब्बधि "everywhere" the धि in which corresponds to fi in some Greek words. The Pali धि is the locative singular of the root, the instrumental singular of which is preserved in the Sanskrit धा in एकधा, पञ्चधा &c. Of these the Prakrits have गर in such words as गरुअ, गारव &c., and इध.

Here the question is reduced to a point. Two-fifths of the words in the Pali are pure Sanskrit, the rest are corrupt Sanskrit, while there are about six or seven forms which are lost in Classical Sanskrit but exist in Vedic Sanskrit; and there are one or two which exist in neither. The dialect then from which the Pali was corrupted or immediately sprang, granting for a moment that it was different from the Sanskrit, had two-fifths of its words exactly like those in Sanskrit, and the other three-fifths from which the Pali corruptions were derived were also exactly like Sanskrit, but it contained these eight or nine forms which Sanskrit has lost. In other words, Pali itself, if we take the original forms of the corrupt three-fifths of its words into consideration, is exactly like Sanskrit but for these nine forms. Is the dialect for this difference to be considered an independent dialect? Is the distinction enough to entitle the Pali or its

supposed immediate parent to be considered a dialect, that is, a language, elaborated, according to the definition given before, from the ancient speech by a community distinct from that which elaborated the Sanskrit? If any one thinks it is, he may do so, and regard the Pali as a distinct dialect; but he must for the same reason consider Surat Gujarati and Ahmedabad Gujarati; Konkani Marathi and Deccani Marathi or the Marathi, Gujarati, English and any other language as spoken by the uneducated classes of the population, and as spoken by the educated, to be distinct dialects of the same ancient speech. In the same community, as I have observed, varieties of speech may or do prevail and must prevail, but the distinction between them is not enough to constitute them distinct dialects; wherefore Sanskrit and the immediate parent of the Pali or the uncorrupt Pali must be considered as one language, even though the latter contained a few more ancient forms; and if both were one, the Pali must be regarded as the daughter of Sanskrit and not its sister. Some of its few peculiarities it may have derived from the spoken variety of Sanskrit, and the rest from that in use among the inferior classes. It often happens that the lower classes sometimes retain an old word or form after it has been given up by those above them, whence it is likely that the Pali was corrupted from the language of those classes. And as a matter of fact it was for a long time the speech of the uneducated, as will be presently shown. These observations apply to the later Prakrits also; wherefore, if these derived languages were spoken, that from which they were derived, i. e., Sanskrit, must have been a spoken language also.

And, independently of this consideration, there is positive evidence that Sanskrit was a spoken language. Yāska in the Nirukta frequently refers to the Vedic dialect and to another called Bhāṣā, the peculiarities of which mentioned by him are observable in Classical Sanskrit. Pāṇini in his Grammar gives a good many rules which are exclusively applicable to the dialect of the Vedas, to which he refers by using the words Chandas, Nigama, Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, and others which are applicable to the Bhāṣā alone, but by far the largest number of his Sūtras have reference to both. Now, since Bhāṣā, or the ordinary Sanskrit, is thus distinguished

from the dialect of the Vedas, it must be the language in use at the time when these writers lived. "Bhāṣā," as used by them, is a proper name, but in later Sanskrit it acquired a generic signification and meant language generally. The root from which the word is derived, signifies "to speak," wherefore the original sense of the word as a proper noun must have been the "speech" or "the spoken language." And, because this was its signification, it afterwards came to denote "explanation." When we ask for an explanation of something that is obscure and unintelligible, what we mean is that the sense should be expressed to us in the ordinary language of men, a language that we can understand. Thus such a sentence as स्थितप्रज्ञस्य का भाषा, means "what is the Vernacular of स्थितप्रज्ञ," an expression similar to "what is the English of it?"

Pāṇini refers certain points expressly to popular usage. He says that the names of countries are conventional, and no grammatical analysis should be given of them, because it is fictitious; these should be used as we find them used. Similarly he says grammarians should not make rules to teach such things as these:- That the two words of a compound express the thing denoted by the principal word as qualified by the sense of the subordinate word; as for instance, राजपुरुष, a compound of राजन् "a king" and पुरुष "a man," does not denote "a king," but "a man," and not "man" *alone* but *as connected with a king*, i. e. a king's man or officer; and that the base and the termination express the sense of the termination as qualified by that of the base; as औपगव signifies not उपगु but a child, and not a child *alone* but a child *as connected with* उपगु i. e. Upagu's child. For the significations of words are to be learnt from usage.

In the introduction to the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali tells us that some persons in his or Kātyāyana's time considered the study of grammar to be unnecessary. For said they, "Vedic words or forms we know from the Veda, and those current in popular usage from that usage; grammar is useless." Now the grammar which is thus declared useless is the grammar both of the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit; and the depreciators of the science profess to derive a knowledge of the first dialect from the Vedic books, and of the second not from other books but from popular usage. Hence

Sanskrit must have been in the time of those two grammarians a spoken language.

Similarly in the passage from the same work which I placed before you in the first lecture, you will remember that the objector (or Pūrvapakṣin) argues that, since usage is the authority upon which the grammarians go, certain verbal forms which are no longer used by people ought not to be taught by the grammarians, and says that instead of those verbal forms participles are employed. The principal teacher (Siddhāntin) does not deny the facts, but refers the objector to the vast literature of the language, where he may find them used, though obsolete at the time. It is evident from the whole passage, that Sanskrit was then a spoken language though some of its verbal forms had fallen into desuetude. I have also shown that the language was considerably changed between the times of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, and have called the Sanskrit that prevailed when Pāṇini and Yāska flourished Middle Sanskrit, and that which was current in the time of Kātyāyana, Classical Sanskrit. Now these changes from the one form to the other could not have taken place if the language had been dead or petrified into a merely literary lauguage.

I am at a loss to see why some scholars should find it so difficult to belive that Sanskrit was a vernacular. If its declensions and conjugations are considered too complicated for the language of everyday life, it must not be forgotten that such a fact did not prevent the ancient languages of Europe from becoming spoken languages. And this objection would do equally well against the Vedic dialect, which or others like which, are regarded as the vernaculars of their times, and which are richer in inflexions than the later Sanskrit. Then it is held that the artificial regularity of Sanskrit makes it improbable that it should have been a vernacular. Where is this artificial regularity? On the contrary, it is the absence of regularity that renders its grammar so difficult and complicated. There is a freedom in the choice of words, expressions, and forms. In every department of its grammar there are innumerable optional forms; nouns and verbal roots are often declined and conjugated in several ways. One same root in a good many cases forms its special tenses in more ways than one, and in the nominal derivatives, the verbal

derivatives, the formation of the feminine and the uses of cases and tenses there is a freedom which some may consider a license. The only difference is, that Sanskrit has had the most perfect grammarians in the world, who observed all the facts of their language and laid them down as unchangeable fact, and it is this which gives that language a stiffened appearance.

Then Saṁdhis or euphonic combinations of letters, which are necessary in Sanskrit, are regarded as inconsistent with the character of a spoken language. It is, however, not denied that such combinations are observable in all languages, and particularly so in Latin and Greek; but it is urged that in Sanskrit there is a regularity or universality about them which is not found anywhere else. It should not, however, be forgotten that Saṁdhi in the same word and the same compound, and of a preposition with a root is alone necessary. Between different words it is optional, which means that it was on occasions neglected. Now Saṁdhi in the same word is necesssry by a law of nature. The Sanskrit does not allow a hiatus; and this is a characteristic of most of the modern idioms also. Some languages, such as our Prakrits and the old languages of Europe, tolerate it. But the euphonic combination of consonants in the same word is necessary even in Latin; as in rex=reg-s, scriptus =scrib-tus, cinctum=cing-tum, lectum=leg-tum, tractum from traho, though the h like the Sanskrit ह stands for an original gh; d and t combine to form an s, as defendo, defensum; sedeo, sessum; claudo, clausum; &c. Prepositions are really parts of words, and hence by the same law, they also must form one harmonious sound with the initial letter of the word to which they are attached; and modern vernaculars have got corruptions of the combined words, which shows that they must have been used in those forms in the colloquial Sanskrit; thus Sk. पर्यस्त, Pr. पल्लट्ट, M. पालट; Sk. प्रत्यभिजाना, Pr. पच्चहिआण, H. पहिचान; Sk. अत्यर्थ, Pr. अच्चट्ट, M. अचाट, &c.

Now, as to compounds, this peculiarity of the Sanskrit has been carried to an extravagant extent by later writers, but Pāṇini allows only certain formations of this nature. These grew up as independent words in the language, and hence in the matter of Saṁdhi were treated like other words. In the spoken language the euphonic combinations we have been considering were not

consciously made, but the words themselves acquired those forms by habitual use in the same manner as in other tongues. The grammarians, however, discovered and laid down these rules; and the practice of using them in books even in combinining different words gained ground, though, however, many instances in which there is no such Saṁdhi are found in the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas. But if in colloquial speech such a combination was not possible, the grammarians do not enjoin that it should be made; and very probably it was not made.

And traces of many expressions, which only a colloquial use of language can generate, have been preserved, not so much in the literature, as by the grammarians. Such is one expressive of an intensive or excessive action, composed of the Imperative second person form of a root repeated, followed by a verbal form of the same in any tense of the Indicative and in any person or number; as खाद खादेति खादति, lit. "eat, eat, he eats," i. e. eats much, कुरु कुर्विति करोति "do, do, he does," i. e. does much. This expression exists in Marathi and is considered so colloquial that no Marathi grammarian has noticed it, as खा खा खातो, कर कर करतो, in which, as in Sanskrit, खा and कर are forms of the Imperative second person singular.

A similar expression is used when several actions are attributed to the same agent; as ओदनं भुङ्क्ष्व सक्तून् पिब धानाः खादेत्येवायमभ्यवहरति "Eat rice, drink barely water, devour fried grain, in this way he fills his stomach;" which in Marathi is भात जेव पेज पी लाह्या खा असें पोट भरतो. In this case the Indicative should signify a general action of which the Imperatives denote the species, and we may have here करोति "does" instead of अभ्यवहरति.

Similarly those innumerable expressions consisting of a form made up by adding अम्, technically णमुल्, to a root, preceded by a noun, and of a verbal form of the same root must be colloquial; as हस्तग्राहं गृह्णाति "holds by the hand," जीवनाशं नश्यति "he perishes," उदरपूरं भुङ्क्ते "eats a stomachful," यथाकारमहं भोक्ष्ये तथाकारं भोक्ष्ये किं तवानेन "I will eat as I eat (as I like), what have you to do with it?" &c. Etymologically हस्तग्राहम्, जीवनाशम् &c. are accusatives, and they may in these cases be called cognate accusatives, and the expressions somewhat resemble such ones in English, as "run a race," "walk a walk," "die a death," &c.

The compounds दण्डादण्डि, केशाकेशि &c., meaning "a scuffle in which there is a brandishing of sticks and seizing each other by the hair," and a great many others made up of Imperative forms of verbs, or of a verb and its object, which are used as nouns, are of a nature suited for the purposes of a light conversation; as अत्र खादतमोदता वर्तते "'eat and enjoy' is the rule here," अत्राश्नौतपिबता वर्तते "'eat and drink' is the rule here," उद्धरोत्मृजा तस्य दानशौण्डीरस्य गृहे "'take out and give' is what takes place in the house of that bountiful man," जहिस्तम्बोयम् "he is one who constantly says, 'strike the sheafs of corn'," एहिस्वागता वर्तते "'come, welcome to thee' is the practice," &c.

Sanskrit was not the only language spoken in the times of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. In the Mahābhāṣya there are several passages which contain allusions to a dialect arising from a corruption of Sanskrit. Thus, in the comment on the Vārtika: Siddhe Śabdārthasambandhe: we are told, with reference to the question, whether words are created or exist of themselves, that Pāṇini's rules suppose that they are not created but exist of themselves; and so is the relation between them and the things they denote, i. e. their power of expression, uncreated and self-existent; and, according to another interpretation of the Vārtika, the things also which words denote are so. How is it known that all these are self-existent? Because in the affairs of the world or in ordinary life men think of certain things and use words to express them; they do not set about producing words before doing so. But this is not the case with those things that are created and self-existent. If a man wishes to do something with an earthern pot, he goes to the house of a potter and says, "Make a pot for me, I have to do something by its means." Now, if he has to use words, he does not in the same way go to the house of a grammarian and say, "Make words, I want to use them;" but immediately that he thinks of this thing and that he uses words [for expressing them]. Well then, if words are to be taken from ordinary life [and are not made by grammarians], what is it that the Śāstra [grammar] does? "The Śāstra lays down a restriction by observing which a man may attain religious merit. It does what other Śāstras in ordinary life do. Thus, while it is possible to satisfy hunger by eating anything whatever, it is enjoined that

one shall not eat a domesticated fowl or pig; and the object is, that he may by regulating his conduct thus attain religious merit. In the same way this Śāstra (grammar) tells us that, while it is possible to express one's meaning by using correct words or incorrect words, correct ones alone which it teaches should be used to secure the religious merit arising therefrom." After this follows the discussion translated in the first lecture; and then we have another of which the following is a portion :—

PŪRV. Does religious merit arise from a knowledge of correct words or from their use?

SID. What is the difference?

PŪRV. If you say religious merit arise from their knowledge, religious de-merit also must arise. For he, who knows what words are correct, also knows what words are incorrect. If merit results from the knowledge of those that are correct, demerit must result from the knowledge of those that are incorrect. Or greater de-merit must arise [from their knowledge], as the number of incorrect words is larger, and that of correct words smaller. For the corruptions of one correct word are manifold; as, for instance, the corruptions of the correct word गो are गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका &c. And the Ṛṣi also indicates (in a passage which is quoted) that the restriction as to correct words concerns their use [and not knowledge].

SID. Well, then, let it be that religious merit arises from their use [and not from knowledge].

PŪRV. If from their use, the whole world would obtain heavenly felicity.

SID. And now why should you be jealous if the whole world obtain heavenly felicity?

PŪRV. No, certainly, I am not jealous. But what I mean is, that it thus becomes useless to make any effort; such effort only as is fruitful should be made. If you get the fruit without any effort, the effort is useless. [The effort meant is that involved in the study of grammar, i. e. of correct words. People use some correct words at least without studying grammar, and, if eternal felicity results from the *use* of such words, they get it without making the effort of studying the subject].

SID. Why, verily those who make the effort will largely use correct words, and will obtain a large amount of heavenly felicity.

PŪRV. That the fruit does not follow the effort is also an observed fact. For there are persons who though they have made the effort are seen to be incompetent [in the use of correct words], while others, who have not, are competent; wherefore it is possible, the fruit, i. e. heavenly felicity, may not follow.

SID. Well then, religious merit arises not from knowledge alone, neither from use alone.

PŪRV. From what then?

SID. Heavenly felicity arises from the use of correct words when it is accompanied by the knowledge, that they are correct, derived from a study of the Śāstra.

And thus it goes on.

Now it is clear from all this that correct words, i. e. Sanskrit, was spoken in those days by all, but that incorrect words had got mixed up with it, and the object of grammar was to teach how to avoid incorrect words or corruptions, though there were men who could speak correctly without knowing grammar. And this is the state in which more or less all languages are at all times; and even at the present day the purpose of grammar is considered to be to teach how to speak correctly. By the way, it will be seen how Sanskrit grammarians distinctly declare that they teach nothing that does not exist, that they do not create words, but separate the correct ones from such as are incorrect. But what did Patañjali consider to be the standard of correct Sanskrit: who was it that spoke the language correctly, and in whose speech were corruptions observable? This is clear from another passage at the beginning of the third pāda of the first chapter of the Mahābhāṣya. Patañjali interprets the Sūtra भूवादयो धातवः (I. III. 1) in a manner to yield such a connotative definition of a dhātu or root as this, that a dhātu is that which denotes action or being. Then a question is raised, if this is the way to distinguish a root why should a list of roots be given; in other words, if we have got a connotative definition, a definition by enumeration is not wanted. In this case there is a difference of opinion between Kātyāyana and Patañjali.

PŪRV. If you have given a connotative definition now, enumeration should not be made, i. e. a list of roots should not be given.

SID. It should be made.

PŪRV. What for?

SID. The enumeration of [the verbal roots] bhū and others should be made for the purpose of excluding nouns (Prātipadika) and the verbs that begin with आणपयति [i. e. If the roots are not actually enumerated, nouns also which express action or being may come under the the connotative definition. In the same way it will extend to roots used in ordinary life, which are not Sanskrit, such as आणपयति and others].

PŪRV. What verbs are those which begin with आणपयति?

SID. आणपयति, वट्टति and वड्ढति. And enumeration should also be made in order that the anubandhas or indicatory letters and accents of roots may be made known; *i. e.* that one may know what the accents and indicatory letters of roots are. It is not possibe to know the accents or indicatory letters unless the roots are enumerated. [Anubandhas are certain letters attached to roots to denote some, conjugational or other peculiarity belonging to them].

PŪRV. Now those roots whose accents are capaple of being inferred. *i. e.*, are उदात्त, and which have no anubandhas, but still are inserted in the list, may be omitted from it. [i. e. When those roots which have the अनुदात्त accent are enumerated, it may be inferred that the rest have the other or उदात्त accent].

SID. Even those should be enumerated in order that आणपयति and others [i. e., corrupt Sanskrit roots] may be excluded.

Hereupon Patañjali disagrees with Kātyāyana and says:—

PAT. No, आणपयति and others will be excluded, because the usage of the educated or Śiṣṭas is to be followed. This usage of the Śiṣṭas must be necessarily referred to in other cases even; for instance, in order to exclude the altered forms of those roots that are enumerated. For in ordinary life they use कसि for कृषि and दिसि for दृशि. [The sense is, that since in grammar we follow the usage of the Śiṣṭas or educated, these verbs आणपयति, वट्टति

and वड्ढति, and also कसि for कृषि and दिसि for दृशि which are not used by them, will necessarily be excluded from our connotative definition; hence for the purpose of excluding them enumeration is not wanted].

Now आणपयति is a corruption of the Sanskrit आज्ञापयति, वट्टति of वर्तते, and वड्ढति of वर्धते, ते Ātm. being replaced by ति Parasm., and कस् for कृष्, and दिस् for दृश्. These and such other corruptions were in use at the time, but Patañjali clearly lays down that they were not used by the Śiṣṭas or educated people, and therefore they belonged to the language of the vulgar. Now all these roots are found in the Pali in these very forms, आणपयति being, however, आणापयति; but the reading in the MSS. and the Benares lithographed edition which I have consulted is faulty. So also of the corruptions of the word गो given by our author, we find गावी in Professor Childers's Pali Dictionary, and गोण the masculine of गोणी. Thus our grammarians recognise one language only, the Sanskrit, and these words and forms which are found in the Pali they assign to the speech of the vulgar.

In another passage still we are told more definitely who the Śiṣṭas were that spoke the Sanskrit language correctly without studying Pāṇini's grammar, and whose usage was the standard of correctness. Pāṇini's Sūtra VI. III, 109, lays down that such words as पृषोदर should be regarded as correct in the form in which they are upadiṣṭa, i. e, used or uttered; the changes in them such as the elision, or augmentation, of letters or the alteration of their forms do not obey any general rules laid down by him, but still the words exhibiting those changes should be taken as correct, just as they are used. Now the Pūrvapakṣin raises the question :—

PŪRV. What is meant by upadiṣṭa?

SID. Uttered (used).

PŪRV. How does it come to mean that?

SID. The root 'diś' signifies 'uttering.' One utters (uses), letters, and says that they are thus upadiṣṭa.

PŪRV. By whom upadiṣṭa (uttered or used)?

SID. By the Śiṣṭas.

PŪRV. Who are the Śiṣṭas?

SID. The grammarians.

PŪRV. How so?

SID. The character of a Śiṣṭa is conferred upon one by the knowledge of the science (Śāstra): and the grammarians know the science [of grammar].

PŪRV. If a man is made Śiṣṭa by the science, and the science depends upon a man's being Śiṣṭa, this is reasoning in a circle. An argument in a circle does not hold. [The circle is, one is Śiṣṭa, and consequently an authority in matters of language if he has studied grammar; and grammar itself depends on the usage of the Śiṣṭas.]

SID. Well, then, the character of a Śiṣṭa is conferred upon one by the country in which he lives and by his conduct. That sort of conduct must be associated with residence in Āryāvarta alone (lit. that sort of conduct must be in Āryāvarta alone).

PŪRV. Which is Āryāvarta?

SID. The country which is to the east of the Ādarśa, west of Kālkavana, south of the Himālaya, and north of the Pāriyātra. Those Brahmans in this country of the Āryas who do not store up riches (lit. who keep only so much grain as is contained in a jar), who are not greedy, who do good disinterestedly, and who without any effort are conversant with a certain branch of knowledge are the worshipful Śiṣṭas.

PŪRV. If, then, the Śiṣṭas are an authority as regards language, what function does the Aṣṭādhyāyī (Pāṇini's grammar) perform?

SID. The purpose of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is to enable us to find out the Śiṣṭas.

PŪRV. How is it possible to find out the Śiṣṭas by means of the Aṣṭādhyāyī?

SID. A student of the Aṣṭādhyāyī finds a man who has not studied the book using words just as they are taught in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. He then thinks, "Verily, this man possesses some good luck or innate nature by means of which, though he has not

studied the Aṣṭādhyāyī, he uses words just as they are taught in that book. Verily he knows other words also" [not taught in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, such as पूषोदर]. Thus, the purpose of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is to enable one to find out who is a Śiṣṭa [in order that he may refer to him and learn such words as do not obey the rules laid down by Pāṇini, but still are correct].

Here then we have the clearest possible evidence that Sanskrit was the vernacular of holy or respectable Brahmans of Āryāvarta or Northern India, who could speak the language correctly without the study of grammar. The corrupt language mentioned by Patañjali which was composed of correct and incorrect words, that is, a dialect like the Pali, must, therefore, have been the vernacular of the other classes. And this is what you may say even with regard to the modern vernaculars. Who is it that speaks good or correct Marathi? Of course, Brahmans of culture. The language of the other classes is not correct Marathi. The word Śiṣṭa may be translated by "a man of education or culture;" and this education or culture has, since remote times, been almost confined to Brahmans.

Thus the dialects of the Inscriptions of Aśoka and the Pali were the vernaculars of the non-Brahmanic classes; but a greater importance must evidently have been attached to them in the times of Aśoka than is now assigned to the Marathi of the non-Brahmanic classes, since they are used by him in the Inscriptions. They are, however, not recognized as independent languages by our grammarians who treated them as we treat the Marathi of the lower classes; but they were in use and bore the same relation to Sanskrit that low Marathi does to high Marathi, the English of the lower classes in England to the speech of the higher. And the English of the lower classes contains, as we have seen, a great many such grammatical forms as "I knowed," and "you says," along with others that are correct.

It is on account of the mixture of such correct words and forms with others that were incorrect that the Pali was not regarded as an independent dialect. The case was different with the Prakrits. They assumed a more settled and fixed character, and were used over a larger area, and thus came to be considered and

treated as separate languages. But the propagators of Buddhism, who like all teachers of a new religion, addressed themselves to the lower or uneducated classes, soon raised this speech into importance. They wrote their religious works in it, and in the course of time it became their sacred language; but it is unknown in India as an independent tongue. From these passages in the Mahābhāṣya, therefore, it is clear that it is by no means true, as is generally supposed, that Sanskrit had ceased to be a spoken language when the Pali arose. The two varieties of speech existed side by side; but as education and culture retrograded, the number of Sanskrit speakers gradually decreased, and the lower variety went on spreading itself over a wider area and developed into the Prakrits.

This contemporaneous existence of the Sanskrit and Pali and the Prakrits as the spoken languages of two classes of the community explains, and is therefore confirmed by, several facts that we noticed before. If, when the Pali arose, Sanskrit became a dead language, it could not influence the grammar of the low dialects. Though words from a language that has ceased to be spoken may be adopted into a spoken dialect, the grammar remains intact. Even a living language if it is foreign, does not affect it. But we have seen that the gradual disappearance of verbal forms is a phenomenon common to both Sanskrit and Pali and that the latter derived some grammatical forms from the former, which did not possess when they were in the stage represented by the Pali. This could not have been the case if the two languages, Sanskrit and Pali, had not existed as two varieties of the varnaculars of a homogeneous community.

The fact that Sanskrit words are so greatly corrupted as to be difficult of recognition and are set down as Deśyas by the native grammarians, while others can casily be traced to their original forms, also points to the same conclusion. Those that are greatly corrupted were early adopted into the language, and removed from subsequent influence. Most of the others, that exhibit only ordinary changes, are such as denote elementary notions, and must therefore have been adopted as early as those of the first sort. But, because they were such elementary words they were heard again and again in their original forms as used

by the higher classes; and thus a further corruption was prevented; and they exhibit only such changes as were necessitated by the vocal habits of the Prakrit speakers.

Another fact is the use of Sanskrit for the higher characters in the plays, and Prakrit for women and the lower ones. This supposes that when the idea first originated, and for a considerable period subsequent to it, though not afterwards—when dramatic plays were written more according to rule than with a view to exhibit any existing state of things—women and persons in a low condition could understand Sanskrit, but not speak it. It was the same with Sanskrit then, as it is with Marathi, for instance, now. A Citpāvanī or Mālvanī woman speaks in her own dialect when conversing with an educated Marathi but understands the standard Marathi that he uses, though she cannot speak it herself. And this is the case everywhere; a person in a low condition understands what is said to him by one belonging to the higher classes, but cannot himself speak like him, and must use his own variety of the language. Thus then at the time when the earliest Sanskrit dramatic plays were written, that language must have been in vernacular use to such an extent as to be intelligible to uneducated persons. And that educated dramatic characters do actually speak it, shows that those whom they represent used it in real life. Again, the dramas were composed to entertain an audience, and were actually acted. If the audience did not understand Sanskrit, as well as Prakrit, the poet defeated his own purpose by making some of his characters speak in that language.

Sanskrit went on gradually losing ground, the number of those who speak it grew smaller and smaller, and after a time it ceased to be used by anybody for the ordinary concerns of life, though even now Pandits carry on their disputations in it. But at all times it has been acting the parent to the vernaculars and adorning and enriching them. The ancient Prakrits borrowed everything from it when it was in vernacular use; but the modern Prakrits mostly adopt such words as express abstract notions. There is, however, an apparent difference in the manner in which the borrowed words were treated by the Prakrits, and are treated by the modern dialects. A Sanskrit word when used by

a Prakrit-speaking person was changed according to his habits of pronunciation; but in modern times it is preserved in a state of purity. This, however, is due to the fact that in modern times the educated classes as well as their uneducated brethren, speak the vernaculars, and it is the former that pronounce the word properly. But the latter, and often women belonging to the former, corrupt it. Now the Prakrit was, as I have shown, for a long time the language of precisely these persons. It is their pronunciation that is recorded by the Prakrit grammarians and poets. In some provinces in modern times, even the higher classes mispronounce the Sanskrit words adopted into the vernaculars, and also in reading Sanskrit books. But in the printed books the correct orthography is used.

As I have observed in a previous lecture and at the beginning of this, some of the vocal habits of the Prakrit speakers have come down to their modern descendants; but not all. The lapse of time and other causes have generated other peculiarities. Hence a Sanskrit word in these days is not corrupted in exactly the same way as in ancient times; and thus we get what are called modern Tadbhavas. Thus, then, as the Sindhi and Bengali cannot but pronounce Sanskrit मोक्ष as मोक्ख, and the Hindustani as मोछ, or the average Gujarati, the Sanskrit word मौन as मोन, and जैन as जेन, so did his old Prakrit ancestors.

It should be borne in mind that the Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit words were not necessarily caused by their continual use for a number of ages, but were due in a good many cases to the vocal peculiarities of the men that used them. Most of those words that represent only the ordinary changes are words of this class; i. e. the corr uptions simply represent, as I have above observed, the transformation which they underwent in the mouth of a Prakrit speaker. At all times Sanskrit words have been coming into the popular languages; but in old times they were pronounced in a manner natural to the men of those times, and thus became Prakrit words; and now they are pronounced in some cases in the same manner, but in a great many in another, and thus they become modern Tadbhavas; while the educated classes often, though not always, pronounce them correctly, and

thus we have modern Tatsamas. This is the way to account for the fact that there are so many pure Sanskrit words in our vernaculars, while there were but a few in the old Prakrits; and we need not connect their introduction with the expulsion of Buddhism and the selfish schemes of the Brahmans, with which it has nothing to do, as is done by one writer.

We will now try to form some idea of the chronology and historical causes of the several linguistic changes we have noticed. The Later or Classical Sanskrit is in the same phonetic condition as the Vedic dialect from which it sprang; and it was for a long succession of centuries, spoken by the Indian Aryans. If it was so, the corruptions observable in the other variety of speech or low Sanskrit, as it may be called, must have been due to the vocal peculiarities of another race than that which elaborated the Classical from the Vedic Sanskrit. The univeral assimilation of conjunct consonants which we observe in the Pali could not have proceeded from the same community that could speak Sanskrit with purity. And such an extensive assimilation we find in the Italian, which was formed out of the Latin spoken by the lower classes of the ancient Roman population by the barbarian races that overran the country. As remarked in the opening lecture, phonetic corruption is rapid and extensive when one race learns and adopts the language of another. The Pali corruptions, therefore, represent the manner in which a foreign race pronounced the Sanskrit of the Aryans. And from such history as we can glean from Sanskrit Literature, we know that the Aryan race when it emigrated to India came in contact with other races. After a time some of these were incorporated into the Aryan community, and formed its fourth order, known by the name of Śūdras. As long as these Śūdras were in thoroughly degraded condition and remained distinct from the other three orders, their speech produced no perceptible effect on that of the latter. But after a time this order began to mingle with the rest, principally by means of inter-marriages, which must have extensively taken place, since some Smṛtis or Indian law-books allow them under certain circumstances and others prohibit them; so that the orthodox belief of learned Pandits at the present day is that the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya orders do not exist, and that all those who

are not Brahmans are Śūdras. But there are indications that even Brahmanhood did not escape pollution. As this combination proceeded, the Śūdra corruptions of the language came into prominence, and after a time such a language as Pali became the ordinary speech of the uneducated. By the time of Aśoka, we may suppose, the so-called Aśiṣṭa or uneducated people, who spoke the incorrect, or corrupt language, comprehended among them the greater portion of the military, trading, and cultivating classes. Professor Childers is of opinion that there are no Deśya or non-Aryan words in the Pali. But the Prakrits do possess some at least; and you will remember that they exhibit other phonetic changes of which the chief is the elision of consonants. Up to the time of Aśoka and even to that of Patañjali, these phenomena are not observable in the popular speech, though they may have existed in the speech of the very lowest classes. It, therefore, appears that, when this amalgamated community, with Sanskrit and Pali as the two forms of speech prevailing among the higher and the lower classes, spread over different parts of Northern India from the Himālayas to the southern confines of the Maratha country, they came in contact in the provinces with other races which led to the further corruptions we have been speaking of; and thus the Prakrits were formed. These new races while they adopted the language of the conquerors gave them a few of their own words.

Patañjali lived in the middle of the second century before Christ and king Aśoka in the middle of the third. Between Patañjali and Kātyāyana a petty long time must have elapsed, since in the Mahābhāṣya various readings or emendations in a few cases of the Vārtikas of the latter are noticed and sometimes their interpretations as given by other writers; so that a sort of literature must have grown round the Vārtikas. I am, therefore, inclined to accept the popular tradition which refers Kātyāyana to the period of the Nandas, i. e., to about the first quarter of the fourth century before Christ. Now we have seen that in the time of this grammarian the Sanskrit language assumed a different form from that it had in that of Pāṇini; and by the time of Patañjali very great reverence had come to be paid to this last author. For in giving the uses of grammar, the author

of the Mahābhāsya says that it is the duty of a Brāhmaṇa to study the Vedas along with their Aṅgas or illustrative Śāstras; and of the six Aṅgas grammar is the chief. Patañjali is not likely to yield this honour to any other than Pāṇini's grammar. To account for these and some of the other circumstances noticed by Dr. Goldstücker, we must place Pāṇini about four centuries before Kātyāyana, i. e. refer him to about the 8th century before Christ. Yāska must have flourished a short time before him. Though the Pali or an idiom very close to it was the language of the uneducated classes in the times of Kātyāyana, Aśoka, and Patañjali, still its formation must be dated some centuries earlier since in its verb it represents what I have called Middle Sanskrit or the Sanskrit of Yāska and Pāṇini. Yāska notices local varieties of Sanskrit words and gives one or two instances, but makes no allusion to any Apabhraṁśas or corruptions, though from the nature of his work he may be expected to do so; while Kātyāyana and Patañjali mention them frequently, as we have seen. Even if they existed in his time, therefore, they must have been insignificant and unimportant, and did not enter into the speech of any class of the Aryan society to any appreciable extent. After his time, however, i. e. about the seventh or sixth century B. C., the elaboration of the Pali, or Low Sanskrit as it might be called, began in a decided manner; and the language continued to be spoken up to the time of Patañjali. Till then it did not specifically assume a Prakrit form though in the Inscriptions of Aśoka some of the characteristics of a later Prakrit, the Māgadhī, were developed, as we have seen, in one province, very likely Magadha itself.

The Prakrits must have begun to be formed about that time, but did not then attain any distinctive character; and the vernacular speech probably did not finally leave the Pali stage till a very long time afterwards. About the time when the Inscriptions in the cave-temples were composed, the Pali was, as I have stated, a sacred and literary language. The longer and more important of the Inscriptions are therefore in that language. But in a good many of the shorter Inscriptions, especially of private individuals, we have words exhibiting Prakrit characteristics.[1]

1 Such are काणमोअस for काणभोजस्य, पवइतिकाअ for प्रव्रजितिकायाः, महाभोयस for महाभोजस्य, भयंत for भवन्त, वेयिका for वेदिका, पडिक for प्रतिक &c.

The growth of the specific Prakrits, therefore, must be referred to the early centuries of the Christain era; and we may therefore infer that about the time our first dramatic plays were written they were actually the spoken dialects of those classes of the people whose representatives use them in those works.

About the sixth or seventh century the Apabhraṁśa was developed in the country in which the Brajbhāṣā prevails in modern times; or, if the speeches in that dialect contained in the fourth act of the Vikramorvaśīya were really composed by Kālidāsa, which, as remarked in a former lecture, we have the gravest reasons for doubting, its growth must be assigned to a somewhat earlier period. Daṇḍin mentions the Apabhraṁśa, and a good many verses from his Kāvyādarśa are found in Vāmana's Alaṁkāravṛtti; and if this be the same Vāmana that lived at the court of Jayāpīḍa, king of Kāśmīr, who reigned from 751 A. C. to 782 A. C., Daṇḍin must have flourished before the eighth century.

The Modern vernaculars seem to have begun to assume a distinctive character about the tenth century. In the Copper Plate Inscription containing the name of Bhāskarācārya, dated 1128 Śaka or 1206 A. C., which I ones mentioned before, Marathi appears in its specific character, and so also does Hindi in the work of Cand, who flourished about the same time.

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And now, gentlemen, I close. It was impossible in the course of these lectures to do justice to the subject without entering into matters which are not interesting, except to those who have already paid some attention to it. Besides, the subject was wide and I was compelled to compress a great many facts into a small space, but in spite of this, and though I frequently omitted large portions of what I had written, the lectures were long and tedious. I am, therefore, obliged to you for the honour you have done me by your presence here, notwithstanding these drawbacks, and my thanks are specially due to those who have attended the course throughout.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abl. = Ablative
Absol. = Absolutive
Acc. = Accusative
Ait. = Aitareya
Ap., Apabhr., Apbhr., Apbr. = Apabhraṁśa
Ath. Pr. = Atharva Prātiśākhya
Ātm. = Ātmanepada
B. = Bengali
Brāh. = Brāhmaṇa
Cit. = Citpavani
Corp. Insc. Ind. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Dat. = Dative
Dh. = Dhauli
Dial. = Dialect
Fem. = Feminine
G., Guj. = Gujarati
Gen. = Genitive
Goan. = Goanese
H. = Hindi
Imper. = Imperative
Ind. St. = Indische Studien
Instr. = Instrumental
Intr. = Intransitive
Jñān. = Jñāneśvarī
Karh. = Karhāḍā or Karhada
Kh. = Khalsi
Loc. = Locative
M., Mar. = Marathi or Marāṭhī
Mah., Mahr. = Mahārāṣṭrī
Mal. = Malvani or Mālvaṇī
Masc. = Masculine
Mod. = Modern
Neut. = Neuter
Nom. = Nominative
O. = Oriya or Oriyā
Obl. = Oblique
P. = Panjabi or Panjābī
Pāṇ. = Pāṇini
Parasm. = Parasmaipada
Part. = Participle
Per. or Pers. = Person
Pl. = Plural
Pot. = Potential.
P. p. p. = Past Passive Participle
Pr. = Prakrit
Pres. = Present
Pūrva. = Pūrvapakṣin
Ṛv. = Ṛgveda
S. = Sindhi or Sindhī
Saṁh. = Saṁhitā
Śat. = Śatapatha
Śaur. = Śaurasenī
Sid. = Siddhāntin
Sing. = Singular
Sk. = Sanskrit
St. = Standard
Tad. = Tadbhava
Tait. = Taittirīya
Term. = Termination
Tr. = Transitive
Tulasi. = Tulasidās, Tulśīdāsa or Tulsidāsa
Vāj. Pr. = Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya
Voc. = Vocative

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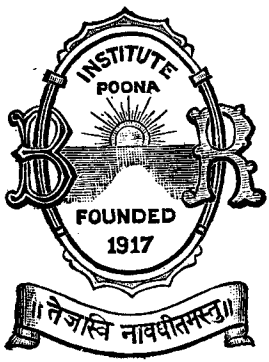
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